

R. Gravelot. inv. et delin. Lebas. fe.

ANTIQUITIES OF EGYPT.

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THE ANCIENT
HISTORY
OF THE
EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES and PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

By Mr. ROLLIN, *late Principal of the Univerſity of Paris, now Profeſſor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles-Lettres.*

Tranſlated from the FRENCH.

VOL. I.

The SECOND EDITION, Corrected.

LONDON:

Printed for JOHN and PAUL KNAPTON, at the *Crown* in *Ludgate-Street.* MDCCXXXVIII.

BRITISH MUSEUM

APPROBATION.

Paris, 3 Sept. 1729.

I HAVE read, by order of the Lord-Keeper, a manuſcript entitled, *The ancient Hiſtory of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Aſſyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Perſians, Macedonians and Greeks,* &c. In this work appears the ſame principles of religion, of probity, and the ſame happy endeavours to improve the minds of youth, which are ſo conſpicuous in all the writings of this author. The preſent work is not confined merely to the inſtruction of young people, but may be of ſervice to all perſons in general, who will now have an opportunity of reading, in their native tongue, a great number of curious events, which before were known to few except the learned.

SECOUSSE.

THE ANTIENT
HISTORY
OF THE
EGYPTIANS
AND
CARTHAGINIANS.

CONTAINING

BOOK I.

I. A deſcription of the ſeveral parts of Egypt, with its moſt remarkable curioſities, as obeliſks, pyramids, labyrinth, lake of Mœris, river Nile, inundations, cataracts, &c.
II. The cuſtoms, manners, laws, religion, funerals, military government, arts, ſciences, &c. of that country.
III. Hiſtory of the kings of Egypt.

BOOK II.

I. Foundation and progreſs of Carthage.
II. The manners, government, wealth, commerce, religion, arts and ſciences of the Carthaginians.
III. Their conqueſts in Africa, Spain, Sardinia and Sicily.
IV. The firſt Punic war, and that of the Mercenaries.
V. The ſecond Punic war. Paſſage of the Rhone, (under Hannibal.) His march over the Alps. Invaſion of Italy.
VI. Battles of Ticinus, Trebia, Thraſymenus and Cannæ.
VII. Hannibal in Capua, &c. His ill ſucceſs. Siege of that city and Rome.
VIII. Defeat and death of the two Scipios in Spain. Death of Aſdrubal.
IX. Peace concluded between the Romans and Carthaginians.
X. Retreat, death, elogium and character of Hannibal.
XI. The third Punic war. Genius and character of the younger Scipio. Hiſtory of Maſiniſſa's family, &c.

By Mr. ROLLIN, *late Principal of the Univerſity of Paris, now Profeſſor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles-Lettres.*

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A LETTER written by the Right Reverend Dr. FRANCIS ATTERBURY, late Lord Biſhop of Rocheſter, to Mr. ROLLIN, in commendation of this work.

Reverende atque Eruditiſſime Vir,

CUM, monente amico quodam, qui juxta ædes tuas habitat, ſcirem te Pariſios revertiſſe; ſtatui ſalutatum te ire, ut primùm per valetudinem liceret. Id officii, ex pedum infirmitate aliquandiu dilatum, cùm tandem me impleturum ſperarem, fruſtra ſui, domi non eras. Reſtat, ut quod coram exequi non potui, ſcriptis ſaltem literis præſtem; tibique ob ea omnia, quibus à te auctus ſum, beneficia, grates agam, quas habeo certe, & ſemper habiturus ſum, maximas.

Reverà munera illa librorum nuperis à te annis editorum egregia ac perhonorifica mihi viſa ſunt. Multi enim facio, & te, vir præſtantiſſime, & tua omnia quæcunque in iſto literarum genere perpolita ſunt; in quo quidem Te cæteris omnibus ejuſmodi ſcriptoribus facilè antecellere, atque eſſe eundem & dicendi & ſentiendi magiſtrum optimum, prorsùs exiſtimo: cúmque in excolendis his ſtudiis aliquantulum ipſe & operæ & temporis poſuerim, liberè tamen profiteor me, tua cum

legam ac relegam, ea edoctum esse à te, non solùm quæ nesciebam prorsùs, sed etiam quæ antea didicisse mihi visus sum. Modestè itaque nimium de opere tuo sentis, cùm juventuti tantùm instituendæ elaboratum id esse contendis. Ea certè scribis, quæ à viris istiusmodi rerum haud imperitis, cum voluptate & fructu legi possunt. Vetera quidem & satis cognita revocas in memoriam; sed ita revocas, ut illustres, ut ornes; ut aliquid vetustis adjicias quod novum sit, alienis quod omnino tuum: bonasque picturas bonâ in luce collocando efficis, ut etiam iis, à quibus sæpissimè conspectæ sunt, elegantiores tamen solitò appareant, & placeant magis.

Certè, dum Xenophontem sæpiùs versas, ab illo & ea quæ à te plurimis in locis narrantur, & ipsum ubique narrandi modum videris traxisse, stylique Xenophontei nitorem ac venustam simplicitatem non imitari tantùm, sed planè assequi: ita ut si Gallicè sciret Xenophon, non aliis illum, in eo argumento quod tractas, verbis usurum, non alio prorsùs more scripturum judicem.

Hæc ego, haud assentandi causâ (quod vitium procul à me abest) sed verè ex animi sententiâ dico. Cùm enim pulchris à te donis ditatus sim, quibus in eodem, aut in alio quopiam doctrinæ genere referendis imparem me sentio, volui tamen propensi erga te animi gratique testimonium proferre, & te aliquo saltem munusculo, etsi perquam dissimili, remunerari.

Perge, vir docte admodum & venerande, de bonis literis, quæ nunc neglectæ passim & spretæ jacent, benè mereri: perge juventutem Gallicam (quando illi solummodo te utilem esse vis) optimis & præceptis & exemplis informare.

Quod ut facias, annis ætatis tuæ elapsis multos adjiciat

jiciat Deus ! iiſque decurrentibus ſanum te præſtet atque incolumem. Hoc ex animo optat ac vovet

Tui obſervantiſſimus

FRANCISCUS ROFFENSIS.

Pranſurum te mecum poſt Feſta dixit mihi amicus ille noſter qui tibi vicinus eſt. Cùm ſtatueris tecum quo die adfuturus es, id illi ſignificabis. Me certè annis malíſque debilitatum, quandocunque veneris, domi invenies.

6° *Kal. Jan.* 1731.

A LETTER, written by the Right Reverend Dr. FRANCIS ATTERBURY, late Lord Biſhop of Rocheſter, to Mr. ROLLIN, in commendation of this work.

Reverend and moſt Learned Sir,

WHEN I was informed by a friend who lives near you, that you were returned to Paris, I reſolved to wait on you, as ſoon as my health would admit. After having been prevented by the gout for ſome time, I was in hopes at length of paying my reſpects to you at your houſe, and went thither, but found you not at home. It is incumbent on me therefore to do that in writing, which I could not in perſon, and to return you my acknowledgments for all the favours you have been pleaſed to confer upon me, of which, I beg you will be aſſured, that I ſhall always retain the moſt grateful ſenſe.

And indeed I eſteem the books you have lately publiſhed, as preſents of exceeding value, and ſuch as do me very great honour. For I have the higheſt regard, moſt excellent Sir, both for you, and for every thing that comes from ſo maſterly a hand as yours, in the kind of learning you treat; in which I muſt believe that you not only excel all other writers, but are at the ſame time the beſt maſter of ſpeaking and thinking well; and I freely confeſs that, tho' I had applied ſome time and pains in cultivating theſe ſtudies, when I read your volumes

lumes over and over again, I was inſtructed in things by you, of which I was not only entirely ignorant, but ſeemed to myſelf to have learnt before. You have therefore too modeſt an opinion of your work, when you declare it compoſed ſolely for the inſtruction of youth. What you write may undoubtedly be read with pleaſure and improvement by perſons not unacquainted in learning of the ſame kind. For whilſt you call to mind antient facts and things ſufficiently known, you do it in ſuch a manner, that you illuſtrate, you embelliſh them; ſtill adding ſomething new to the old, ſomething entirely your own to the labours of others: by placing good pictures in a good light, you make them appear with unuſual elegance and more exalted beauties, even to thoſe who have ſeen and ſtudied them moſt.

In your frequent correſpondence with Xenophon, you have certainly extracted from him, both what you relate in many places, and every where his very manner of relating; you ſeem not only to have imitated, but attained the ſhining elegance and beautiful ſimplicity of that authors's ſtile: ſo that had Xenophon excelled in the French language, in my judgment, he would have uſed no other words, nor wrote in any other method, upon the ſubject you treat, than you have done.

I do not ſay this out of flattery, (which is far from being my vice) but from my real ſenſe and opinion. As you have enriched me with your fine preſents, which I know how incapable I am of repaying either in the ſame or in any other kind of learning, I was willing to teſtify my gratitude and affection for you, and at leaſt to make you ſome ſmall, tho' exceedingly unequal, return.

Go on, moſt learned and venerable Sir, to deſerve well of ſound literature, which now lies univerſally neglected and deſpiſed. Go on, in forming the youth of France (ſince you will have their utility to be your ſole view) upon the beſt precepts and examples.

Which that you may effect, may it pleaſe God to add many years to your life, and during the courſe of them to preſerve you in health and ſafety. This is the earneſt wiſh and prayer of

Your moſt obedient Servant,

FRANCIS ROFFEN.

P. S. Our friend, your neighbour, tells me you intend to dine with me after the holidays. When you have fixed upon the day, be pleaſed to let him know it. Whenever you come, you will certainly find one ſo weak with age and ills as I am at home.

Decemb. 26. 1731.

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THE

THE PREFACE.

SECT. I. *The Uſefulneſs of* PROFANE HISTORY, *eſpecially with regard to* RELIGION.

What is to be obſerved in hiſtory, beſides the events and chronology.

THE ſtudy of profane hiſtory would be unworthy of a ſerious attention, and a conſiderable length of time, if it were confined to the dry knowledge of antient tranſactions, and an unpleaſing enquiry into the æras when each of them happen'd. It little concerns us to know, that there were once ſuch men as Alexander, Cæſar, Ariſtides, or Cato, and that they lived in this or that period; that the empire of the Aſſyrians made way for that of the Babylonians, and the latter for the empire of the Medes and Perſians, who were themſelves ſubjected by the Macedonians, as theſe were afterwards by the Romans.

1. *The cauſes of the riſe and fall of empires.*

But it highly concerns us to know, by what methods thoſe empires were founded; the ſteps by which they roſe to the exalted pitch of grandeur we ſo much admire; what it was that conſtituted their true glory and felicity, and the cauſes of their declenſion and fall.

2. *The genius and character of nations, and of the great perſons that governed them.*

'Tis of no leſs importance to ſtudy attentively the manners of different nations; their genius, laws, and cuſtoms; and eſpecially to acquaint our ſelves with the character and diſpoſition, the talents, virtues and even vices of thoſe men by whom they were governed; and whoſe good or bad qualities contributed to the grandeur or decay of the ſtates over which they preſided.

Such are the great objects which antient history presents; exhibiting to our view all the kingdoms and empires of the world; and at the same time, all the great men who were any way conspicuous; thereby instructing us, by example rather than precept, in the arts of empire and war, the principles of government, the rules of policy, the maxims of civil society, and the conduct of life that suits all ages and conditions.

3. *The origin and progress of arts and sciences.*

We acquire, at the same time, another knowledge, which cannot but excite the curiosity of all persons who have a taste and inclination for polite learning: I mean, the manner in which arts and sciences were invented, cultivated and improved; we there discover, and trace as it were with the eye, their origin and progress; and perceive, with admiration, that the nearer we approach those countries which were once inhabited by the sons of Noah, in the greater perfection we find the arts and sciences; and that they seem to be either neglected or forgot, in proportion to the remoteness of nations from them; so that, when men attempted to revive those arts and sciences, they were obliged to go back to the source from whence they originally flowed.

I give only a transient view of these objects, tho' so very important, in this place, because I have already treated them with some extent elsewhere *.

4. *The observing, especially, the connection between sacred and profane history.*

But another object of infinitely greater importance, claims our attention. For altho' profane history treats only of nations who had imbibed all the chimæras of a superstitious worship; and abandoned themselves to all the irregularities of which human nature, after the fall of the first man, became capable; it nevertheless proclaims universally the greatness of the Almighty, his power, his justice; and

* Vol. 3 & 4. *Of the method of teaching and studying the Belles Lettres, &c.*

above all, the admirable wiſdom with which his providence governs the univerſe.

If the * inherent conviction of this laſt truth, rais'd, according to Cicero's obſervation, the Romans above all other nations; we may, in like manner, affirm, that nothing gives hiſtory a greater ſuperiority to many other branches of literature, than to ſee in a manner imprinted, in almoſt every page of it, the precious footſteps and ſhining proofs of this great truth, viz. that God diſpoſes all events as ſupreme lord and ſovereign; that he alone determines the fate of kings and the duration of empires; and † that he transfers the government of kingdoms from one nation to another, to puniſh the crimes they commit.

God took a more immediate care of his own people.

It muſt be confeſſed, that if we compare the attentive, beneficent and evident manner in which the Almighty preſided antiently over his people, with that which appeared in his governing all other nations of the earth, one would be apt to conclude, that the latter were foreign and indifferent to him. God look'd upon the holy nation as his own domain and inheritance; he reſided in the midſt of it, like a maſter in his houſe, and as a father in his family. Iſrael was his ſon, his firſt-born. He had made it his delight to form him from his infancy, and to inſtruct him in perſon. He imparted himſelf to him by his oracles; appointed miraculous men to be his governors; and diſplayed the amazing wonders of his power in his protection. Who could forbear, at the ſight of ſo many glorious privileges, to cry aloud with the prophet, "(*a*) Judah is "his ſanctuary, and Iſrael his dominion." *Solummodo ibi magnificus eſt Dominus noſter.*

(*a*) Iſai. xxxiii. 21.

* Pietate ac religione, atque hac una ſapientia quod deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perſpeximus, omnes gentes nationeſque ſuperavimus. *Orat. de Aruſp. reſponſ.* n. 19.

† *Becauſe of unrighteous dealings, injuries, and riches got by deceit, the kingdom is tranſlated from one people to another.* Eccleſ. x. 8.

Never-

But, at the same time, did not neglect other nations.

Nevertheleſs this God, altho' forgot by the nations, and ſeemingly forgetting them, always retained and exerciſed his ſupreme power over them, which, tho' concealed behind the veil of ordinary events, and ſuch a conduct and government as was merely human, was not therefore leſs real or divine; (*b*) *The earth is the Lord's, and the fulneſs thereof*, ſays the prophet, *the world, and they that dwell therein.* It would be an error highly injurious to the Almighty, to ſuppoſe him the maſter only of one family, and not of all the nations of the world.

He preſided, at the diſperſion of men, after the flood.

We diſcover this important truth in going back to the moſt remote antiquity, and the origin of profane hiſtory; I mean, to the diſperſion of the poſterity of Noah into the ſeveral countries of the earth where they ſettled. Liberty, chance, views of intereſt, a love for certain countries, and ſuch like motives, were, in outward appearance, the only cauſes of the different choice which men made in theſe various migrations. But the ſcriptures inform us, that amidſt the trouble and confuſion that followed the ſudden change in the language of Noah's deſcendants, God preſided inviſibly over all their counſels and deliberations; that nothing was tranſacted but by the Almighty's appointment; and that he only guided * and ſettled all mankind, agreeably to the dictates of his mercy and juſtice: (*c*) *The Lord ſcattered them abroad* from thence *upon the face of the earth.*

'Tis true indeed that God, even in thoſe early ages, had a peculiar regard for that people, whom he was one day to conſider as his own. He pointed out the country which they were to inherit: he caus'd it to be

(*b*) Pſal. xxiii. 1.

(*c*) Gen. xi. 8, 9.

* *The antients themſelves, according to Pindar,* (Olymp. Od. 7.) *has retained ſome idea, that the diſperſion of men was not the effect of chance, but that they had been ſettled in different countries by the appointment of providence.*

poſſeſs'd

poſſeſs'd by another laborious nation, who applied themſelves to cultivate and adorn it; and to improve, by all poſſible methods, the future inheritance of the Iſraelites. He then fixed, in that country, the like number of families, as were to be ſettled in it, when the ſons of Iſrael ſhould, at the appointed time, take poſſeſſion of it; and did not ſuffer any of the nations, which were not ſubject to the curſe pronounced by Noah againſt Canaan, to enter an inheritance that was to be given up entirely to the Iſraelites. † *Quando dividebat Altiſſimus gentes, quando ſeparabat filios Adam, conſtituit terminos populorum juxta numerum filiorum Iſrael.* But this peculiar regard of God to his future people, does not interfere with that which he had for the reſt of the nations of the earth, as is evident from the two paſſages of ſcripture above cited, which teach us, that the entire ſucceſſion of ages is preſent to him; that nothing is tranſacted in the whole univerſe, but by his appointment; and that he directs the ſeveral events of it from age to age. (*d*) *Tu es Deus conſpector ſeculorum. A ſeculo uſque in ſeculum reſpicis.*

God, only, has fixed the fate of all empires, both with reſpect to his own people, and the reign of his Son.

We muſt therefore conſider, as an indiſputable principle, and as the baſis and foundation to the ſtudy of profane hiſtory, that the providence of the Almighty has, from all eternity, appointed the eſtabliſhment, duration, and deſtruction of kingdoms and empires, as well in regard to the general plan of the whole univerſe, known only to God, who conſtitutes the order and wonderful harmony of its ſeveral parts; as particularly with reſpect to the people of Iſrael, and ſtill more with regard to the Meſſiah, and the eſtabliſhment of the church,

(*d*) Eccleſ. xxxix. 19. xxxiii. 25.

† *When the Moſt High divided the nations, and ſeparated the ſons of Adam, he aſſigned the bounds of the people aceording to the number of the children of Iſrael (whom he had in view.) This is one of the interpretations (which appears very natural) that is given to this paſſage.*

which

which is his great work, the end and design of all his other works, and ever present to his sight : (e) *Notum à seculo est Domino opus suum.*

God has vouchsafed to discover to us in holy scripture, a part of the relation of the several nations of the earth to his own people ; and the little so discovered, diffuses great light over the history of those nations, of whom we shall have but a very imperfect idea, unless we have recourse to revelation. 'Tis this displays, and brings to light, the secret thoughts of princes, their incoherent projects, their foolish pride, their impious and cruel ambition : 'Tis this reveals the true causes, and hidden springs of victories and overthrows ; of the grandeur and declension of nations ; the rise and ruin of states ; and, which is the greatest benefit that arises from the study of history, 'tis revelation that teaches us, what judgment the Almighty forms both of princes and empires, and consequently, what idea we our selves ought to entertain of them.

Powerful kings appointed to punish or protect Israel.

Not to mention Egypt, that served at first as the cradle (if I may be allowed the expression) to the holy nation ; which afterwards was, a kind of severe prison, and a fiery furnace to † it ; and at last, the scene of the most astonishing miracles that God ever wrought in favour of Israel : not to mention, I say, Egypt, the mighty empires of Niniveh and Babylon furnish a thousand proofs of the truth here advanced.

Their most powerful monarchs, Tiglath-Pelasar, Salmanasar, Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar, and many more, were, in God's hand, as so many instruments, which he employed to punish the transgressions of his people. (f) *He lifted up an ensign to the nations from far, and hissed unto them from the end of the earth, to*

(e) Acts xv. 18. (f) Isai. v. 26, 30. x. 28, 34. xiii. 4, 5.

† Educam vos de ergastulo Ægyptiorum, *Exod.* vi. 6. De fornace ferrea Ægypti, *Deut.* iv. 20.

come

come and receive his orders. He himſelf put the ſword into their hands, and appointed their marches daily. He breathed courage and ardour into their ſoldiers; made their armies indefatigable in labour, and invincible in battle; and ſpread terror and conſternation wherever they directed their ſteps.

As their conqueſts were ſo rapid, this ought to have given them ſome glimpſe of the inviſible hand which conducted them. But, ſays one of theſe * kings in the name of the reſt; (*g*) *By the ſtrength of my hand I have done it, and by my wiſdom; for I am prudent: And I have removed the bounds of the people, and have robbed their treaſures, and I have put down the inhabitants like a valiant man. And my hand hath found as a neſt the riches of the people: and as one gathereth eggs that are left, have I gathered all the earth, and there was none that moved the wing, or opened the mouth, or peeped.*

But this monarch, ſo auguſt and wiſe in his own eye, how did he appear in that of the Almighty? Only as a ſubaltern, a ſervant ſent by his maſter; (*h*) *the rod of his anger, and the ſtaff in his hand.* God's deſign was to chaſtiſe, not to extirpate his children. But Sennacherib (*i*) *had it in his heart to deſtroy and cut off all nations.* What then will be the iſſue of this kind of conteſt between the deſigns of God, and thoſe of this prince? (*k*) At the time that he fancied himſelf already poſſeſſed of Jeruſalem; the Lord, with a ſingle blaſt, diſperſes all his proud hopes; deſtroys, in one night, an hundred and fourſcore thouſand of his forces: † putting *a hook in his noſe, and a bridle in his lips,* (as though he had been a wild beaſt) he leads him back to his own dominions, covered with infamy through the midſt of thoſe nations, who, but a

(*g*) Iſai. x. 13, 14. (*b*) Ibid. ver. 5. (*i*) ver. 7. (*k*) ver. 12.

* Sennacherib.

† Inſaniſti in me, & ſuperbia tua aſcendit in aures meas: ponam itaque circulum in naribus tuis, & camum in labiis tuis, & reducam te in viam per quam veniſti. 4 *Reg.* xix. 28.

little

little before, had beheld him in all his pride and haughtineſs.

Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, appears ſtill more viſibly governed by a providence, to which he himſelf is an entire ſtranger, although it preſides over all his deliberations, and determines all his actions.

(*l*) Being come at the head of his army, to two highways, the one of which leads to Jeruſalem, and the other to Rabbah, the chief city of the Ammonites; this king, not knowing which of them it would be beſt for him to ſtrike into, debates for ſome time with himſelf, and at laſt caſt lots. But God makes it fall on Jeruſalem, to fulfil the menaces he had pronounced againſt that city, viz. to deſtroy it; to burn the temple, and drag its inhabitants into captivity.

(*m*) One would imagine, at firſt ſight, that this king had been prompted to beſiege Tyre, merely from a political view, viz. that he might not leave behind him ſo powerful and well-fortified a city; nevertheleſs, a ſuperior will had decreed the ſiege of Tyre. God was reſolved, on one ſide, to humble the pride of Ithobal its king, who fancying himſelf wiſer than Daniel, whoſe fame was ſpread over the whole Eaſt; and aſcribing entirely to his rare and uncommon prudence, the extent of his dominions, and the greatneſs of his riches, perſuaded himſelf that he was (*n*) *a God, and ſat in the ſeat of God.* On the other ſide, he alſo was reſolved to chaſtiſe that trading people, for their luxury and pride; a people, who thought themſelves kings of the ſea, and ſovereigns over crowned heads; and eſpecially, that inhuman joy of the Tyrians, in their looking upon the fall of Jeruſalem, (the rival of Tyre) as their grandeur: Theſe were the motives, which prompted God himſelf to lead Nebuchadnezzar to Tyre; and to make him execute, though unknowingly, his commands. IDCIRCO *ecce* EGO ADDUCAM *ad Tyrum Nebuchodonoſor.*

(*l* Ezek. xxi. 19, 23.
(*n*) cap. xxviii. 2.
(*m*) cap. xxvi, xxvii, xxviii.

To

* To recompenſe this monarch, whoſe army the Almighty had cauſed (*o*) *to ſerve a great ſervice againſt Tyre* (theſe are God's own words;) and to compenſate the Babyloniſh troops, for the grievous toils they had ſuſtained during a thirteen years ſiege; (*p*) *I will give*, ſaith the Lord God, *the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon; and he ſhall take her multitude, and take her ſpoil, and take her prey, and it ſhall be the wages for his army*,

The ſame Nebuchadnezzar, being fired with a thirſt of immortalizing his name by the grandeur of his exploits, was determined to heighten the glory of his conqueſts with ſplendor and magnificence, by embelliſhing the capital of his empire with pompous edifices, and the moſt ſumptuous ornaments. But whilſt a ſet of adulating courtiers, on whom he laviſhed the higheſt honours and immenſe riches, make all places reſound with his name; an auguſt ſenate of watchful ſpirits is formed, who weigh, in the balance of truth, the actions of kings, and from whoſe ſentence there lies no appeal. The king of Babylon is cited before this tribunal, in which there preſides a ſupreme judge, who, to a vigilance which nothing can elude, adds a holineſs that will not allow of the leaſt irregularity. *Vigil & ſanctus.* In this tribunal all Nebuchadnezzar's actions, which were the admiration and wonder of the public, are examined with rigour; and a ſearch is made into the inward receſſes of his heart, to diſcover his moſt hidden thoughts. How will this formidable enquiry end? At the inſtant that Nebuchadnezzar, walking in his palace, and revolving, with a ſecret complacency, his exploits, his grandeur and magnificence, is ſaying to himſelf, (*q*) *Is not this great Babylon that I built for the houſe of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majeſty!* In this very inſtant, when, by vainly flattering himſelf that he held

(*o*) cap. xxix. 18, 20. (*p*) Dan. iv. 1—34. (*q*) v. 20.

* *This incident is related more at large in the hiſtory of the Egyptians, under the reign of Amaſis.*

his

his power and kingdom only from himſelf, he uſurped the ſeat of the Almighty; a voice from heaven pronounces his ſentence, and declares to him, that (r) *his kingdom was departed from him, that he ſhould be driven from men, and his dwelling be with the beaſts of the field, until he knew that the Moſt High ruled in the kingdoms of men, and gave them to whomſoever he would.*

This tribunal, which is for ever aſſembled, tho' inviſible to mortal eyes, pronounced the like ſentence on thoſe famous conquerors, on thoſe heroes of the pagan world, who, like Nebuchadnezzar, conſidered themſelves as the ſole authors of their exalted fortune; as independent to authority of every kind, and as not holding of a ſuperior power.

As God appointed ſome princes to be the inſtruments of his vengeance, he made others the diſpenſers of his goodneſs. He ordained Cyrus to be the deliverer of his people; and, to enable him to ſupport with dignity ſo glorious a function, he endued him with all the qualities which conſtitute the greateſt captains and princes; and cauſed that excellent education to be given him, which the heathens ſo much admired, tho' they neither knew the author or true cauſe of it.

We ſee in profane hiſtory the extent and ſwiftneſs of his conqueſts, the intrepidity of his courage, the wiſdom of his views and deſigns; his greatneſs of ſoul, his noble generoſity; his truly paternal affection for his ſubjects; and, in them, the grateful returns of love and tenderneſs, which made them conſider him, rather as their protector and father, than as their lord and ſovereign. We find, I ſay, all theſe partieulars in profane hiſtory; but we do not perceive the ſecret principle of ſo many exalted qualities, nor the hidden ſpring which ſet them in motion.

But Iſaiah affords us this light, and delivers himſelf in words ſuitable to the greatneſs and majeſty of the

(r) v. 31, 32.

God

God who inſpired him. He * repreſents this all-powerful God of armies as leading Cyrus by the hand, marching before him, conducting him from city to city, and from province to province; *ſubduing nations before him, looſening the loins of kings, breaking in pieces gates of braſs; cutting in ſunder the bars of iron*; throwing down the walls and bulwarks of cities; and putting him in poſſeſſion *of the treaſures of darkneſs, and the hidden riches of ſecret places.*

(*r*) The prophet alſo tells us the cauſe and motive of all theſe wonderful events. It was in order to puniſh Babylon, and to deliver Judah, that the Almighty conducts Cyrus, ſtep by ſtep, and gives ſucceſs to all his enterprizes. (*t*) *I have raiſed him up in righteouſneſs, and I will direct all his ways.*——*For Jacob my ſervant's ſake, and Iſrael mine elect.* But this prince is ſo blind and ungrateful, that he does not know his maſter, nor remember his benefactor. (*u*) *I have ſurnamed thee, tho' thou haſt not known me.*——*I girded thee, tho' thou haſt not known me.*

A fine image of the regal office.

Men ſeldom form to themſelves a right judgment of true glory, and the duties eſſential to regal power. The ſcripture only gives us a full idea of them, and this it does in a wonderful manner, (*x*) under the image of a very large and ſtrong tree, whoſe top reaches to heaven, and whoſe branches extend to the extremities of the earth. As its foliage is very abundant, and it is bow'd down with fruit, it conſtitutes the ornament and felicity of the plains around it. It ſupplies a grateful ſhade, and a ſecure retreat to beaſts of every kind:

(*r*) Iſa. xlv. 13 and 14. (*t*) ver. 13, and 4. (*u*) Iſa. xlv. 4, 5.
(*x*) Dan. iv. 7, 9.

* Hæc dicit Dominus, chriſto meo Cyro, cujus apprehendi dexteram, ut ſubjiciam ante faciem ejus gentes, & dorſa regum vertam, & aperiam coram eo januas, & portæ non claudentur. Ego ante te ibo, & glorioſos terræ humiliabo: portas æreas conteram, & vectes ferreos confringam. Et dabo tibi theſauros abſconditos, & arcana ſecretorum: ut ſcias quia ego Dominus, qui voco nomen tuum, Deus Iſrael. *Iſaiah* xlv. 1, 3.

Animals, both wild and tame, are ſafely lodged under its hoſpitable branches; the birds of heaven dwell in the boughs of it, and it ſupplies food to all living creatures.

Can there be a more juſt or more inſtructive idea of the kingly office, whoſe true grandeur and ſolid glory does not conſiſt in that ſplendor, pomp and magnificence which ſurround it; nor in that reverence and exterior homage which are paid to it by ſubjects: but in the real ſervices and ſolid advantages it procures to nations, whoſe ſupport, defence, ſecurity and aſylum it forms, (both from its nature and inſtitution) at the ſame time that it is the fruitful ſource of terreſtrial bleſſings of every kind; eſpecially, with regard to the poor and weak, who ought to find, beneath the ſhade and protection of royalty, a ſweet peace and tranquillity not to be interrupted or diſturbed; whilſt the monarch himſelf ſacrifices his eaſe, and experiences alone thoſe ſtorms and tempeſts from which he ſhelters all others.

Methinks the reality of this noble image, and the execution of this great plan (religion only excepted) appears in the government of Cyrus, of which Xenophon has given us a picture, in his beautiful preface to the hiſtory of that prince. He has there ſpecified a great number of nations, which, tho' far diſtant one from another, and differing widely in their manners, cuſtoms and language, were however all united, by the ſame ſentiments of eſteem, reverence and love for a prince, whoſe government they wiſhed, if poſſible, to have continued for ever, ſo much happineſs and tranquillity did they enjoy under it *.

A juſt idea of the conquerors of antiquity.

'To this amiable and ſalutary government, let us oppoſe the idea which the ſacred writings give us of thoſe monarchs and conquerors, ſo much boaſted by antiquity, who, inſtead of making the happineſs of mankind the ſole object of their care, were prompted

* 'Εδυνήθη ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖν τοσαύτην τῷ πάντας αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι, ὥστε ἀεὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην ἀξιοῦν κυβερνᾶσθαι.

by

by no other motives than thoſe of intereſt and ambition. (y) The holy Spirit repreſents them under the ſymbols of monſters generated from the agitation of the ſea, from the tumult, confuſion and daſhing of the waves one againſt the other; and under the image of cruel wild beaſts, which ſpread terror and deſolation univerſally, and are for ever gorging themſeves with blood and ſlaughter; bears, lions, tigers, and leopards. How ſtrong and expreſſive is this colouring!

Nevertheleſs, it is often from ſuch deſtructive models, that the rules and maxims of the education generally beſtowed on the children of the great, are borrowed: and it is theſe ravagers of nations, theſe ſcourges of mankind, they propoſe to make them reſemble. By inſpiring them with the ſentiments of a boundleſs ambition, and the love of falſe glory, they become (to borrow an expreſſion from ſcripture,) (z) *young lions; they learn to catch the prey, and devour men—to lay waſte cities, to turn lands and their fatneſs into deſolation by the noiſe of their roaring.* And when this young lion is grown up, God tells us, that the noiſe of his exploits, and the renown of his victories, are nothing but a frightful roaring, which fills all places with terror and deſolation.

The examples I have hitherto mentioned, and which are extracted from the hiſtory of the Egyptians, Aſſyrians, Babylonians, and Perſians, prove ſufficiently the ſupreme power exerciſed by God over all empires; and the relation he thought fit to eſtabliſh between the reſt of the nations of the earth, and his own peculiar people. The ſame truth appears as conſpicuouſly under the kings of Syria and Egypt, ſucceſſors of Alexander the Great: between whoſe hiſtory, and that of the Jews under the Maccabees, every body knows the cloſe connexion.

To theſe incidents I cannot forbear adding another, which tho' univerſally known, is not therefore the leſs remarkable, I mean the taking of Jeruſalem by Ti-

(y) Dan. vii. (z) Ezek. xix. 3, 7.

tus. (*a*) When he had entered that city, and viewed all the fortifications of it, this prince, tho' a heathen, owned the all-powerful arm of the God of Iſrael; and, in a rapture of admiration cried out, "'Tis manifeſt that the Almighty has fought for us, "and has driven the Jews from thoſe towers, ſince "neither the utmoſt human force, nor that of all the "engines in the world could have effected it.

God has always diſpoſed of human events, relatively to the reign of the Meſſiah.

Beſides the viſible and ſenſible connexion of ſacred and prophane hiſtory, there is another more ſacred and more diſtinct relation with reſpect to the Meſſiah, for whoſe coming the Almighty, whoſe work was ever preſent to his ſight, prepared mankind from far, even by the ſtate of ignorance and diſſoluteneſs in which he ſuffered them to be immerſed during four thouſand years. It was to ſhew the neceſſity there was of our having a mediator, that God permitted the nations to walk after their own ways; and that neither the light of reaſon, nor the dictates of philoſophy, could diſpel their clouds of error or reform their depraved inclinations.

When we take a view of the grandeur of empires, the majeſty of princes, the glorious actions of great men, the order of civil ſocieties, and the harmony of the different members of which they are compoſed, the wiſdom of legiſlators and the learning of philoſophers; the earth ſeems to exhibit nothing to the eye of man, but what is great and reſplendent; nevertheleſs, in the eye of God, it was equally barren and uncultivated, as at the firſt inſtant of the creation by the Almighty *fiat*. (*b*) *The earth was* WITHOUT FORM AND VOID: this is ſaying but little: It was wholly polluted and impure (the reader will obſerve that I ſpeak here of the heathens) and appeared, to God, only as the haunt and retreat of ungrateful and perfidious men, as it did at the time of the flood.

(*a*) Joſeph. l. 3. c. 46. (*b*) Gen. i. 3.

(c) The earth was corrupt before God, and was filled with iniquity..

Nevertheleſs the ſovereign arbiter of the univerſe, who, purſuant to the dictates of his wiſdom, diſpenſes both light and darkneſs, and knows how to check the impetuous torrent of human paſſions; would not permit mankind, though abandoned to the utmoſt corruptions, to degenerate into abſolute barbarity; and brutalize themſelves, in a manner, by the extinction of the firſt principles of the law of nature, as is ſeen in ſeveral ſavage nations. Such an obſtacle would have retarded too much the rapid courſe, promiſed by him to the firſt preachers of the doctrine of his ſon.

He darted from far, into the minds of men, the rays of ſeveral great truths, to diſpoſe them for the reception of others of a more important nature. He prepared them for the inſtructions of the goſpel, by thoſe of philoſophers; and it was with this view that God permitted the heathen profeſſors to examine, in their ſchools, ſeveral queſtions, and eſtabliſh ſeveral principles, which are nearly allied to religion; and to engage the attention of mankind, by the ſpirit and beauty of their diſputations. It is well known, that the philoſophers inculcate in every part of their writings, the exiſtence of a God, the neceſſity of a Providence that preſides in the government of the world, the immortality of the ſoul, the ultimate end of man, the reward of the good and puniſhment of the wicked, the nature of thoſe duties which conſtitute the band of ſociety; the character of the virtues that are the baſis of morality, as prudence, juſtice, fortitude, temperance, and ſuch like truths, which, tho' incapable of guiding men to righteouſneſs, they yet were of uſe to ſcatter certain clouds, and to diſpel certain obſcurities.

It is by an effect of the ſame providence, which prepared, from far, the ways of the goſpel, that, when the Meſſiah revealed himſelf in the fleſh, God had

(c) Gen. vi. 11.

united together a great number of nations, by the Greek and Latin tongues; and had subjected to one monarch, from the Ocean to the Euphrates, all the people not united by language, in order to give a more free course to the preaching of the apostles. When profane history is studied with judgment and maturity, it must lead us to these reflexions; and point out to us the manner in which the Almighty makes the empires of the earth subservient to the reign of his son.

Exterior talents indulged to the heathens.

It ought likewise to teach us the value of all that glitters most in the eye of the world, and is most capable of dazzling it. Valour, fortitude, skill in government, profound policy, merit in magistracy, capacity for the most abstruse sciences, beauty of genius, universal taste, and perfection in all arts: these are the objects which profane history exhibits to us; which excite our admiration, and often our envy. But at the same time this very history ought to remind us, that the Almighty, ever since the creation, has indulged to his enemies all those shining qualities which the world esteems, and on which it frequently bestows the highest elogiums; and, on the contrary, that he often refuses them to his most faithful servants, whom he endues with talents of an infinitely superior nature, tho' men neither know their value, nor are desirous of them. (*d*) *Happy is that people that is in such a case: yea, happy is that people, whose God is the Lord.*

We must not be too profuse in our applauses of them.

I shall conclude this first part of my preface, with a reflexion which results naturally from what has been said. Since it is certain, that all these great men who are so much boasted of in profane history, were so unhappy as not to know the true God, and to displease him; we should therefore be particularly care-

(*d*) Psal. cxliv. 15.

ful

ful not to extol them too much. * St. Auſtin, in his Retractations, repents his having laviſhed ſo many encomiums on Plato, and the followers of his philoſophy; becauſe theſe, ſays he, were impious men, whoſe doctrine, in many points, was contrary to that of Jeſus Chriſt.

However, we are not to imagine, that St. Auſtin ſuppoſes it to be unlawful for us to admire and peruſe whatever is either beautiful in the actions, or true in the maxims of the heathens. He † only adviſes us to correct all ſuch things as are faulty, and to approve whatever is conformable to the right and the juſt in them. He applauds the Romans on many occaſions, and particularly in his books (*f*) *de Civitate Dei*, which is one of the laſt and fineſt of his works. He there ſhews, that the Almighty raiſed them to be victorious over nations, and ſovereigns of a great part of the earth, becauſe of the gentleneſs and equity of their government (alluding to the happy ages of the commonwealth:) thus beſtowing on virtues that were merely human, rewards of the ſame kind with which that people, though very judicious in other reſpects, were ſo unhappy to content themſelves. St. Auſtin therefore does not condemn the encomiums which are beſtowed on the heathens, but only the exceſs of them.

Students ought to take care, and eſpecially we, who by the duties of our profeſſion, are obliged to be perpetually converſant with heathen authors, not to enter too far into the ſpirit of them; not to imbibe, unperceiv'd, their ſentiments, by laviſhing too great applauſes on their heroes; nor to give into exceſſes which the heathens indeed did not conſider as ſuch, becauſe they were not acquainted with virtues of a pu-

(*f*) Lib. 5. cap. 19, 21, &c.

* Laus ipſa, qua Platonem vel Platonicos ſeu academicos philoſophos tantum extuli, quantum impios homines non oportuit, non immerito mihi diſplicuit; præſertim quorum contra errores magnos defendenda eſt Chriſtiana doctrina. *Retract.* l. 1. c. 1.

† Id in quoque corrigendum, quod pravum eſt; quod autem rectum eſt, approbandum. *De Bapt. cont. Donat.* l. 7. c. 16.

rer

rer kind. Some perſons, whoſe friendſhip I eſteem as I ought, and for whoſe learning and judgment I have the higheſt regard, have found this defect in ſome parts of my work, on the *method of teaching and ſtudying the Belles Lettres*, &c. and are of opinion, that I have gone too great lengths in the encomiums I beſtow on the illuſtrious men of antiquity. I indeed own, that the expreſſions on thoſe occaſions are ſometimes too ſtrong and too unguarded: However, I imagined that I had ſupplied a proper corrective to this, by the hints with which I have interſpers'd thoſe four volumes; and therefore, that it would be only loſing time to repeat them; not to mention my having laid down in different places, the principles which the fathers of the church eſtabliſh on this head, in declaring, with St. Auſtin, that without true piety, that is, without a ſincere worſhip of God, there can be no true virtue; and that no virtue can be ſuch, whoſe object is worldly glory; a truth, ſays this father, acknowledged univerſally by thoſe who are inſpired with real and ſolid piety. (g) *Illud conſtat inter omnes veraciter pios, neminem ſine vera pietate, id eſt Dei vero cultu, veram poſſe habere virtutem; nec eam veram eſſe, quando gloriæ ſervit humanæ.*

(*h*) When I obſerved that Perſeus had not reſolution enough to kill himſelf, I did not thereby pretend to juſtify the practice of the heathens, who looked upon ſuicide as lawful; but ſimply to relate an incident, and the judgment which Paulus Æmilius paſſed on it. Had I barely hinted a word or two againſt that cuſtom, it would have obviated all miſtake, and left no room for cenſure.

The oſtraciſm, employed at Athens againſt perſons of the greateſt merit; theft connived at, as one would imagine, by Lycurgus, in Sparta; an equality with regard to poſſeſſions eſtabliſh'd in the ſame city, by the authority of the ſtate, and things of a like nature,

(g) *De Civit. Dei.* Lib. 3. c. 19. (*h*) Vol. IV. p. 81. Paris edit.

may admit of ſome difficulty. However, I ſhall have a more immediate attention to theſe * particulars, when the courſe of the hiſtory brings me to them; and ſhall be proud of receiving ſuch lights as the learned and unprejudiced may pleaſe to communicate.

In a work like that I now offer the publick, intended more immediately for the inſtruction of youth, it were heartily to be wiſhed, there might not be one ſingle thought or expreſſion that could contribute to inculcate falſe or dangerous principles. When I firſt ſet about writing the preſent hiſtory, I propoſed this for my maxim, the importance of which I perfectly conceive, but am far from imagining that I have always obſerved it, though it was my intention to do ſo; and therefore on this, as on many other occaſions, I ſhall ſtand in need of the reader's indulgence.

SECT. II. PARTICULAR OBSERVATIONS *on the following work.*

THE volume I here preſent the publick, is the beginning of a work, in which I propoſe to give the antient hiſtory of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Aſſyrians, both of Niniveh and Babylon; together with that of the Medes, Perſians, Macedonians, and the different ſtates of Greece.

As I write principally for the inſtruction of youth, and for perſons who do not intend to make very deep reſearches into antient hiſtory, I ſhall not crowd this work with a ſort of erudition, that otherwiſe might have been introduced naturally into it, but does not ſuit my purpoſe. My deſign is, in giving a continued ſeries of antient hiſtory, to extract from the Greek and Latin authors, all that I ſhall judge moſt uſeful and entertaining, with reſpect to the tranſactions, and moſt inſtructive with regard to the reflections.

I wiſh it were poſſible for me to avoid the dry ſteri-

* *This Mr. Rollin has done admirably in the ſeveral volumes of his antient hiſtory.*

lity of epitomes, which convey no distinct idea to the mind; and at the same time the tedious accuracy of long histories, which tire the reader's patience. I am sensible that 'tis difficult to steer exactly between the two extremes; and although, in the two parts of history of which this first volume consists, I have retrenched a great part of what we meet with in antient authors, I am afraid they will still be thought too long: But I was afraid of spoiling the incidents, by being too studious of brevity. However, the taste of the publick shall be my guide, to which I shall endeavour to conform hereafter.

I was so happy as not to displease the publick in my first * attempt. I wish the present work may be equally successful, but dare not raise my hopes so high. The subjects I there treated, *viz.* polite literature, poetry, eloquence, and curious pieces of history, gave me an opportunity of introducing into it, from antient and modern authors, whatever is most beautiful, affecting, delicate and just, with regard both to thought and expression. The beauty and justness of the things themselves, which I offered the reader, made him more indulgent to the manner in which they were presented to him; and besides, the variety of the subjects supplied the want of those graces which might be expected from the stile and composition.

But I have not the same advantage in the present work, the choice of the subjects not being entirely at my discretion. In a series of history, an author is often obliged to introduce a great many things that are not always very affecting and agreeable, especially with regard to the origin and rise of empires; which parts are generally over-run with thorns, and offer very few flowers. However, the sequel furnishes matter of a more pleasing nature, and events that engage more strongly the reader's attention; and I shall take care to

* *The method of teaching and studying the Belles Lettres, &c. The English translation (in 4 Vols.) of this excellent piece of criticism, is printed for A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch in Pater-noster Row.*

make

-make uſe of whatever is moſt valuable in the beſt authors. In the mean time, I muſt intreat the reader to remember, that in a wide-extended and beautiful region, the eye does not every where meet with golden harveſts, ſmiling meads, and fruitful orchards; but ſees, at different intervals, wild and leſs cultivated tracts of land. And, to uſe another compariſon after * Pliny, ſome trees in the ſpring, emuloufly ſhoot forth a numberleſs multitude of bloſſoms, which, by this rich dreſs (the ſplendor and vivacity of whoſe colours charm the eye) proclaim a happy abundance in a more advanced ſeaſon: Whilſt other † trees, of a leſs gay and florid kind, though they bear good fruits, have not however the fragrance and beauty of bloſſoms; nor ſeem to ſhare in the joy of reviving nature. The reader will eaſily apply this image to the compoſition of hiſtory.

To adorn and enrich my own, I will be ſo ingenuous as to confeſs, that I don't ſcruple, nor am aſham'd, to rifle wherever I come; and that I often do not cite the authors from whom I tranſcribe, becauſe of the liberty I take to make ſome ſlight alterations. I have made the beſt uſe in my power, of the ſolid reflections that occur in the ſecond and third parts of the biſhop of ‖ Meaux's *Univerſal hiſtory*, which is one of the moſt beautiful and moſt uſeful books in our language. I have alſo received great aſſiſtance from the learned Dean Prideaux's *connection of the Old and New Teſtament*, in which he has traced and cleared up, in an admirable manner, the particulars relating to antient hiſtory. I ſhall take the ſame liberty with whatever comes in my way, that may ſuit my deſign, and contribute to its perfection.

* Arborum flos, eſt pleni veris indicium, & anni renaſcentis; flos gaudium arborum. Tunc ſe novas, aliaſque quàm ſunt, oſtendunt, tunc variis colorum picturis in certamen uſque luxuriant. Sed hoc negatum pleriſque. Non enim omnes florent, & ſunt triſtes quædam, quæque non ſentiant gaudia annorum; nec ullo flore exhilarantur, nataleſve pomorum recurſus annuos verſicolori nuntio promittunt. *Plin. Hiſt. Nat.* l. 16. c. 25.

† *As the fig-tree.*

‖ *Monſ. Boſſuet.*

I am

I am very ſenſible, that 'tis not ſo much for a perſon's reputation, to make uſe of other men's labours, and that it is in a manner renouncing the name and quality of author. But I am not over fond of that title; and ſhall be extremely well pleas'd, and think myſelf very happy, if I can but deſerve the name of a good compiler, and ſupply my readers with a tolerable hiſtory, who will not be over ſollicitous to enquire what hand it comes from, provided they are but pleaſed with it.

I cannot determine the exact number of volumes which this work will make; but am perſuaded there will be no leſs than ten or twelve. Students, with a very moderate application, may eaſily go through this courſe of hiſtory in a year, without interrupting their other ſtudies. According to my plan, my work ſhould be given to the higheſt form but one. Youths in this claſs are capable of pleaſure and improvement from this hiſtory; and I would not have them go upon that of the Romans, till they ſtudy rhetoric.

It would have been uſeful, and even neceſſary, to have given ſome idea of the antient authors from whence I have extracted the following materials. But the courſe itſelf of the hiſtory will ſhow this, and naturally give me an opportunity of producing them.

The judgment we ought to form of the auguries, prodigies, and oracles of the antients.

In the mean time, it may not be improper to take notice of the ſuperſtitious credulity objected to moſt of theſe authors, with regard to auguries, auſpices, prodigies, dreams and oracles. And indeed, we are ſhock'd to ſee writers, ſo judicious in all other reſpects, lay it down as a kind of law, to relate theſe particulars with a ſcrupulous accuracy; and to dwell gravely on a tedious detail of low, ridiculous ceremonies, ſuch as the flight of birds to the right or left hand, ſigns diſcover'd in the ſmoaking intrails of beaſts, the greater or leſs greedineſs of chickens in pecking corn, and a thouſand ſuch abſurdities,

It muſt be confeſs'd, that a reader of judgment cannot, without aſtoniſhment, ſee the moſt illuſtrious perſons among the antients for wiſdom and knowledge, generals who were the leaſt able to be influenced by popular opinions, and moſt ſenſible how neceſſary it is to take advantage of auſpicious moments; the wiſeſt councils of princes perfectly well ſkill'd in the arts of government; the moſt auguſt aſſemblies of grave ſenators; in a word, the moſt powerful and moſt learned nations in all ages; to ſee, I ſay, all theſe ſo unaccountably weak, as to make the deciſion of the greateſt affairs, ſuch as the declaring of war, the giving battle, or purſuing a victory, depend on the trifling practices and cuſtoms above mentioned; deliberations that were of the utmoſt importance, and on which the fate and welfare of kingdoms frequently depended.

But, at the ſame time, we muſt be ſo juſt as to own, that their manners, cuſtoms and laws, would not permit men, in theſe ages, to diſpenſe with the obſervation of theſe practices: that education, hereditary tradition tranſmitted from immemorial time, the univerſal belief and conſent of different nations, the precepts, and even example of philoſophers; that all theſe, I ſay, made the practices in queſtion appear venerable in their eyes: and that theſe ceremonies, how abſurd ſoever they may appear to us, and are really ſo in themſelves, conſtituted part of the religion and publick worſhip of the antients.

This was a falſe religion, and a miſtaken worſhip; and yet the principle of it was laudable, and founded in nature; the ſtream was corrupted, but the fountain was pure. Man, when abandoned to his own ideas, ſees nothing beyond the preſent moment. Futurity is to him an abyſs inviſible to the moſt eagle-ey'd, the moſt piercing ſagacity; and exhibits nothing, on which he may fix his views, or form any reſolution, with certainty. He is equally feeble and impotent with regard to the execution of his deſigns. He is ſenſible,

ſenſible, that he is dependent entirely on a ſupreme power, that diſpoſes all events with abſolute authority; and which, in ſpite of his utmoſt efforts, and of the wiſdom of the beſt concerted ſchemes, by only raiſing the ſmalleſt obſtacles and ſlighteſt modifications, renders it impoſſible for him to execute his meaſures.

This obſcurity and weakneſs oblige him to have recourſe to a ſuperior knowledge and power: he is forc'd, both by his immediate wants, and the ſtrong deſire he has to ſucceed in all his undertakings, to addreſs that Being whom he is ſenſible has reſerved to himſelf alone the knowledge of futurity, and the power of diſpoſing it as he ſees fitting. He accordingly directs prayers, makes vows, and offers ſacrifices, to prevail, if poſſible, with the Deity, to reveal himſelf, either in dreams, in oracles, or other ſigns which may manifeſt his will; fully convinc'd that nothing can happen but by the divine appointment; and that it is man's greateſt intereſt to know this ſupreme will, in order to conform his actions to it.

This religious principle of dependence on, and veneration of, the Supreme Being is natural to man: 'tis for ever imprinted deep in his heart; he is reminded of it, by the inward ſenſe of his extreme indigence, and by all the objects which ſurround him; and it may be affirm'd, that this perpetual recourſe to the Deity, is one of the principal foundations of religion, and the ſtrongeſt band by which man is united to his Creator.

Thoſe who were ſo happy as to know the true God, and were choſen to be his peculiar people, never fail'd to addreſs him in all their wants and doubts, in order to obtain his ſuccour, and the manifeſtation of his will. He accordingly was ſo gracious as to reveal himſelf to them; to conduct them by apparitions, dreams, oracles, and prophecies; and to protect them by miracles of the moſt aſtoniſhing kind.

But

But thoſe who were ſo blind as to ſubſtitute falſhood in the place of truth, directed themſelves, for the like aid, to fictitious and deceitful deities, who were not able to anſwer their expectations; nor recompenſe the homage that mortals paid them, any otherwiſe than by error and illuſion, and a fraudulent imitation of the conduct of the true God.

Hence aroſe the vain obſervation of dreams, which, from a ſuperſtitious credulity, they miſtook for ſalutary warnings from heaven; thoſe obſcure and equivocal anſwers of oracles, beneath whoſe veil the ſpirits of darkneſs conceal'd their ignorance; and, by a ſtudied ambiguity, reſerv'd to themſelves an evaſion or ſubterfuge, whatever might be the iſſue of the event. To this are owing thoſe prognoſticks, with regard to futurity, which men fancied they ſhould find in the entrails of beaſts, in the flight and ſinging of birds, in the aſpect of the planets, in fortuitous accidents, and in the caprice of chance; thoſe dreadful prodigies that fill'd a whole nation with terror; and which, as was believed, nothing could expiate but mournful ceremonies, and even ſometimes the effuſion of human blood: In fine, thoſe black inventions of magic; thoſe deluſions, inchantments, ſorceries, invocations of ghoſts, and many other kinds of divination.

All I have here related was a receiv'd uſage, obſerved by the heathen nations in general; and this uſage was founded on the principles of that religion of which I have given a ſhort account. We have a ſignal proof of this in the Cyropedia †, where Cambyſes the father of Cyrus, gives that young prince ſuch noble inſtructions; inſtructions admirably well adapted to form the great captain, and great prince. He exhorts him, above all things, to pay the higheſt reverence to the gods; and not to undertake any enterprize, whether important or inconſiderable, without

† *Xenophon in Cyrop.* l. 1. p. 25 & 27.

firſt

firſt calling upon, and conſulting them; he enjoins him to honour prieſts and augurs, as being their miniſters, and the interpreters of their will; but yet not to truſt or abandon himſelf implicitly and blindly to them, till he has firſt learnt every thing relating to the ſcience of divination, of auguries and auſpices. The reaſon he gives for the ſubordination and dependence in which kings ought to live with regard to the gods, and the neceſſity they are under of conſulting them in all things, is this; how clear-ſighted ſoever mankind may be in the ordinary courſe of affairs, their views are always very narrow and bounded with regard to futurity; whereas the deity, at a ſingle glance, takes in all ages and events. *As the gods*, ſays Cambyſes to his ſon, *are eternal, they know equally all things, paſt, preſent and to come. With regard to the mortals who addreſs them, they give ſalutary counſels to thoſe whom they are pleaſed to favour, that they may not be ignorant of what things they ought, or ought not to undertake. If 'tis obſerved, that the deities do not give the like counſels to all men, we are not to wonder at it, ſince no neceſſity obliges them to attend to the welfare of thoſe perſons, on whom they do not vouchſafe to confer their favour.*

Such was the doctrine of the moſt learned and moſt enlightened nations, with reſpect to the different kinds of divination; and 'tis no wonder that the authors who wrote the hiſtory of thoſe nations, thought it incumbent on them to give an exact detail of ſuch particulars as conſtituted part of their religion and worſhip; and was frequently in a manner the ſoul of their deliberations, and the ſtandard of their conduct. I therefore was of opinion, for the ſame reaſon, that it would not be proper for me, to omit entirely, in the enſuing hiſtory, what relates to this ſubject, though I have however retrenched a great part of it.

I intend to annex at the end of this work, a chronological abridgment of the ſeveral tranſactions and events it treats, with a compleat index.

Archbiſhop

Archbiſhop Uſher is my uſual guide in chronology. In the hiſtory of the Carthaginians I commonly ſet down four æras: the year from the creation of the world, which, for brevity ſake, I mark thus, A. M. thoſe of the foundation of Carthage and Rome; and laſtly, the year that precedes the birth of our Saviour, which I ſuppoſe to be the 4004th of the world, wherein I follow Uſher and others, though they ſuppoſe it to be four years earlier.

THE

THE ANTIENT

HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS, CARTHAGINIANS, ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS, MEDES, PERSIANS, MACEDONIANS and GRECIANS.

INTRODUCTION.

The origin and progress of the establishment of kingdoms.

TO know in what manner the states and kingdoms were founded, that have divided the universe; the steps whereby they rose to that pitch of grandeur related in history; by what ties families and cities united, in order to constitute one body or society, and to live together under the same laws and a common authority: it will be necessary to trace things back, in a manner, to the infancy of the world; and to those ages in which mankind, being dispersed into different regions, (after the confusion of tongues) began to people the earth.

In

INTRODUCTION.

In theſe early ages every father was the ſupreme head of his family; the arbiter and judge of whatever conteſts and diviſions might ariſe within it; the natural legiſlator over his little ſociety; the defender and protector of thoſe, who, by their birth, education and weakneſs, were under his protection and ſafeguard; and of whom he was ſo extremely tender, that he was as careful of their intereſt as his own.

But although theſe maſters enjoyed an independent authority, they made a mild and paternal uſe of it. So far from being jealous of their power, they neither govern'd with haughtineſs, nor decided with tyranny. As they were obliged by neceſſity to aſſociate their family in their domeſtic labours, they alſo ſummoned them together, and aſked their opinion in matters of importance. In this manner all affairs were tranſacted in concert, and for the common good.

The laws which the paternal viligance eſtabliſhed in this little domeſtic ſenate, being dictated in no other view, but to promote the general welfare; concerted with ſuch children as were come to years of maturity, and accepted by the inferiors, with a full and free conſent; were religiouſly kept and preſerved in families as an hereditary polity, to which they owed their peace and ſecurity.

But different motives gave riſe to different laws. One man, overjoy'd at the birth of a firſt-born ſon, reſolved to diſtinguiſh him from his future children, by beſtowing on him a more conſiderable ſhare of his poſſeſſions, and giving him a greater authority in his family. Another, more attentive to the intereſt of a beloved wife, or darling daughter, whom he wanted to ſettle in the world; thought it incumbent on him to ſecure their rights, and increaſe their advantages. The ſolitary and chearleſs ſtate to which a wife would be reduced, in caſe ſhe ſhould become a widow, affected more intimately another man; and made him

provide,

provide, beforehand, for the ſubſiſtence and comfort of a woman who form'd his felicity. From theſe different views, and others of the like nature, aroſe the different cuſtoms of nations, as well as their rights, which are infinitely various.

In proportion as every family increaſed, by the birth of children and their marrying into other families, they extended their little domain; and form'd, by inſenſible degrees, towns and cities.

Theſe ſocieties growing, in proceſs of time, very numerous; and the families being divided into various branches, each of which had its head, whoſe different intereſts and characters might interrupt the general tranquillity; it was neceſſary to entruſt one perſon with the government of the whole; in order to unite all theſe chiefs or heads under a ſingle authority, and to maintain the publick peace by an uniform adminiſtration. The idea which men ſtill retained of the paternal government, and the happy effects they had experienced from it, prompted them to chuſe from among their wiſeſt and moſt virtuous men, him in whom they had obſerved the tendereſt and moſt fatherly diſpoſition. Neither ambition or cabal had the leaſt ſhare in this choice; probity alone, and the reputation of virtue and equity, decided on theſe occaſions, and gave the preference to the moſt worthy *.

To heighten the luſtre of their newly acquired dignity, and enable them the better to put the laws in execution, as well as to devote themſelves entirely to the publick good; to defend the ſtate againſt the invaſions of their neighbours, and the factions of diſcontented citizens, the title of king was beſtowed upon them; a throne was erected and a ſcepter put into their hands; homage was paid them, officers were aſſigned, and guards appointed for the ſecurity of their perſons; tributes were granted; they were inveſted

* Quos ad faſtigium hujus majeſtatis non ambitio popularis, ſed ſpectata inter bonos moderatio provehebat. *Juſtin.* l. 1. c. 1.

with

with full powers to adminiſter juſtice, and for this purpoſe were arm'd with a ſword, in order to reſtrain injuſtice, and puniſh crimes †.

At firſt, every city had its particular king, who, being more ſollicitous of preſerving his dominion than of enlarging it, confin'd his ambition within the limits of his native country. But the almoſt unavoidable feuds which break out between neighbours; the jealouſy againſt a more powerful king; the turbulent and reſtleſs ſpirit of a prince; his martial diſpoſition, or thirſt of aggrandizing himſelf and diſplaying his abilities; gave riſe to wars which frequently ended in the entire ſubjection of the vanquiſhed, whoſe cities were by that means poſſeſſed by the victor, and increaſed inſenſibly his dominions. * Thus, a firſt victory paving the way to a ſecond, and, making a prince more powerful and enterprizing, ſeveral cities and provinces were united under one monarch; and form'd kingdoms of a greater or leſs extent, according to the more or leſs ardour with which the victor had puſhed his conqueſts.

The ambition of ſome of theſe princes being too vaſt to confine itſelf within a ſingle kingdom, it broke over all bounds, and ſpread univerſally like a torrent, or the ocean; ſwallowed up kingdoms and nations; and gloried in depriving princes of their dominions, who had not done them the leaſt injury; in carrying fire and ſword into the moſt remote countries, and in leaving, every where, bloody traces of their progreſs! Such was the origin of thoſe famous empires which included a great part of the world.

Princes made a various uſe of victory, according to the diverſity of their diſpoſitions or intereſts. Some,

† Fines imperii tueri magis quàm proferre mos erat. Intra ſuam cuique patriam regna finiebantur. *Juſtin. ibid.*

* Domitis proximis, cùm acceſſione virium fortior ad alios tranſiret, & proxima quæque victoria inſtrumentum ſequentis eſſet, totius orientis populos ſubegit. *Juſtin. ibid.*

conſidering themſelves as abſolute maſters of the conquered; and imagining they were ſufficiently indulgent, in ſparing their lives; bereaved them, as well as their children, of their poſſeſſions, their country, and their liberty; ſubjected them to a moſt ſevere captivity; employed them in thoſe arts which are neceſſary for the ſupport of life, in the loweſt and moſt ſervile offices of the houſe, in the painful toils of the field; and frequently forc'd them, by the moſt inhuman treatment, to dig in mines, and ranſack the bowels of the earth, merely to ſatiate their avarice; and hence mankind were divided into freemen and ſlaves, maſters and bondmen.

Others introduced the cuſtom of tranſporting whole nations into new countries; where they ſettled them, and gave them lands to cultivate,

Other princes, again, of more gentle diſpoſitions, contented themſelves with only obliging the vanquiſhed nations to purchaſe their liberties, and the enjoyment of their lives and privileges, by annual tributes laid on them for that purpoſe; and ſometimes, they would ſuffer kings to ſit peaceably on their thrones, upon condition of their paying them ſome kind of homage.

But ſuch of theſe monarchs as were the wiſeſt and ableſt politicians, thought it glorious to eſtabliſh a kind of equality betwixt the nations newly conquer'd, and their other ſubjects; granting the former almoſt all the rights and privileges which the others enjoy'd: and by this means a great number of nations that were ſpread over different and far diſtant countries, conſtituted, in ſome meaſure, but one city, at leaſt but one people.

Thus I have given a general and conciſe idea of mankind, from the earlieſt monuments which hiſtory has preſerved on this ſubject, the particulars whereof I ſhall endeavour to relate, in treating of each empire and nation. I ſhall not touch upon the hiſtory of the

Jews, or that of the Romans. The Egyptians, Carthaginians, Aſſyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Perſians, Macedonians and Grecians, will form the ſubject of the work, of which this is the firſt volume. I begin with the Egyptians and Carthaginians, becauſe the former are of very great antiquity, and as the hiſtory of both is leſs blended with that of other nations; whereas thoſe of other ſtates are more interwoven, and ſometimes ſucceed one another.

BOOK

BOOK I.

THE ANTIENT

HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS.

I SHALL divide what I have to ſay upon the Egyptians into three parts. The firſt contains a conciſe deſcription of the different parts of Egypt, and of what is moſt remarkable in it. In the ſecond I treat of the cuſtoms, laws and religion of the Egyptians; and in the third, I give the hiſtory of their kings.

PART

PART THE FIRST.

THE DESCRIPTION OF EGYPT:

WITH AN

ACCOUNT *of whatever is moſt curious and remarkable in that country.*

EGYPT comprehended antiently, within limits of no very great extent, a * prodigious number of cities, and an incredible multitude of inhabitants.

It is bounded on the eaſt by the Red-Sea and the Iſthmus of Suez; on the ſouth by Ethiopia, on the weſt by Libya, and on the north by the Mediterranean. The Nile runs from ſouth to north, thro' the whole country, about two hundred leagues in length. This country is incloſed on each ſide with a ridge of mountains, which very often leave, between the foot of the hills and the river Nile, a tract of ground of not above half a day's journey in length †, and ſometimes leſs.

On the weſt ſide, the plain grows wider in ſome places, and extends to twenty-five or thirty leagues. The

* *'Tis related that under Amaſis, there were twenty thouſand inhabited cities in Egypt.* Her. l. 2. c. 177.

† *A day's journey is* 24 *eaſtern, or* 33 *Engliſh miles and a quarter.*

greateſt breadth of Egypt is from Alexandria to Damiata, being about fifty leagues.

Ancient Egypt may be divided into three principal parts; Upper Egypt, otherwiſe call'd Thebais, which was the moſt ſouthern part; Middle Egypt, or Heptanomis, ſo call'd from the ſeven Nomi or diſtricts it contain'd; Lower Egypt, which included what the Greeks call Delta, and all the country as far as the Red-Sea, and along the Mediterranean to Rhinocolura, or Mount Caſius. (*a*) Under Seſoſtris, all Egypt became one kingdom, and was divided into thirty-ſix governments or Nomi; ten in Thebais, ten in Delta, and ſixteen in the country between both.

The cities of Syene and Elephantina divided Egypt from Ethiopia; and in the days of Auguſtus were the boundaries of the Roman empire: *Clauſtra olim Romani Imperii*, Tacit. Annal. Lib. 2. Cap. 61.

CHAP. I.

THEBAIS.

THEBES, from whence Thebais had its name, might vie with the nobleſt cities in the univerſe. Its hundred gates, celebrated by Homer, (*b*) are univerſally known; and acquir'd it the ſurname of Hecatonpylos, to diſtinguiſh it from the other Thebes in Bœotia. (*c*) It was equally large and populous; and, according to hiſtory, could ſend out at once two hundred chariots, and ten thouſand fighting-men at each of its gates. (*d*) The Greeks and Romans have celebrated its magnificence and grandeur, though they ſaw it only in its ruins; ſo auguſt were the remains of this city.

(*e*) In Thebes, now call'd Sayd, have been diſcover'd temples and palaces which are ſtill almoſt entire, adorned with innumerable columns and ſtatues. One palace eſpecially is admir'd, the remains whereof ſeem

(*a*) Strabo, l. 17. p. 787. (*b*) Hom. Il. 1. v. 381. (*c*) Strab. l. 17. p. 816. (*d*) Tacit. Ann. l. 2. c. 60. (*e*) Theyenot's travels.

to

to have existed purely to eclipse the glory of the most pompous edifices. Four walks extending farther than the eye can see, and bounded on each side with sphinxes, composed of materials as rare and extraordinary as their size is remarkable, serve for avenues to four porticos, whose height is amazing to behold. Besides, they who give us the description of this wonderful edifice, had not time to go round it; and are not sure that they saw above half: however, what they had a sight of was astonishing. A hall, which in all appearance stood in the middle of this stately palace, was supported by an hundred and twenty pillars six fathoms round, of a proportionable height and intermix'd with obelisks, which so many ages have not been able to demolish. Painting had display'd all her art and magnificence in this edifice. The colours themselves, which soonest feel the injury of time, still remain amidst the ruins of this wonderful structure, and preserve their beauty and lustre; so happily could the Egyptians imprint a character of immortality on all their works. (*f*) Strabo, who was on the spot, describes a temple he saw in Egypt, very much resembling that of which I have been speaking.

The same (*g*) author, describing the curiosities of Thebais, speaks of a very famous statue of Memnon, the remains whereof he had seen. 'Tis said that this statue, when the beams of the rising sun first shone upon it in the morning, utter'd an articulate sound *. And indeed Strabo himself was an ear-witness of this; but then he doubts whether the sound came from the statue.

CHAP. II.

MIDDLE EGYPT or *HEPTANOMIS.*

MEMPHIS was the capital of this part of Egypt. Here were many stately temples, especially

(*f*) Lib. 17. p. 805. (*g*) p. 816.

* Germanicus aliis quoque miraculis intendit animum, quorum præcipua fuere Memnonis saxea effigies, ubi radiis solis icta est, vocalem sonum reddens, &c. *Tacit. Ann. l. 2. c. 61*

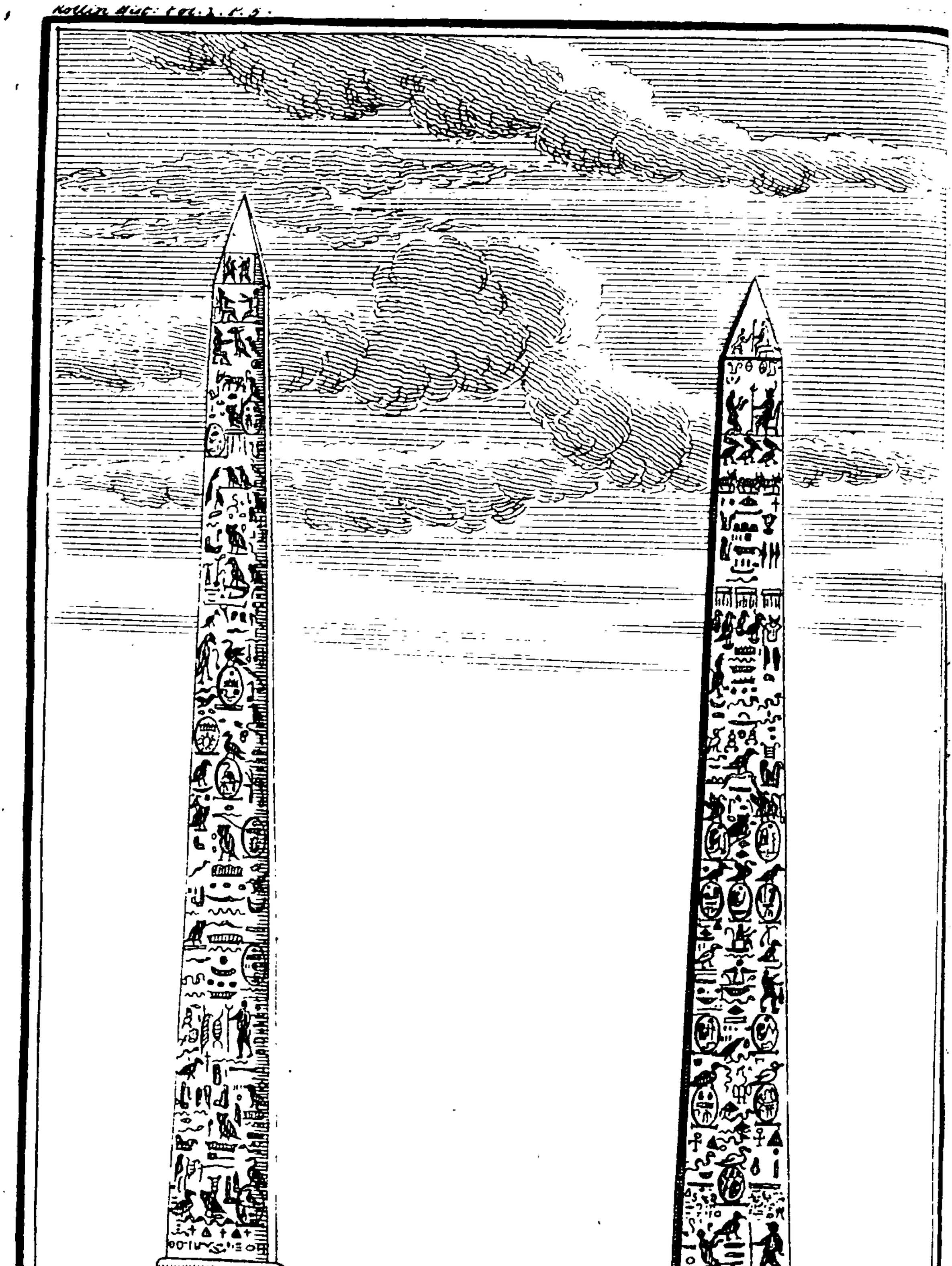
that of the God Apis, who was honour'd in this city after a particular manner. I ſhall ſpeak of it hereafter, as well as of the pyramids which ſtood in the neighbourhood of this place, and render'd it ſo famous. Memphis was ſituated on the weſt ſide of the Nile.

(*b*) Grand Cairo, which ſeems to have ſucceeded Memphis, was built on the other ſide of that river. The caſtle of Cairo is one of the greateſt curioſities in Egypt. It ſtands on a hill without the city, has a rock for its foundation, and is ſurrounded with walls of a vaſt height and ſolidity. You go up to the caſtle by a way hewn out of the rock, and which is ſo eaſy of aſcent, that loaded horſes and camels get up without difficulty. The greateſt rarity in this caſtle is Joſeph's well, ſo call'd, either becauſe the Egyptians are pleaſed with aſcribing their moſt remarkable particulars to that great man, or becauſe there is really ſuch a tradition in the country. This is a proof at leaſt, that the work in queſtion is very ancient; and 'tis certainly worthy the magnificence of the moſt powerful kings of Egypt. This well has, as it were, two ſtories, cut out of the rock to a prodigious depth. One deſcends to the reſervoir of water, between the two wells, by a ſtair-caſe ſeven or eight foot broad, conſiſting of two hundred and twenty ſteps, and ſo contrived, that the oxen employ'd to throw up the water go down with all imaginable eaſe, the deſcent being ſcarce perceptible. The well is ſupplied from a ſpring, which is almoſt the only one in the whole country. The oxen are continually turning a wheel with a rope, to which buckets are faſtened. The water thus drawn from the firſt and lowermoſt well, is convey'd by a little canal, into a reſervoir, which forms the ſecond well; from whence it is drawn to the top in the ſame manner, and then convey'd by pipes to all parts of the caſtle. As this well is ſuppoſed by the inhabitants of the country to be of great antiquity, and has indeed much of the antique manner of the Egyptians, I thought it might deſerve a place among the curioſities of Ancient Egypt.

(*b*) Thevenot.

Strabo

Rollin Hist: Vol. 2. p. 2.



Egyptian Obelisks now at Rome

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(*i*) Strabo ſpeaks of ſuch an engine, which, by wheels and pullies, threw up the water of the Nile to the top of a vaſt high hill; with this difference, that, inſtead of oxen, an hundred and fifty ſlaves were employed to turn theſe wheels.

The part of Egypt of which we ſpeak, is famous for ſeveral rarities, each of which deſerves a particular examination. I ſhall relate only the principal, ſuch as the obelisks, the pyramids, the labyrinth, the lake of Mœris, and the Nile.

SECT. I. *The OBELISKS.*

EGYPT ſeemed to place its chief glory in raiſing monuments for poſterity. Its obelisks form at this day, on account of their beauty as well as height, the principal ornament of Rome; and the Roman power, deſpairing to equal the Egyptians, thought it honour enough to borrow the monuments of their kings.

An obelisk is a quadrangular, taper, high ſpire or pyramid, raiſed perpendicularly and terminating in a point, to ſerve as an ornament to ſome open ſquare; and is very often covered with inſcriptions or hieroglyphicks, that is, with myſtical characters or ſymbols, uſed by the Egyptians to conceal and diſguiſe their ſacred things, and the myſteries of their theology.

(*k*) Seſoſtris erected in the city of Heliopolis two obeliſks of extreme hard ſtone, brought from the quarries of Syene, at the extremity of Egypt. They were each one hundred and twenty cubits high, that is, thirty fathoms, or one hundred and eighty foot*. The emperor Auguſtus, having made Egypt a province of the empire, cauſed theſe two obeliſks to be tranſported to Rome, one whereof was afterwards broke to pieces. (*l*) He durſt not venture upon a third, which was of a

(*i*) L. 17. p. 807. (*k*) Diod. l. 1. p. 37. (*l*) Plin. l. 36. c. 8, 9.

* *It is proper to obſerve, once for all, that an Egyptian cubit, according to Mr. Greaves, was* 1 *foot* 9 *inches and about* $\frac{3}{4}$ *of our meaſure.*

monſtrous ſize. It was made in the reign of Ramiſes: 'Tis ſaid that twenty thouſand men were employed in the cutting of it. Conſtantius, more daring than Auguſtus, ordered it to be removed to Rome. Two of theſe obeliſks are ſtill ſeen, as well as another of an hundred cubits or twenty-five fathoms high, and eight cubits or two fathoms in diameter. (*m*) Caius Cæſar had it brought from Egypt in a ſhip of ſo odd a form, that, according to Pliny, the like had never been ſeen.

Every part of Egypt abounded with this kind of obeliſks; they were for the moſt part cut in the quarries of Upper Egypt, where ſome are now to be ſeen half finiſhed. But the moſt wonderful circumſtance is, that the ancient Egyptians ſhould have had the art and contrivance to dig even in the very quarry a canal, through which the water of the Nile ran in the time of its inundation; from whence they afterwards raiſed up the columns, obeliſks and ſtatues on * raſts, proportioned to their weight, in order to convey them into Lower Egypt. And as the country abounded every where with canals, there were few places to which thoſe huge bodies might not be carried with eaſe; although their weight would have broke every other kind of engine.

SECT. II. *The PYRAMIDS.*

(*n*) A Pyramid is a ſolid or hollow body, having a large, and generally a ſquare baſe, and terminating in a point.

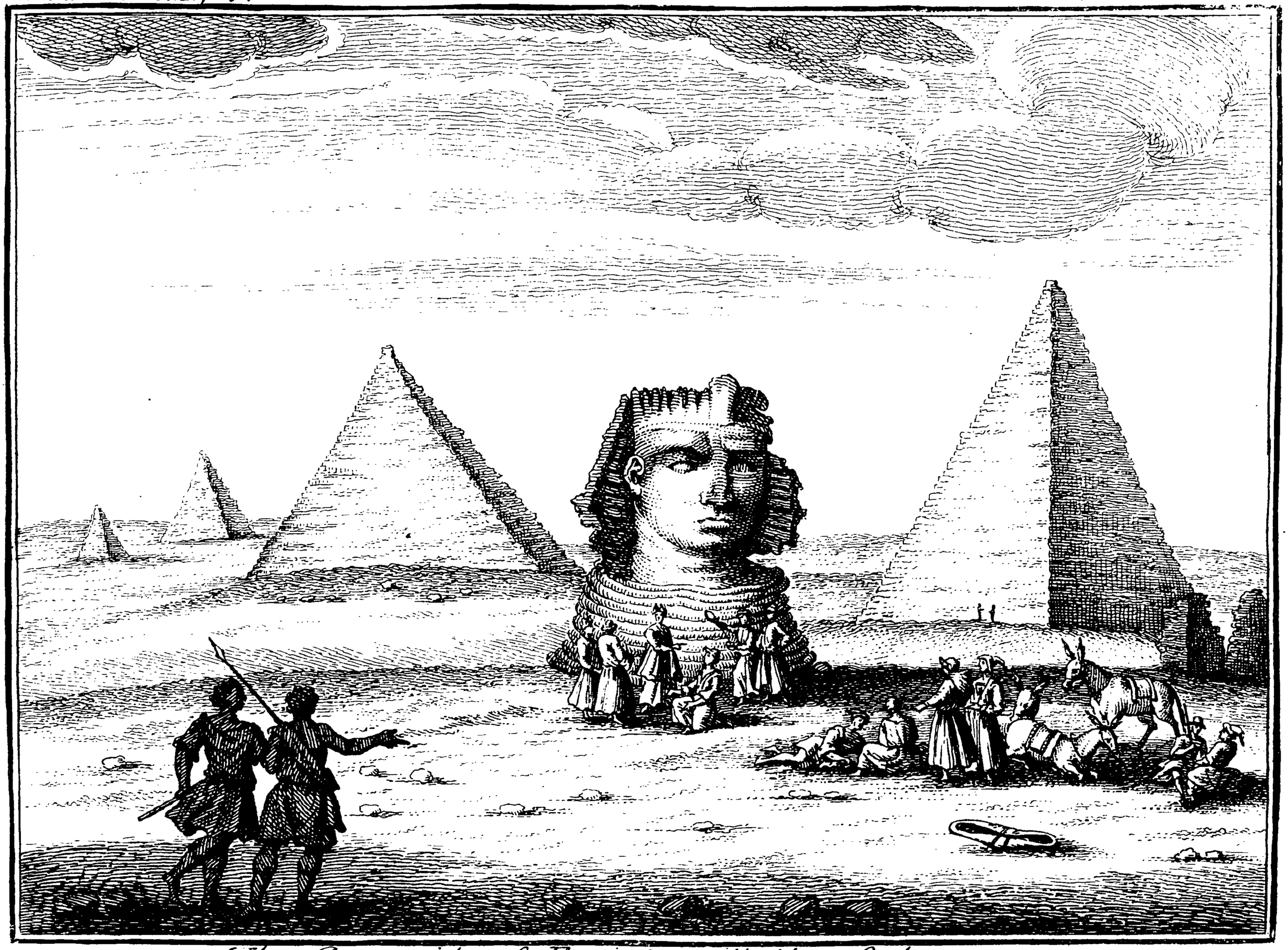
There were three pyramids in Egypt more famous than the reſt, one whereof † deſerv'd to be rank'd among the ſeven wonders of the world; they did not ſtand very far from the city of Memphis. I ſhall take notice here only of the largeſt of the three. This pyramid, like the reſt, was built on a rock, having a ſquare

(*m*) Plin. l. 36. c. 9. (*n*) Herod. l. 2. c. 124, &c. Diod. l. 1. p. 39--41. Plin. lib. 36. c. 12.

* *Raſts are pieces of flat timber put together, to carry goods on rivers.*

† Vide Diod. Sic.

baſe,



The Pyramids of Egypt, and the Sphynx.

Publish'd Oct.r 16. 1738. by J. & P. Knapton.

baſe, cut on the outſide as ſo many ſteps, and decreaſing gradually quite to the ſummit. It was built with ſtones of a prodigious ſize, the leaſt of which were thirty foot, wrought with wonderful art, and covered with hieroglyphicks. According to ſeveral ancient authors, each ſide was eight hundred foot broad, and as many high. The ſummit of the pyramid, which to thoſe who viewed it from below ſeemed a point, was a fine platform compoſed of ten or twelve maſſy ſtones, and each ſide of that platform ſixteen or eighteen foot long.

M. de Chazelles, of the academy of ſciences, who went purpoſely on the ſpot in 1693, gives us the following dimenſions:

The ſide of the ſquare baſe	110 fathoms.
The fronts are equilateral triangles, and therefore the ſuperficies of the baſe is	12100 ſquare fathoms.
The perpendicular height	$77\frac{3}{4}$ fathoms.
The ſolid contents	313590 cubical fathoms.

An hundred thouſand men were conſtantly employed about this work, and were relieved every three months by the ſame number. Ten compleat years were ſpent in hewing out the ſtones, either in Arabia or Ethiopia, and in conveying them to Egypt; and twenty years more in building this immenſe edifice, the inſide of which contained numberleſs rooms and apartments. There was expreſſed on the pyramid, in Egyptian characters, the ſums it coſt only in garlick, leeks, onions and the like for the workmen; and the whole amounted to ſixteen hundred * talents of ſilver, that is, four millions five hundred thouſand French livres; from whence it was eaſy to conjecture what a vaſt ſum the whole muſt have amounted to.

Such were the famous Egyptian pyramids, which by their figure, as well as ſize, have triumphed over the injuries of time and the Barbarians. But what efforts ſoever men may make, their nothingneſs will

* *About* 220000 *l. ſterling.*

always appear. Theſe pyramids were tombs; and there is ſtill to be ſeen, in the middle of the largeſt, an empty ſepulchre, cut out of one entire ſtone, about three foot deep and broad, and a little above ſix foot long *. Thus all this buſtle, all this expence, and all the labours of ſo many thouſand men, ended in procuring a prince, in this vaſt and almoſt boundleſs pile of building, a little vault ſix foot in length. Beſides, the kings who built theſe pyramids, had it not in their power to be buried in them; and ſo did not enjoy the ſepulchre they had built. The public hatred which they incurred, by reaſon of their unheard-of cruelties to their ſubjects, in laying ſuch heavy taſks upon them, occaſioned their being interred in ſome obſcure place, to prevent their bodies from being expoſed to the fury and vengeance of the populace.

(*o*) This laſt circumſtance, which hiſtorians have taken particular notice of, teaches us what judgment we ought to paſs on theſe edifices, ſo much boaſted of by the ancients. It is but juſt to remark and eſteem the noble genius which the Egyptians had for architecture; a genius that prompted them from the earlieſt times, and before they could have any models to imitate, to aim in all things at the grand and magnificent; and to be intent on real beauties, without deviating in the leaſt from a noble ſimplicity, in which the higheſt perfection of the art conſiſts. But what idea ought we to form of thoſe princes, who conſidered as ſomething grand, the raiſing by a multitude of hands, and by the help of money, immenſe ſtructures, with the ſole view of rendering their names immortal; and who did not ſcruple to deſtroy thouſands of their ſubjects to ſatisfy their vain-glory! They differed very much from the Romans, who ſought to immortalize themſelves by works of a magnificent kind, but at the ſame time of public utility.

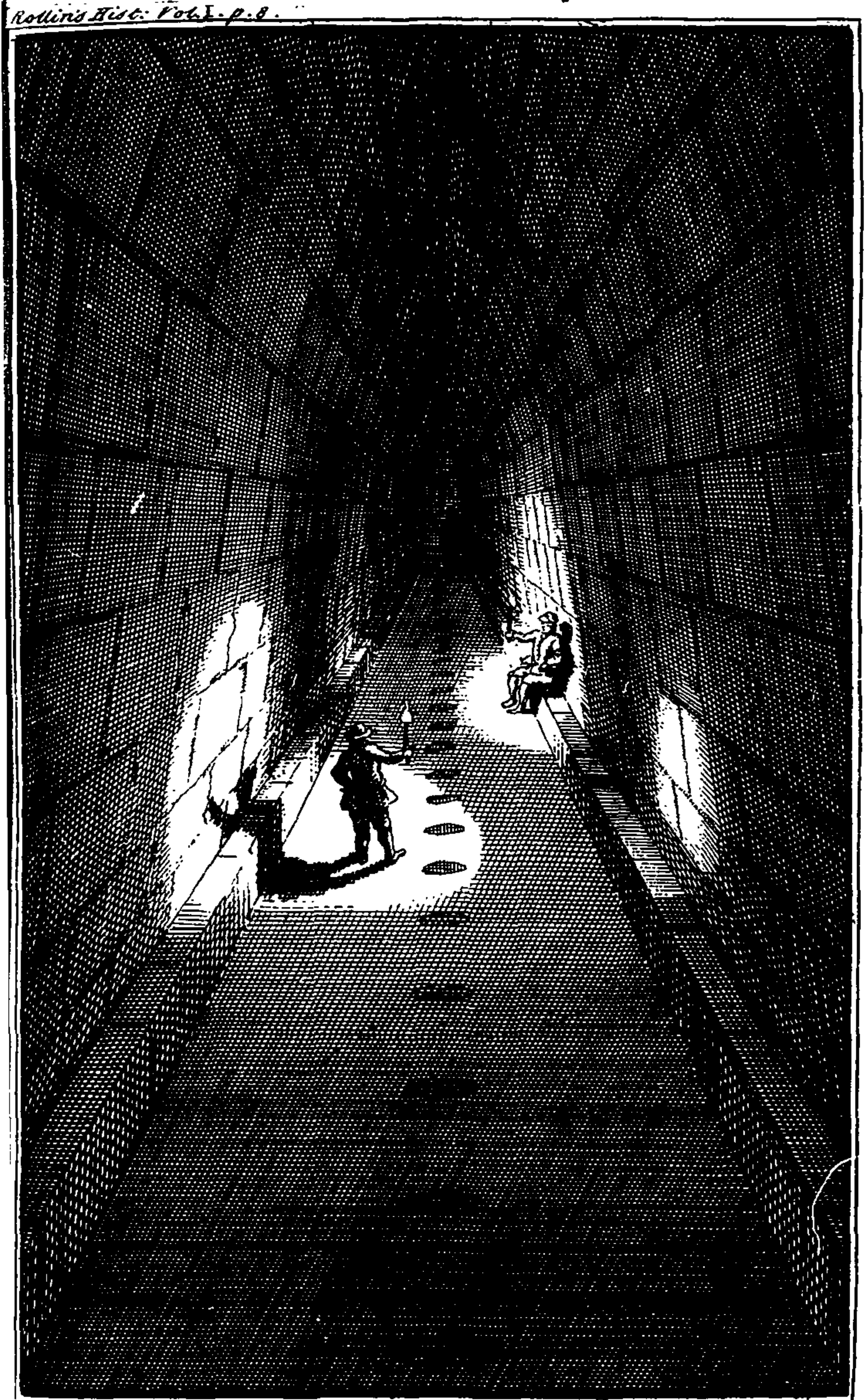
(*p*) Pliny gives us, in few words, a juſt idea of theſe

(*o*) Diod. l. 1. p. 40. (*p*) Lib. 36. cap. 12.

* *Strabo mentions the ſepulchre*, Lib. 17. p. 808.

pyramids,

Rollin's Hist: Vol. I. p. 8.



The Inside of the great Pyramid

Publish'd 0. t.' 16 1738. by J. & P. Knapton.

pyramids, when he calls them a fooliſh and uſeleſs oſtentation of the wealth of the Egyptian kings; *Regum pecuniæ otioſa ac ſtulta oſtentatio.* And adds, that by a juſt puniſhment their memory is buried in oblivion; the hiſtorians not agreeing among themſelves about the names of thoſe who firſt raiſed thoſe vain monuments. *Inter eos non conſtat à quibus factæ ſint, juſtiſſimo caſu obliteratis tantæ vanitatis auctoribus.* In a word, according to the judicious remark of Diodorus, the induſtry of the architects of thoſe pyramids is no leſs valuable and praiſe-worthy, than the deſign of the Egyptian kings contemptible and ridiculous.

But what we ſhould moſt admire in theſe ancient monuments, is, the true and ſtanding evidence they give of the ſkill of the Egyptians in aſtronomy; that is, in a ſcience which ſeems incapable of being brought to perfection, but by a long ſeries of years, and a great number of obſervations. M. de Chazelles, when he meaſur'd the great pyramid in queſtion, found that the four ſides of it were turned exactly to the four quarters of the world; and conſequently ſhewed the true meridian of that place. Now, as ſo exact a ſituation was in all probability purpoſely pitch'd upon by thoſe who pil'd up this huge maſs of ſtones, above three thouſand years ago; it follows, that during ſo long a ſpace of time, there has been no alteration in the heavens in that reſpect, or (which amounts to the ſame thing) in the poles of the earth or the meridians. This is M. de Fontenelle's remark in his elogium of M. de Chazelles.

SECT. III. *The LABYRINTH.*

(q) WHAT has been ſaid concerning the judgment we ought to form of the pyramids, may alſo be applied to the labyrinth, which Herodotus, who ſaw it, aſſures us was ſtill more ſurprizing than the pyramids. It was built at the moſt ſouthern part of the lake of Mœris, whereof mention will be made preſent-

(q) Herod. l. 2. c. 148. Diod. l. 1. p. 42. Plin. l. 36. c. 13. Strab. l. 17. p. 811.

ly, near the town of Crocodiles, the ſame with Arſinoe. It was not ſo much one ſingle palace, as a magnificent pile compoſed of twelve palaces, regularly diſpoſed, which had a communication with each other. Fifteen hundred rooms, interſperſed with terraſſes, were ranged round twelve halls, and diſcover'd no outlet to ſuch as went to ſee them. There were the like number of buildings under ground. Theſe ſubterraneous ſtructures were deſigned for the burying-place of the kings, and (who can ſpeak this without confuſion and without deploring the blindneſs of man!) for keeping the ſacred crocodiles, which a nation, ſo wiſe in other reſpects, worſhipped as Gods.

In order to viſit the rooms and halls of the labyrinth, 'twas neceſſary, as the reader will naturally ſuppoſe, for people to take the ſame precaution as Ariadne made Theſeus uſe, when he was obliged to go and fight the Minotaur in the labyrinth of Crete. Virgil deſcribes it in this manner.

And as the Cretan labyrinth of old,
With wandring ways, and many a winding fold,
Involv'd the weary feet without redreſs,
In a round error, which deny'd receſs:
Not far from thence he grav'd the wond'rous maze;
A thouſand doors, a thouſand winding ways.

(r) Ut quondam Creta fertur labyrinthus in alta
Parietibus textum cæcis iter anceps itemque
Mille viis habuiſſe dolum, qua ſigna ſequendi
Falleret indeprenſus & irremeabilis error.
(s) Hic labor, ille domus & inextricabilis error.
Dædalus ipſe dolos tecti ambageſque reſolvit,
Cæca regens filo veſtigia.

SECT. IV. *The Lake of MOERIS.*

(t) THE nobleſt and moſt wonderful of all the ſtructures or works of the kings of Egypt, was the lake of Mœris: accordingly, Herodotus conſiders

(r) Virg. l. 5. v. 588, &c. (s) l. 6. v. 27, &c. (t) Herod. l. 2. c. 140. Strab. l. 17. p. 787. Died. l. 1. p. 47. Plin. l. 5. c. 9. Pomp. Mela, l. 1.

it

it as vaſtly ſuperior to the pyramids and labyrinth. As Egypt was more or leſs fruitful in proportion to the inundations of the Nile; and as in theſe floods, the too general flow or ebb of the waters were equally fatal to the lands; king Mœris, to prevent theſe two inconveniences, and correct, as far as lay in his power, the irregularities of the Nile, thought proper to call art to the aſſiſtance of nature; and ſo cauſed the lake to be dug, which afterwards went by his name. This * lake was about three thouſand ſix hundred ſtadia, that is, about one hundred and eighty French leagues; and three hundred foot deep. Two pyramids, on each of which ſtood a coloſſal ſtatue, ſeated on a throne, raiſed their heads to the height of three hundred foot, in the midſt of the lake, whilſt their foundations took up the ſame ſpace under the water; a proof that they were erected before the cavity was filled, and a demonſtration that a lake of ſuch vaſt extent was the work of man's hands, in one prince's reign. This is what ſeveral hiſtorians have related concerning the lake Mœris, on the teſtimony of the inhabitants of the country. And the biſhop of Meaux, in his diſcourſe on univerſal hiſtory, relates the whole as fact. With regard to myſelf, I will confeſs, that I don't ſee the leaſt probability in it. Is it poſſible to conceive, that a lake of an hundred and eighty leagues in circumference, could have been dug in the reign of one prince? In what manner, and where, could the earth taken from it be convey'd? What ſhould prompt the Egyptians to loſe the ſurface of ſo much land? By what arts could they fill this vaſt tract with the ſuperfluous waters of the Nile? Many other objections might be made. In my opinion therefore, we ought to follow Pomponius Mela, an ancient geographer; eſpecially as his account is confirm'd by ſeveral modern travellers. According to that author, this lake is but twenty thouſand paces, that is, ſeven or eight French leagues, in circumfe-

* Vide Herod. and Diod. *Pliny agrees alſo with them.*

rence.

rence. (*u*) *Mœris, aliquando campus, nunc lacus, viginti millia paſſuum in circuitu patens.*

This lake had a communication with the Nile, by a great canal, four leagues long *, and fifty foot broad. Great ſluices either opened or ſhut the canal and lake, as there was occaſion.

The charge of opening or ſhutting them amounted to fifty talents, that is, fifty thouſand French crowns ‖. The fiſhing of this lake brought the monarch immenſe ſums; but its chief uſe related to the overflowing of the Nile. When it roſe too high, and was like to be attended with fatal conſequences, the ſluices were opened; and the waters, having a free paſſage into the lake, cover'd the lands no longer than was neceſſary to enrich them. On the contrary, when the inundation was too low, and threaten'd a famine; a ſufficient quantity of water, by the help of drains, was let out of the lake, to water the lands. In this manner the irregularities of the Nile were corrected; and Strabo remarks, that in his time, under Petronius a governor of Egypt, when the inundation of the Nile was twelve cubits, a very great plenty enſued; and even when it roſe but to eight cubits, the dearth was ſcarce felt in the country; doubtleſs, becauſe the waters of the lake made up for thoſe of the inundation, by the help of canals and drains.

SECT. V. *The Inundations of the NILE.*

THE Nile is the greateſt wonder of Egypt. As it ſeldom rains there, this river, which waters the whole country by its regular inundations, ſupplies that defect, by bringing, as a yearly tribute, the rains of other countries; which made a poet ſay ingeniouſly, *The Egyptian paſtures, how great ſoever the drought may be, never implore Jupiter for rain.*

Te propter nullos tellus tua poſtulat imbres,
Arida nec pluvio ſupplicat herba Jovi. †

(*u*) Mela, l. 1.
* *Eighty-five* ſtadia.
† Seneca (Nat. Quæſt. l. 4. c. 2.)
‖ 11250*l. ſterling.*
aſcribes theſe verſes to Ovid, *but they are* Tibullus's.

To multiply ſo beneficent a river, Egypt was cut into numberleſs canals, of a length and breadth proportioned to the different ſituation and wants of the lands. The Nile brought fertility every where with its ſalutary ſtreams; united cities one with another, and the Mediterranean with the Red-Sea; maintained trade at home and abroad, and fortified the kingdom againſt the enemy; ſo that it was at once the nouriſher and protector of Egypt. The fields were delivered up to it; but the cities that were rais'd with immenſe labour, and ſtood like iſlands in the midſt of the waters, look'd down with joy on the plains which were overflowed, and at the ſame time enrich'd by the Nile.

This is a general idea of the nature and effects of this river, ſo famous among the ancients. But a wonder ſo aſtoniſhing in itſelf, and which has been the object of the curioſity and admiration of the learned in all ages, ſeems to require a more particular deſcription, in which I ſhall be as conciſe as poſſible.

1. *The ſource of the Nile.*

The ancients placed the ſources of the Nile in the mountains of the moon (as they are commonly call'd) in the 10th degree of ſouth latitude. But our modern travellers have diſcovered that they lie in the 12th degree of north-latitude: and by that means they cut off about four or five hundred leagues of the courſe which the ancients gave that river. It riſes at the foot of a great mountain in the kingdom of Goyam in Abyſſinia, from two ſprings, or eyes, to ſpeak in the language of the country, the ſame word in Arabick ſignifying eye and fountain. Theſe ſprings are thirty paces from one another, each as large as one of our wells or a coach-wheel. The Nile is increas'd with many rivulets which run into it; and after paſſing through Ethiopia in a meandrous courſe, flows at laſt into Egypt.

2. *The cataracts of the Nile.*

That name is given to ſome parts of the Nile, where the

the water falls down from the ſteep rocks*. This river, which at firſt glided ſmoothly along the vaſt deſarts of Ethiopia, before it enters Egypt, paſſes by the cataracts. Then growing on a ſudden, contrary to its nature, raging and violent in thoſe places where it is pent up and reſtrained; after having at laſt broke through all obſtacles in its way, it precipitates from the top of ſome rocks to the bottom, with ſo loud a noiſe, that it is heard three leagues off.

The inhabitants of the country, accuſtomed by long practice to this ſport, exhibit here a ſpectacle to travellers that is more terrifying than diverting. Two of them go into a little boat; the one to guide it, the other to throw out the water. After having long ſuſtained the violence of the raging waves, by managing their little boat very dextrouſly, they ſuffer themſelves to be carried away with the impetuous torrent as ſwift as an arrow. The affrighted ſpectator imagines they are going to be ſwallowed up in the precipice down which they fall; when the Nile, reſtored to its natural courſe, diſcovers them again, at a conſiderable diſtance, on its ſmooth and calm waters. This is Seneca's account, which is confirmed by our modern travellers.

3. *Cauſes of the inundations of the Nile.*

(*x*) The ancients have invented many ſubtil reaſons

(*x*) Herod. l. 2. c. 19---27. Diod. l. 1. p. 35---39. Senec. Nat. Queſt. l. 4. c. 1 & 2.

* Excipiunt eum (Nilum) cataractæ, nobilis inſigni ſpectaculo locus. —— Illic excitatis primum aquis, quas ſine tumultu leni alveo duxerat, violentus & torrens per malignos tranſitus proſilit, diſſimilis ſibi———tandemque eluctatus obſtantia, in vaſtam altitudinem ſubito deſtitutus cadit, cum ingenti circumjacentium regionum ſtrepitu; quem perferre gens ibi a Perſis collocata non potuit, obtuſis aſſiduo fragore auribus, & ob hoc ſedibus ad quietiora tranſlatis. Inter miracula fluminis incredibilem incolarum audaciam accepi. Bini parvula navigia conſcendunt, quorum alter navem regit, alter exhaurit. Deinde multum inter rapidam inſaniam Nili & reciprocos fluctus volutati, tandem tenuiſſimos canales tenent, per quos anguſta rupium effugiunt: & cum toto flumine effuſi, navigium ruens manu temperant, magnoque ſpectantium metu in caput nixi, cum jam adploraveris, merſoſque atque obrutos tanta mole credideris, longe ab eo in quem ceciderant loco navigant, tormenti modo miſſi. Nec mergit cadens unda, ſed planis aquis tradit, *Senec. Nat. Quæſt.* l. 4. c. 2.

for

for the Nile's great increaſe, as may be ſeen in Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus and Seneca. But it is now no longer a matter of diſpute, it being almoſt univerſally allowed, that the inundations of the Nile are owing to the great rains which fall in Ethiopia, from whence this river flows. Theſe rains ſwell it to ſuch a degree, that Ethiopia firſt, and then Egypt, are overflow'd; and that which at firſt was but a large river, riſes like a ſea, and overſpreads the whole country.

(*y*) Strabo obſerves, that the ancients only gueſs'd that the inundations of the Nile were owing to the rains which fall in great abundance in Ethiopia; but adds, that ſeveral travellers have ſince been eye-witneſſes of it; Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was very curious in all things relating to arts and ſciences, having ſent thither able perſons, purpoſely to examine this matter, and to aſcertain the cauſe of ſo uncommon and remarkable an effect.

4. *The time and continuance of the inundations.*

(*z*) Herodotus, and after him Diodorus Siculus, and ſeveral other authors, declare, that the Nile begins to flow in Egypt at the ſummer-ſolſtice, that is, about the end of June, and continues to riſe till the end of September; and then decreaſes gradually during the months of October and November; after which it returns to its channel, and reſumes its wonted courſe. This account agrees almoſt with the relations of all the moderns, and is founded in reality on the natural cauſe of the inundation, *viz.* the rains which fall in Ethiopia. Now, according to the conſtant teſtimony of thoſe who have been on the ſpot, theſe rains begin to fall in the month of April, and continue, during five months, till the end of Auguſt and beginning of September. The Nile's increaſe in Egypt muſt conſequently begin three weeks or a month after the rains have began to fall in Abyſſinia; and accordingly travellers obſerve, that the Nile begins to riſe in the month of May, but ſo ſlowly at firſt, that it probably does not yet over-

(*y*) Lib. 17. p. 789. (*z*) Herod. l. 2. c. 19. Diod. l. 1. p. 22.

flow

flow its banks. The inundation happens not till about the end of June, and lasts the three following months, according to Herodotus.

I must point out to such as consult the originals, a contradiction in this place between Herodotus and Diodorus on one side; and on the other between Strabo, Pliny and Solinus. These last shorten very much the continuance of the inundation; and suppose the Nile to draw off from the lands in three months or a hundred days. And that which adds to the difficulty, is, Pliny seems to ground his opinion on the testimony of Herodotus: *In totum autem revocatur Nilus intra ripas in Libra, ut tradit Herodotus, centesimo die.* I leave to the learned the reconciling of this contradiction.

5. *The height of the inundations.*

* The just height of the inundation, according to Pliny, is sixteen cubits. When it rises but to twelve or thirteen, a famine is threaten'd; and when it exceeds sixteen, there is danger. It must be remembered, that a cubit is a foot and half. (*a*) The emperor Julian takes notice in a letter to Ecdicius prefect of Egypt, that the height of the Nile's overflowing was fifteen cubits, the 20th of September, in 362. The ancients do not agree entirely with one another, nor with the moderns, with regard to the height of the inundation; but the difference is not very considerable, and may proceed, 1. from the disparity between the ancient and modern measures, which 'tis hard to estimate on a fixed and certain foot; 2. from the carelessness of the observators and historians; 3. from the real difference of the Nile's increase, which was not so great the nearer it approach'd the sea.

(*b*) As the riches of Egypt depended on the inunda-

(*a*) Jul. Epist. 50.

* Justum incrementum est cubitorum 16. Minores aquæ non omnia rigant: ampliores detinent tardius recedendo. Hæ serendi tempora absumunt solo madente: illæ non dant sitiente. Utrumque

(*b*) Diod. l. 1. p. 33.

reputat provincia. In duodecim cubitis famem sentit, in tredecim etiamnum esurit: quatuordecim cubita hilaritatem afferunt, quindecim securitatem, sexdecim delicias. *Plin. l. 5. c. 9.*

tion.

tion of the Nile, all the circumſtances and different degrees of its increaſe have been carefully conſider'd; and by a long ſeries of regular obſervations, made during many years, the inundation itſelf diſcover'd what kind of harveſt the enſuing year was likely to produce. The kings had placed at Memphis a meaſure on which theſe different increaſes were marked; and from thence notice was given to all the reſt of Egypt, the inhabitants of which knew, by that means, beforehand, what they might fear or promiſe themſelves from the harveſt. (*c*) Strabo ſpeaks of a well on the banks of the Nile near the town of Syene, made for that purpoſe.

The ſame cuſtom is obſerved to this day at Grand Cairo. In the court of a moſque there ſtands a pillar, on which are mark'd the degrees of the Nile's increaſe; and common criers every day proclaim in all parts of the city, how high it is riſen. The tribute paid to the grand ſignior for the lands, is ſettled by the inundation. The day it riſes to ſuch a height, is kept as a grand feſtival; and ſolemniz'd with fire-works, feaſtings, and all the demonſtrations of publick rejoicing; and in the remoteſt ages, the overflowing of the Nile was always attended with an univerſal joy throughout all Egypt, that being the fountain of its happineſs.

(*d*) The heathens aſcrib'd the inundation of the Nile to their god Serapis; and the pillar on which was marked the increaſe, was preſerv'd religiouſly in the temple of that idol. The emperor Conſtantine having ordered it to be removed into the church of Alexandria, the Egyptians ſpread a report, that the Nile would riſe no more by reaſon of the wrath of Serapis; but the river overflowed and increaſed as uſual the following years. Julian the Apoſtate, a zealous protector of idolatry, caus'd this pillar to be replaced in the ſame temple, out of which it was again remov'd by the command of Theodoſius.

6. *The canals of the Nile and ſpiral pumps.*

Divine providence, in giving ſo beneficent a river

(*c*) Lib. 17. p. 817. (*d*) Socrat. l. 1. c. 18. Sozom. l. 5. c. 3.

be

to Egypt, did not thereby intend, that the inhabitants of it ſhould be idle, and enjoy ſo great a bleſſing, without taking any pains. One may naturally ſuppoſe, that as the Nile could not of itſelf cover the whole country, great labour was to be us'd to facilitate the overflowing of the lands; and numberleſs canals cut, in order to convey the waters to all parts. The villages, which ſtood very thick on the banks of the Nile on eminences, had each their canals, which were open'd at proper times, to let the water into the country. The more diſtant villages had theirs alſo, even to the extremities of the kingdom. Thus the waters were ſucceſſively convey'd to the moſt remote places. Perſons are not permitted to cut the trenches to receive the waters, till the river is at ſuch a height, nor to open them all together; becauſe otherwiſe ſome lands would be too much overflow'd, and others not covered enough. They begin with opening them in Upper, and afterwards in Lower Egypt, according to the rules preſcribed in a roll or book, in which all the meaſures are exactly ſet down. By this means the water is diſpoſed with ſuch care, that it ſpreads itſelf over all the lands. The countries overflowed by the Nile are ſo extenſive, and lie ſo low, and the number of canals ſo great, that of all the waters which flow into Egypt during the months of June, July and Auguſt, 'tis believed that not a tenth part of them reaches the ſea.

But as, notwithſtanding all theſe canals, there are abundance of high lands which cannot receive the benefit of the Nile's overflowing; this want is ſupplied by ſpiral pumps, which are turned with oxen, in order to bring the water into pipes, which convey it to theſe lands. (*e*) Diodorus ſpeaks of ſuch an engine (called *Cochlea Ægyptia*) invented by Archimedes in his travels into Egypt.

7. *The fertility caus'd by the Nile.*

There is no country in the world where the ſoil is more fruitful than in Egypt; which is owing entirely

(*e*) Lib. 1. p. 30. & l. 5. p. 313.

to

to the Nile *. For whereas other rivers, when they overflow lands, waſh away and exhauſt their vivific moiſture; the Nile, on the contrary, by the excellent ſlime it brings along with it, fattens and enriches them in ſuch a manner, as ſufficiently compenſates for what the foregoing harveſt had impair'd. The huſbandman, in this country, never tires himſelf with holding the plough, or breaking the clods of earth. As ſoon as the Nile retires, he has nothing to do but to turn up the earth, and temper it with a little ſand, in order to leſſen its rankneſs; after which he ſows it with great eaſe, and with little or no expence. Two months after, it is covered with all ſorts of corn and pulſe. The Egyptians generally ſow in October and November, according as the waters draw off, and their harveſt is in March and April.

The ſame land bears, in one year, three or four different kinds of crops. Lettices and cucumbers are ſown firſt; then corn; and, after harveſt, ſeveral ſorts of pulſe which are peculiar to Egypt. As the ſun is extremely hot in this country, and rains fall very ſeldom in it; 'tis natural to ſuppoſe, that the earth would ſoon be parched, and the corn and pulſe burnt up by ſo ſcorching a heat, were it not for the canals and reſervoirs with which Egypt abounds; and which, by the drains from thence, amply ſupply wherewith to water and refreſh the fields and gardens.

The Nile contributes no leſs to the nouriſhment of cattle, which is another ſource of wealth to Egypt. The Egyptians begin to turn them out to graſs in November, and they graze till the end of March. Words could never expreſs how rich their paſtures are; and how fat the flocks and herds, (which, by reaſon of the mildneſs of the air, are out night and day) grow in a very little time. During the inundation of the Nile,

* Cum cæteri amnes abluant terras & eviſcerent; Nilus adeo nihil exedit nec abradit, ut contra adjiciat vires.—Ita juvat agros duabus ex cauſis, & quod inundat, & quod oblimat. *Senec. Nat. Quæſt. l.* 4. *c.* 2.

they

they are fed with hay and cut ſtraw, barley and beans, which are their common food.

A man cannot, ſays (*f*) Corneille le Bruyn in his travels, help obſerving the admirable providence of God to this country, who ſends at a fixed ſeaſon ſuch great quantities of rains in Ethiopia, in order to water Egypt, where a ſhower of rain ſcarce ever falls; and who, by that means, cauſes the drieſt and moſt ſandy ſoil, to become the richeſt and moſt fruitful country in the univerſe.

Another thing to be obſerved here, is that, (as the inhabitants ſay) in the beginning of June and the four following months, the north-eaſt winds blow conſtantly, in order to keep back the waters which otherwiſe would flow too faſt; and to hinder them from diſcharging themſelves into the ſea, the entrance to which theſe winds bar up, as it were, from them. The ancients have not omitted this circumſtance.

(*g*) The ſame providence, whoſe ways are wonderful and infinitely various, diſplayed itſelf after a quite different manner in Paleſtine, in rendering it exceeding fruitful, not by rains, which fell during the courſe of the year, as is uſual in other places; nor by a peculiar inundation like that of the Nile in Egypt; but by ſending fixed rains at two ſeaſons, when the people were obedient to God, to make them more ſenſible of their continual dependence upon him. God himſelf commands them, by his ſervant Moſes, to make this reflection. (*h*) *The land whither thou goeſt in to poſſeſs it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou ſowedſt thy ſeed and wateredſt it with thy foot as a garden of herbs: But the land whither ye go to poſſeſs it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven.* After this, God promiſes to give his people, ſo long as they ſhall continue obedient to him, *the former* and *the latter rain*: The firſt in autumn,

(*f*) Vol. 2.
(*h*) Deut. xi. 10—13.

(*g*) Multiformis ſapientia. *Eph.* iii. 10.

to

to bring up the corn; and the ſecond in the ſpring and ſummer, to make it grow and ripen.

8. *Two different proſpects exhibited by the Nile.*

There cannot be a finer ſight than Egypt at two ſeaſons of the year *. For if a man aſcends ſome mountain, or one of the largeſt pyramids of Grand Cairo, in the months of July and Auguſt, he beholds a vaſt ſea, in which numberleſs towns and villages appear, with ſeveral cauſeys leading from place to place; the whole interſpers'd with groves and fruit-trees, whoſe tops are only viſible, all which forms a delightful proſpect. This view is bounded by mountains and woods, which terminate, at the utmoſt diſtance the eye can diſcover, the moſt beautiful horizon that can be imagined. On the contrary, in winter, that is to ſay, in the months of January and February, the whole country is like one continued ſcene of beautiful meadows, whoſe verdure, enamell'd with flowers, charms the eye. The ſpectator beholds, on every ſide, flocks and herds diſperſed over all the plains, with infinite numbers of huſbandmen and gardiners. The air is then perfumed by the great quantity of bloſſoms on the orange, lemon, and other trees; and is ſo pure that a wholeſomer or more agreeable is not found in the world; ſo that nature, being then dead as it were, in all other climates, ſeems to be alive only for ſo delightful an abode.

9. *The canal formed by the Nile, by which a communication is made between the two ſeas.*

(*i*) The canal, by which a communication was made between the Red-Sea and the Mediterranean, ought to have a place here, as it was not one of the leaſt advantages which the Nile procured Egypt. Seſoſtris, or

(*i*) Herod. l. 1. c. 158. Strab. l. 17. p. 804. Plin. l. 16. c. 29. Diod. l. 1. p. 29.

* Illa facies pulcherrima eſt, cum jam ſe in agros Nilus ingeſſit. Latent campi, opertæque ſunt valles: oppida inſularum modo extant. Nullum in mediterraneis, niſi per navigia, commercium eſt: majorque eſt lætitia in gentibus, quo minus terrarum ſuarum vident. *Senec. Nat. Quæſt.* l. 4. c. 2.

according

according to others Pſammetichus, firſt projected the deſign, and begun this work. Necho, ſucceſſor to the laſt prince, laid out immenſe ſums upon it, and employed a prodigious number of men. 'Tis ſaid, that above ſixſcore thouſand Egyptians periſhed in the undertaking. He gave it over, terrified by an oracle, which told him that he would thereby open a door for Barbarians (for by this name they called all foreigners) to enter Egypt. The work was continued by Darius, the firſt of that name; but he alſo deſiſted from it upon his being told, that as the Red-Sea lay higher than Egypt, it would drown the whole country. But it was at laſt finiſhed under the Ptolemies, who, by the help of ſluices opened or ſhut the canal as there was occaſion. It began not far from the Delta, near the town of Bubaſte. It was an hundred cubits, that is, twenty-five fathoms broad, ſo that two veſſels might paſs with eaſe; it had depth enough to carry the largeſt ſhips; and was above a thouſand ſtadia, that is, above fifty leagues long. This canal was of great ſervice to the trade of Egypt. But it is now almoſt filled up, and there are ſcarce any remains of it to be ſeen.

CHAP. III.

LOWER EGYPT.

I AM now to ſpeak of Lower Egypt. Its ſhape, which reſembles a triangle or Δ, gave occaſion to its bearing the latter name, which is that of one of the Greek letters. Lower Egypt forms a kind of iſland; it begins at the place where the Nile is divided into two large canals, through which it empties itſelf into the Mediterranean: The mouth on the right-hand is called the Peluſian, and the other the Canopic, from two cities in their neighbourhood, Peluſium and Canopus, now called Damietta and Roſetta. Between theſe two large branches, there are five others of leſs note. This iſland is the beſt cultivated, the moſt fruitful, and the richeſt in Egypt. Its chief cities (very anciently) were Heliopolis,

Heliopolis, Heracleopolis, Naucratis, Sais, Tanis, Canopus, Peluſium; and in latter times, Alexandria, Nicopolis, &c. It was in the country of Tanis that the Iſraelites dwelt.

(k) There was at Sais, a temple dedicated to Minerva, who is ſuppoſed to be the ſame as Iſis, with the following inſcription: *I am whatever hath been, and is, and ſhall be; and no mortal hath yet pierced thro' the veil that ſhrouds me.*

(*l*) Heliopolis, that is, the city of the ſun, was ſo called from a magnificent temple there dedicated to that planet. Herodotus and other authors after him, relate ſome particulars concerning the Phœnix and this temple, which, if true, would indeed be very wonderful. Of this kind of birds, if we may believe the ancients, there is never but one at a time in the world. He is brought forth in Arabia, lives five or ſix hundred years, and is of the ſize of an eagle. His head is adorned with a ſhining and moſt beautiful creſt; the feathers of his neck are of a gold colour, and the reſt of a purple, his tail is white, intermixt with red, and his eyes ſparkling like ſtars. When he is old, and finds his end approaching, he builds a neſt with wood and aromatick ſpices, and then dies. Of his bones and marrow, a worm is produced, out of which another Phœnix is formed. His firſt care is to ſolemnize his parent's obſequies, for which purpoſe he makes up a ball in the ſhape of an egg, with abundance of perfumes of myrrh as heavy as he can carry, which he often aſſays beforehand; then he makes a hole in it, where he depoſits his parent's body, and cloſes it carefully with myrrh and other perfumes. After this he takes up the precious load on his ſhoulders, and flying to the altar of the ſun, in the city of Heliopolis, he there burns it.

Herodotus and Tacitus diſpute the truth of ſome of the circumſtances of this account, but ſeem to ſuppoſe

(*k*) Plutar. in Iſid. p. 374. (*l*) Strab. l. 17. p. 806. Herod. l. 2. c. 73. Plin. l. 10. c. 2. Tacit. Ann. l. 6. c. 28.

it true in general. Pliny on the contrary, in the very beginning of his account of it, insinuates plainly enough, that he looks upon the whole as fabulous; and this is the opinion of all modern authors.

This ancient tradition, tho' grounded on an evident falshood, hath yet introduced into almost all languages, the custom of giving the name of phœnix to whatever is singular and uncommon in its kind: *Rara avis in terris*, (*m*) says Juvenal, speaking of the difficulty of finding an accomplished woman in all respects. And Seneca observes the same of a good man *.

What is reported of the swans, viz. that they never sing but in their expiring moments, and that then they warble very melodiously, is likewise grounded merely on a vulgar error; and yet it is used, not only by the poets, but also by the orators, and even the philosophers. *O mutis quoque piscibus donatura cycni, si libeat, sonum*, (*n*) says Horace to Melpomene. Cicero compares the excellent discourse which Crassus made in the senate, a few days before his death, to the melodious singing of a dying swan. *Illa tanquam cycnea fuit divini hominis vox & oratio*, de orat. l. 3. n. 6. And Socrates used to say, that good men ought to imitate swans, who perceiving by a secret instinct, and a divination, what advantage there is in death, die singing and with joy. *Providentes quid in morte boni sit, cum cantu & voluptate moriuntur*. Tusc. Qu. l. 1. n. 73. I thought this short digression might be of service to youth; and return now to my subject.

It was in (*o*) Heliopolis, that an ox, under the name of Mnevis, was worshipped as a god. Cambyses, king of Persia, exercised his sacrilegious rage on this city; burning the temples, demolishing the palaces, and destroying the most precious monuments of antiquity in it. There are still to be seen some obelisks which escaped his fury; and others were brought from thence to

(*m*) Sat. 6. (*n*) Od. 3. l. 4. (*o*) Strab. l. 17. p. 805.

* Vir bonus tam cito nec fieri potest, nec intelligi —— tanquam Phœnix, semel anno quingentesimo nascitur. *Ep.* 42.

Rome,

Rome, to which city they are an ornament even at this day.

Alexandria, built by Alexander the Great, from whom it had its name, vied almoſt in magnificence with the ancient cities of Egypt. It ſtands four days journey from Cairo, and was formerly the chief mart of all the eaſtern trade. (*p*) The merchandiſe were unloaded at Portus Muris *, a town on the weſtern coaſt of the Red-Sea; from whence they were brought upon camels to a town of Thebais, called Copht, and conveyed down the Nile to Alexandria, whither merchants reſorted from all parts.

It is well known, that the Eaſt-India trade hath at all times enriched thoſe who carried it on. This was the chief fountain of the vaſt treaſures that Solomon amaſſed, and which enabled him to build the magnificent temple of Jeruſalem. (*q*) David, by his conquering Idumæa, became maſter of Elath and Eſiongeber, two towns ſituated on the eaſtern ſhore of the Red-Sea. From theſe two ports, (*r*) Solomon ſent fleets to Ophir and Tarſhiſh, which always brought back immenſe riches †. This traffick after having been enjoyed ſome time by the Syrians, who regained Idumæa, ſhifted from them to the Tyrians. (*s*) Theſe got all their merchandiſe conveyed, by the way of Rhinocolura, a (ſea-port town lying between the confines of Egypt and Paleſtine) to Tyre, from whence they diſtributed them all over the weſtern world. Hereby the Tyrians enriched themſelves exceedingly, under the Perſian empire; by the favour and protection of whoſe monarchs they had the full poſſeſſion of this trade. But when the Ptolemies had made themſelves maſters of Egypt, they ſoon drew all this trade into their kingdom, by building Berenice and other ports on the

(*p*) Strab. l. 16. p. 781. (*q*) 2 Sam. viii. 14. (*r*) 1 Kings ix. 26. (*s*) Strab. l. 16. p. 481.

* *Or* Myos Hormos.

† *He got in one voyage* 450 *Talents of Gold*, 2 Chron. viii. 18. *which amounts to three millions, two hundred and forty thouſand pounds Sterling*, Prid. Connect. Vol. I. ad an. 740. not.

weſtern ſide of the Red-Sea, belonging to Egypt; and fixed their chief mart at Alexandria, which thereby roſe to be the city of the greateſt trade in the world. There it continued for a great many centuries after; and all the traffick, which the weſtern parts of the world from that time had with Perſia, India, Arabia, and the eaſtern coaſts of Africa, was wholly carried on through the Red-Sea, and the mouth of the Nile, till a way was diſcovered, a little above two hundred years ſince, of ſailing to thoſe parts, by the cape of Good Hope. After this, the Portugueſe for ſome time managed this trade; but now it is in a manner engroſſed wholly by the Engliſh and Dutch. This ſhort account of the Eaſt-India trade, from Solomon's time, to the preſent age, is extracted from Dr. Prideaux (*t*).

(*u*) For the conveniency of trade, there was built near Alexandria, in an iſland called Pharos, a tower which bore the ſame name. At the top of this tower was kept a fire, to light ſuch ſhips as ſailed by night near thoſe dangerous coaſts, which were full of ſands and ſhelves; from whence all other towers, deſigned for the ſame uſe, have been called, as Pharo di Meſſina, &c. The famous architect Soſtratus built it by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who expended eight hundred talents upon it *. 'Twas reckoned one of the ſeven wonders of the world. Some have commended that prince, for permitting the architect to put his name in the inſcription which was fixed on the tower inſtead of his own †. It was very ſhort and plain, according to the manner of the ancients. *Soſtratus Cnidius Dexiphanis F. diis ſervatoribus pro navigantibus. i. e.* Soſtratus the Cnidian, ſon of Dexiphanes, to the protecting deities, for the uſe of ſea-faring people. But certainly Ptolemy muſt have very much undervalued that kind of immortality which princes are generally very fond of, to ſuffer, that his name ſhould not be ſo much as

(*t*) Part I. L. 1. p. 9.

(*u*) Strab. l. 17. p. 719. Plin. l. 36. c. 12.

* *Eight hundred thouſand crowns, or* 180,000 *l. ſterling.*

† Magno animo Ptolemæi regis, quod in ea permiſerit Soſtrati Cnidii architecti ſtructuræ nomen inſcribi. *Plin.*

mentioned

mentioned in the inſcription of an edifice ſo capable of immortalizing him. (*x*) What we read in Lucian concerning this matter, deprives Ptolemy of a modeſty, which indeed would be very ill placed here. This author informs us that Soſtratus, to engroſs the whole glory of that noble ſtructure to himſelf, cauſed the inſcription with his own name to be carved in the marble, which he afterwards covered with lime, and thereon put the king's name. The lime ſoon mouldered away; and by that means, inſtead of procuring the architect the honour with which he had flattered himſelf, ſerved only to diſcover to future ages his mean fraud, and ridiculous vanity.

Riches failed not to bring into this city, as they uſually do in all places, luxury and licentiouſneſs; ſo that the Alexandrian voluptuouſneſs became a proverb *. In this city arts and ſciences were alſo induſtriouſly cultivated; witneſs that ſtately edifice, ſurnamed the Muſæum, where the literati uſed to meet, and were maintained at the publick expence; and the famous library, which was augmented conſiderably by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and which, by the magnificence of the kings his ſucceſſors, at laſt contained ſeven hundred thouſand volumes. (*y*) In Cæſar's wars with the Alexandrians, part of this library, (ſituate in the † Bruchion,) which conſiſted of four hundred thouſand volumes, was unhappily conſumed by fire.

(*x*) De Scribend. Hiſt. p. 706.

(*y*) Plut. in Cæſ. p. 731. Seneca de tranquill. anim. c. 9.

* Ne Alexandrinis quidem permittenda deliciis. *Quintil.*

† *A quarter or diviſion of the city of Alexandria.*

PART THE SECOND.

OF THE

MANNERS and CUSTOMS

OF THE

EGYPTIANS.

EGYPT was ever conſidered by all the ancients, as the moſt renowned ſchool for wiſdom and politicks, and the ſource from whence moſt arts and ſciences were derived. This kingdom beſtowed its nobleſt labours and fineſt arts on the improving mankind; and Greece was ſo ſenſible of this, that its moſt illuſtrious men, as Homer, Pythagoras, Plato; even its great legiſlators, Lycurgus and Solon, with many more whom it is needleſs to mention, travelled into Egypt, to complete their ſtudies, and draw from that fountain whatever was moſt rare and valuable in every kind of learning. God himſelf has given this kingdom a glorious teſtimony, when praiſing Moſes, he ſays of him, that (z) *he was learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians.*

To give ſome idea of the manners and cuſtoms of Egypt, I ſhall confine myſelf principally to theſe particulars: Its kings and government; prieſts and religion; ſoldiers and war; ſciences, arts and trades.

The reader muſt not be ſurprized, if he ſometimes finds, in the cuſtoms I take notice of, a kind of contradiction. This circumſtance is owing, either to the difference of countries and nations which did not always follow the ſame uſages; or to the different way of thinking of the hiſtorians whom I copy.

(z) Acts vii. 22.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the KINGS and GOVERNMENT.

THE Egyptians were the firſt people who rightly underſtood the rules of government. A nation ſo grave and ſerious immediately perceived, that the true end of politicks is, to make life eaſy, and a people happy.

The kindgom was hereditary; but according to (*a*) Diodorus, the Egyptian princes conducted themſelves in a different manner from what is uſually ſeen in other monarchies, where the prince acknowledges no other rule of his actions, but his arbitrary will and pleaſure. But here, kings were under greater reſtraint from the laws, than their ſubjects. They had ſome particular ones digeſted by a former monarch that compoſed part of thoſe books, which the Egyptians called ſacred. Thus every thing being ſettled by ancient cuſtom, they never ſought to live in a different way from their anceſtors.

No ſlave or foreigner was admitted into the immediate ſervice of the prince; ſuch a poſt was too important to be intruſted to any perſons, except thoſe who were the moſt diſtinguiſhed by their birth, and had received the moſt excellent education; to the end that as they had the liberty of approaching the king's perſon, day and night, he might, from men ſo qualified, hear nothing which was unbecoming the royal majeſty; or have any ſentiments inſtilled into him, but ſuch as were of a noble and generous kind. For, adds Diodorus, it is very rarely ſeen, that kings fly out into any vicious exceſs, unleſs thoſe who approach them approve their irregularities, or ſerve as inſtruments to their paſſions.

The kings of Egypt freely permitted, not only the quality and proportion of their eatables and liquids to be preſcribed them (a thing cuſtomary in Egypt, the inhabitants of which were all ſober, and whoſe air inſpired frugality) but even that all their hours, and al-

(*a*) Diod. l. 1. p. 63, &c.

moſt every action, ſhould be under the regulation of the laws.

In the morning at day-break, when the head is cleareſt, and the thoughts moſt unperplexed, they read the ſeveral letters they received; to form a more juſt and diſtinct idea of the affairs which were to come under their conſideration that day.

As ſoon as they were dreſſed, they went to the daily ſacrifice performed in the temple; where, ſurrounded with their whole court, and the victims placed before the altar, they aſſiſted at the prayer pronounced aloud by the high-prieſt, in which he asked of the gods, health and all other bleſſings for the king, becauſe he governed his people with clemency and juſtice, and made the laws of his kingdom the rule and ſtandard of his actions. The high-prieſt entred into a long detail of his virtues; obſerving that he was religious to the gods, affable to men, moderate, juſt, magnanimous, ſincere; an enemy to falſhood; liberal, maſter of his paſſions; puniſhing crimes with the utmoſt lenity, but boundleſs in rewarding merit. He next ſpoke of the faults which kings might be guilty of; but ſuppoſed at the ſame time, that they never committed any, except by ſurprize or ignorance; and loaded with imprecations ſuch of their miniſters as gave them ill counſel, and ſuppreſſed or diſguiſed the truth. Such were the methods of conveying inſtruction to their kings. It was thought that reproaches would only ſour their tempers; and that the moſt effectual method to inſpire them with virtue, would be to point out to them their duty in praiſes conformable to the ſenſe of the laws, and pronounced in a ſolemn manner before the gods. After the prayers and ſacrifice were ended, the counſels and actions of great men were read to the king out of the ſacred books, in order that he might govern his dominions according to their maxims, and maintain the laws which had made his predeceſſors and their ſubjects ſo happy.

I have already obſerved, that the quantity as well as quality of both eatables and liquids were preſcribed, by the

the laws, to the king: His table was covered with nothing but the moſt common meats; becauſe eating in Egypt was deſigned, not to tickle the palate, but to ſatisfy the cravings of nature. One would have concluded (obſerves the hiſtorian) that theſe rules had been laid down by ſome able phyſician, who was attentive only to the health of the prince, rather than by a legiſlator. The ſame ſimplicity was ſeen in all other things; and we read in (*b*) Plutarch, of a temple in Thebes, which had one of its pillars inſcribed with imprecations againſt that king, who firſt introduced profuſion and luxury into Egypt.

The principal duty of kings, and their moſt eſſential function, is the adminiſtring juſtice to their ſubjects. Accordingly, the kings of Egypt cultivated more immediately this duty; convinced that on this depended not only the eaſe and comfort of the ſeveral individuals, but the happineſs of the ſtate; which would be an herd of robbers rather than a kingdom, ſhould the weak be unprotected, and the powerful inabled by their riches and credit, to commit crimes with impunity.

Thirty judges were ſelected out of the principal cities, to form a body or aſſembly for judging the whole kingdom. The Prince, in filling theſe vacancies, choſe ſuch as were moſt renowned for their honeſty; and put at their head, him who was moſt diſtinguiſhed for his knowledge and love of the laws, and was had in the moſt univerſal eſteem. By his bounty, they had revenues aſſigned them, to the end that being freed from domeſtick cares, they might devote their whole time to the execution of the laws. Thus honourably ſubſiſted by the generoſity of the prince, they adminiſtred juſtice gratuitouſly to the people, who have a natural right to it; among whom it ought to have a free circulation, and, in ſome ſenſe, among the poor more than the rich, becauſe the latter find a ſupport within themſelves; whereas the very condition of the former expoſes them more to injuries, and therefore calls louder

(*b*) De Iſid. & Oſir. p. 354.

for the protection of the laws. To guard againſt ſurprize, affairs were tranſacted by writing in the aſſemblies of theſe judges. That ſpecies of eloquence (a falſe kind) was dreaded, which dazzles the mind, and moves the paſſions. Truth could not be expreſſed with too much plainneſs, as it was to have the only ſway in judgments; becauſe in that alone the rich and poor, the powerful and weak, the learned and the ignorant, were to find relief and ſecurity. The preſident of this ſenate wore a collar of gold ſet with precious ſtones, at which hung a figure repreſented blind, this being call'd the emblem of truth. When the preſident put this collar on, 'twas underſtood as a ſignal to enter upon buſineſs. He touched the party with it, who was to gain his cauſe, and this was the form of paſſing ſentence.

The moſt excellent circumſtance in the laws of the Egyptians, was, that every individual, from his infancy, was nurtured in the ſtricteſt obſervance of them. A new cuſtom (*c*) in Egypt was a kind of miracle. All things there ran in the old channel; and the exactneſs with which little matters were adhered to, preſerved thoſe of more importance; and indeed no nation ever preſerved their laws and cuſtoms longer than the Egyptians.

Wilful murder was puniſhed with (*d*) death, whatever might be the condition of the murdered perſon, whether he was free-born or otherwiſe. In this the humanity and equity of the Egyptians was ſuperior to that of the Romans, who gave the maſter an abſolute power as to life and death over his ſlave. The emperor Adrian indeed aboliſhed this law; from an opinion, that an abuſe of this nature ought to be reformed, let its antiquity or authority be ever ſo great.

(*e*) Perjury was alſo puniſhed with death, becauſe that crime attacks both the gods, whoſe majeſty is trampled upon by invoking their name to a falſe oath; and men

(*c*) Plat. in Tim. p. 656. (*d*) Diod. l. 1. p. 70. (*e*) Page 69.

in

in breaking the ſtrongeſt tie of human ſociety, viz. ſincerity and honeſty.

(*f*) The falſe accuſer was condemn'd to undergo the puniſhment, which the perſon accuſed was to have ſuffered, had the accuſation been proved.

(*g*) He who had neglected or refuſed to ſave a man's life when attacked, if it was in his power to aſſiſt him, was puniſhed as rigorouſly as the aſſaſſin: But if the unfortunate perſon could not be ſuccoured, the offender was at leaſt to be impeached, and penalties were decreed for any neglect of this kind. Thus the ſubjects were a guard and protection to one another; and the whole body of the community united againſt the deſigns of the bad.

(*h*) No man was allowed to be uſeleſs to the ſtate; but every man was obliged to enter his name and place of abode in a publick regiſter, that remained in the hands of the magiſtrate, and to annex his profeſſion, and in what manner he lived. If ſuch a one gave a falſe account of himſelf, he was immediately put to death.

(*i*) To prevent borrowing of money, the parent of ſloth, frauds, and chicane, king Aſychis made a very judicious law. The wiſeſt and beſt regulated ſtates, as Athens and Rome, ever found inſuperable difficulties, in contriving a juſt medium, to reſtrain on one hand, the cruelty of the creditor in the exaction of his loan; and on the other, the knavery of the debtor, who refuſed or neglected to pay his debts. Now Egypt took a wiſe courſe on this occaſion; and without doing any injury to the perſonal liberty of its inhabitants, or ruining their families, purſued the debtor with inceſſant fears of infamy from his diſhoneſty. No man was permitted to borrow money without pawning to the creditor the body of his father, which every Egyptian embalmed with great care; and kept reverentially in his houſe (as will be obſerved in the ſequel) and therefore might be eaſily moved from one place to another. But it was equally impious and infamous not to redeem ſoon ſo precious a

(*f*) Idem. (*g*) Idem. (*h*) Idem. (*i*) Herod. l. 2. c. 136.

pledge; and he who died without having discharged this duty, was deprived of the customary honours paid to the dead. *

(*k*) Diodorus remarks an error committed by some of the Grecian legislators. They forbid, for instance, the taking away (to satisfy debts) the horses, ploughs, and other implements of husbandry employed by peasants; judging it inhuman to reduce, by this security, these poor men to an impossibility of discharging their debts, and getting their bread: But at the same time they permitted the creditor to imprison the peasants themselves; who only were capable of using these implements; which expos'd them to the same inconveniences, and at the same time deprived the government of persons who belonged, and are necessary, to it; who labour for the publick emolument, and over whose person no private man has any right.

(*l*) Polygamy was allowed in Egypt, except to priests, who could marry but one woman. Whatever was the condition of the woman, whether she was free or a slave, her children were deem'd free and legitimate.

(*m*) One custom that was practised in Egypt, shewed the profound darkness into which such nations as were most celebrated for their wisdom have been plunged; and this was the marriage of brothers with their sisters, which was not only authorised by the laws, but even, in some measure was a part of their religion, from the example and practice of such of their gods, as had been the most antiently and universally ador'd in Egypt, that is, Osiris and Isis.

(*n*) A very great respect was there paid to old age.

(*k*) Diod. l. 1. p. 71. (*l*) Idem, p. 72. (*m*) Idem, p. 22.
(*n*) Herod. l. 2. c. 20.

* *This law put the whole sepulchre of the debtor into the power of the creditor, who removed to his own house the body of the father: The debtor refusing to discharge his obligation, was to be deprived of burial, either in his father's sepulchre or any other; and whilst he lived, he was not permitted to bury any person descended from him.* Μηδὲ αὐτῶ ἐκείνω τελευτήσαντι εἶναι ταφῆς κυρῆσαι—μήτ' ἄλλον μηδένα τὸν ἑαυτῦ ἀπογενόμενον θάψαι. Herod.

The young were obliged to rise up for the old, and on every occasion, to resign to them the most honourable seat. The Spartans borrowed this law from the Egyptians.

The virtue in the highest esteem among the Egyptians, was gratitude. The glory which has been given them of being the most grateful of all men, shews that they were the best formed of any nation, for social life. Benefits are the band of concord, both publick and private. He who acknowledges favours, loves to do good to others; and in banishing ingratitude, the pleasure of doing good remains so pure and engaging, that 'tis impossible for a man to be insensible of it: But no kind of gratitude gave the Egyptians a more pleasing satisfaction, than that which was paid to their kings. Princes, whilst living, were by them honoured as so many visible representations of the deity; and after their death were mourned as the fathers of their country. These sentiments of respect and tenderness proceeded from a strong persuasion, that the divinity himself had placed them upon the throne, as he distinguished them so greatly from all other mortals; and that kings bore the most noble characteristicks of the supreme Being, as the power and will of doing good to others were united in their persons.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the PRIESTS *and* RELIGION *of the EGYPTIANS.*

PRIESTS, in Egypt, held the second rank to kings. They had great privileges and revenues; their lands were exempted from all imposts; of which some traces are seen in Genesis, where it is said, (o) *Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt, that Pharaoh should have the fifth part, except the land of the priests only, which became not Pharaoh's.*

(o) Gen. xlvii. 26.

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The prince uſually honoured them with a large ſhare in his confidence and government, becauſe they, of all his ſubjects, had received the beſt education, had acquired the greateſt knowledge, and were moſt ſtrongly attached to the king's perſon and the good of the publick. They were at one and the ſame time the depoſitaries of religion and of the ſciences; and to this circumſtance was owing the great reſpect which was paid them by the natives as well as foreigners, by whom they were alike conſulted upon the moſt ſacred things relating to the myſteries of religion, and the moſt profound ſubjects in the ſeveral ſciences.

(*p*) The Egyptians pretend to be the firſt inſtitutors of feſtivals and proceſſions in honour of the gods. One feſtival was celebrated in the city of Bubaſte, whither perſons reſorted from all parts of Egypt, and upwards of ſeventy thouſand, beſides children were ſeen at it. Another, ſurnamed the feaſt of the lights, was ſolemnized at Sais. All perſons, throughout Egypt, who did not go to Sais, were obliged to illuminate their windows.

(*q*) Different animals were ſacrificed in different countries; but one common and general ceremony was obſerved in all ſacrifices, *viz.* the laying of hands upon the head of the victim, loading it at the ſame time with imprecations; and praying the gods to divert upon that victim, all the calamities which might threaten Egypt.

(*r*) It is to Egypt, that Pythagoras owed his favourite doctrine of the Metempſychoſis, or tranſmigration of ſouls. The Egyptians believed, that at the death of men, their ſouls tranſmigrated into other human bodies; and that if they had been vicious, they were impriſoned in the bodies of unclean or unhappy beaſts, to expiate in them their paſt tranſgreſſions; and that after a revolution of ſome centuries, they again animated other human bodies.

The prieſts had the poſſeſſion of the ſacred books,

(*p*) Herod. l. 2. c. 60. (*q*) Ibid. c. 39. (*r*) Diod. l. 1. p. 88.

which

which contained, at large, the principles of government, as well as the myſteries of divine worſhip. Both (*s*) were commonly involved in ſymbols and enigmas, which, under theſe veils, made truth more venerable, and excited more ſtrongly the curioſity of men. The figure of Harpocrates, in the Egyptian ſanctuaries, with his finger upon his mouth, ſeemed to intimate, that myſteries were there incloſed, the knowledge of which was revealed to very few. The ſphinxes, placed at the entrance of all temples, implied the ſame. 'Tis very well known, that pyramids, obeliſks, pillars, ſtatues, in a word, all publick monuments, were uſually adorned with hieroglyphicks, that is, with ſymbolical writings; whether theſe were characters unknown to the vulgar, or figures of animals, which couched a hidden and parabolical meaning. (*t*) Thus, by a hare, was ſignified a lively and piercing attention, becauſe this creature has a very delicate hearing. (*u*) The ſtatue of a judge without hands, and with eyes fixed upon the ground, ſymbolized the duties of thoſe who were to exerciſe the judiciary functions.

It would require a volume to treat fully the religion of the Egyptians. But I ſhall confine my ſelf to two articles, which form the principal part of the Egyptian religion; and theſe are the worſhip of the different deities, and the ceremonies relating to funerals.

SECT. I. *Of the worſhip of the various deities.*

NEVER were any people more ſuperſtitious than the Egyptians; they had a great number of gods, of different orders and degrees, which I ſhall omit, becauſe they belong more to fable than to hiſtory. Among the reſt, two were univerſally adored in that country, and theſe were Oſiris and Iſis, which are thought to be the ſun and moon; and indeed the worſhip of thoſe planets gave riſe to idolatry.

(*s*) Plut. de Iſid. & Oſir. p. 354. (*t*) Plut. Sympoſ. l. 4. p. 670. (*u*) Id. de Iſid. p. 355.

Beſides

Beſides theſe gods, the Egyptians worſhipped a great number of beaſts; as the ox, the dog, the wolf, the hawk, the crocodile, the * ibis, the cat, &c. many of theſe beaſts were the objects only of the ſuperſtition of ſome particular cities; and whilſt a people worſhipped one ſpecies of animals as gods, their neighbours had the ſame animal gods in abomination. This was the ſource of the continual wars which were carried on between one city and another; and this was owing to the falſe policy of one of their kings, who, to deprive them of the opportunity and means of conſpiring againſt the ſtate, endeavoured to amuſe them, by engaging them in religious conteſts. I call this a falſe and miſtaken policy, becauſe it directly thwarts the true ſpirit of government, the aim of which is, to unite all its members in the ſtricteſt ties, and to make all its ſtrength conſiſt, in the perfect harmony of its ſeveral parts.

Every nation had a great zeal for their gods. *Among us, ſays* (x) *Cicero, it is very common to ſee temples robbed, and ſtatues carried off; but it was never known, that any perſon in Egypt ever abuſed a crocodile, an ibis, a cat; for its inhabitants would have ſuffered the moſt extreme torments, rather than be guilty of ſuch ſacrilege.* (y) It was death for any perſon to kill one of theſe animals voluntarily; and even a puniſhment was decreed againſt him, who ſhould have killed an ibis, or a cat, with or without deſign. (z) Diodorus relates an incident, to which he himſelf was an eye-witneſs, during his ſtay in Egypt. A Roman having inadvertently, and without deſign, killed a cat; the exaſperated populace ran to his houſe; and neither the authority of the king who immediately detached a body of his guards, nor the terror of the Roman name, could reſcue the unfortunate criminal. And ſuch was the reverence which the Egyptians had for theſe animals,

(x) L. 1. de Nat. deor. n. 82. L. 5. Tuſc. Quæſt. n. 78. (y) Herod. l. 2. c. 65. (z) Diod. l. 1. p. 74, 75.

* *Or Egyptian ſtork.*

that

that in an extreme famine they choſe to eat one another, rather than feed upon their imagined deities.

(*a*) Of all theſe animals, the bull Apis, called Epaphus by the Greeks, was the moſt famous. Magnificent temples were erected to him; extraordinary honours were paid him while he lived, and ſtill greater after his death. Egypt went then into a general mourning. His obſequies were ſolemnized with ſuch a pomp as is hardly credible. In the reign of Ptolemy Lagus, the bull Apis, dying of old age *, the funeral pomp, beſides the ordinary expences, amounted to upwards of fifty thouſand French crowns †. After the laſt honours had been paid to the deceaſed god, the next care was to provide him a ſucceſſor, and all Egypt was ſought thro' for that purpoſe. He was known by certain ſigns, which diſtinguiſhed him from all other animals of that ſpecies; upon his forehead, was to be a white ſpot, in form of a creſcent; on his back, the figure of an eagle; upon his tongue, that of a beetle. As ſoon as he was found, mourning gave place to joy; and nothing was heard, in all parts of Egypt, but feſtivals and rejoicings. The new god was brought to Memphis, to take poſſeſſion of his dignity, and there inſtalled with a great number of ceremonies. The reader will find hereafter, that Cambyſes, at his return from his unfortunate expedition againſt Ethiopia, finding all the Egyptians in tranſports of joy for their new god Apis, and imagining that this was intended as an inſult upon his misfortunes; killed, in the firſt ſtarts of his fury, the young bull, who by that means had but a ſhort enjoyment of his divinity.

'Tis plain, that the golden calf ſet up near mount Sinai by the Iſraelites, was owing to their abode in Egypt, and an imitation of the god Apis; as well as

(*a*) Herod. l. 3. c. 27, &c. p. 76. Diod. l. 1. Plin. l. 8. c. 46.

* *Pliny affirms, that he was not allowed to exceed a certain term of years; and was drowned in the prieſts well.* Non eſt fas eum certos vitæ excedere annos, merſumque in ſacerdotum fonte enecant. *Nat. Hiſt.* l. 8. c. 46.

† *Above* 11250 *l. ſterling.*

thoſe

thoſe which were afterwards ſet up by Jeroboam, (who had reſided a conſiderable time in Egypt) in the two extremities of the kingdom of Iſrael.

The Egyptians, not contented with offering incenſe to animals, carried their folly to ſuch an exceſs, as to aſcribe a divinity to the pulſe and roots of their gardens. For this they are ingeniouſly reproached by the ſatyriſt.

* *Who has not heard where Egypt's realms are nam'd,*
What monſter gods her frantick ſons have fram'd?
Here Ibis gorg'd with well-grown ſerpents, there
The crocodile commands religious fear:
Where Memnon's ſtatue magick ſtrings inſpire
With vocal ſounds, that emulate the lyre;
And Thebes, ſuch, fate, are thy diſaſtrous turns!
Now proſtrate o'er her pompous ruins mourns;
A monkey-god, prodigious to be told!
Strikes the beholder's eye with burniſh'd gold:
To godſhip here blue Triton's ſcaly herd,
The river progeny is there preferr'd:
Through towns Diana's power neglected lies,
Where to her dogs aſpiring temples riſe:
And ſhou'd you leeks or onions eat, no time
Wou'd expiate the ſacrilegious crime.
Religious nations ſure, and bleſt abodes,
Where ev'ry orchard is o'er-run with gods!

It is aſtoniſhing to ſee a nation, which boaſted its ſuperiority above all others with regard to wiſdom and learning, thus blindly abandon itſelf to the moſt groſs and ridiculous ſuperſtitions. Indeed, to read of animals and vile inſects, honoured with religious worſhip,

* Quis neſcit, Voluſi Bithynice, qualia demens
Ægyptus portenta colat? Crocodilon adorat
Pars hæc: illa pavet ſaturam ſerpentibus Ibim.
Effigies ſacri nitet aurea cercopitheci,
Dimidio magicæ reſonant ubi Memnone chordæ,
Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis.
Illic cæruleos, hic piſcem fluminis, illic
Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.
Porrum & cepe nefas violare, ac frangere morſu.
O ſanctas gentes, quibus hæc naſcuntur in hortis
Numina! *Juven. Satyr.* 15.

placed

placed in temples, and maintained with great care and at an extravagant expence *; to read, that thoſe who murthered them were puniſhed with death; and that theſe animals were embalmed, and ſolemnly depoſited in tombs, aſſign'd them by the publick; to hear, that this extravagance was carried to ſuch lengths, as that leeks and onions were acknowledged as deities; were invoked in neceſſity, and depended upon for ſuccour and protection; are exceſſes which we, at this diſtance of time, can ſcarce believe; and yet they have the evidence of all antiquity. You enter, ſays (*b*) Lucian, into a magnificent temple, every part of which glitters with gold and ſilver. You there look attentively for a God, and are cheated with a ſtork, an ape, or a cat; a juſt emblem, adds that author, of too many palaces, the maſters of which are far from being the brighteſt ornaments of them.

(*c*) Several reaſons are given of the worſhip paid to animals, by the Egyptians.

The firſt is drawn from the fabulous hiſtory. It is pretended that the gods, in a rebellion made againſt them by men, fled into Egypt, and there conceal'd themſelves, under the form of different animals; and that this gave birth to the worſhip, which was afterwards paid to thoſe animals.

The ſecond is taken from the benefit † which theſe ſeveral animals procure to mankind: Oxen by their labour; ſheep by their wool and milk; dogs by their ſervice in hunting and guarding houſes, whence the god Anubis was repreſented with a dog's head: The ibis, a bird very much reſembling a ſtork, was worſhipp'd, beeauſe he put to flight the wing'd ſerpents, with which Egypt would otherwiſe have been grievouſly infeſted; the crocodile, an amphibious creature, that is, living

(*b*) *Imag.* (*c*) Dicd. l. 1. p. 77, &c.

* *Diodorus affirms, that in his time, the expence amounted to no leſs than one hundred thouſand crowns, or* 22, 500 *l. ſterling*. Lib. I. p. 76.

† Ipſi, qui irridentur Ægyptii, nullam belluam niſi ob aliquam utilitatem, quam ex ea caperent, conſecraverunt. Cic. *l.* 1. *de Natura Deor. n.* 101.

alike

alike upon land and water, of a ſurprizing ſtrength and ſize *, was worſhipp'd, becauſe he defended Egypt from the incurſions of the wild Arabs; the Ichneumon was ador'd, becauſe he prevented the too great increaſe of crocodiles, which might have prov'd deſtructive to Egypt. Now the little animal in queſtion does this ſervice to the country two ways. Firſt, it watches the time when the crocodile is abſent, and breaks his eggs, but does not eat them. Secondly, when he ſleeps upon the banks of the Nile, (which he always does with his mouth open) this ſmall animal, which lies concealed in the mud, leaps at once into his mouth; gets down to his entrails, which he gnaws; then piercing his belly, the ſkin of which is very tender, he eſcapes with ſafety; and thus, by his addreſs and ſubtilty, returns victorious over ſo terrible an animal.

Philoſophers, not ſatisfied with reaſons, which were too trifling to account for ſuch ſtrange abſurdities as diſhonoured the heathen ſyſtem, and at which themſelves ſecretly bluſh'd; have, ſince the eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity, ſuppos'd a third reaſon for the worſhip which the Egyptians paid to animals; and declared, that it was not offered to the animals themſelves, but to the gods of whom they were ſymbols. (*d*) Plutarch, in his treatiſe, where he examines profeſſedly the pretenſions of Iſis and Oſiris, the two moſt famous deities of the Egyptians, ſays as follows. "Philoſophers honour the "image of God wherever they find it, even in inani-"mate beings, and conſequently more in thoſe which "have life. We are therefore to approve, not the wor-"ſhippers of theſe animals, but thoſe who, by their "means, aſcend to the deity; they are to be conſider'd "as ſo many mirrors, which nature holds forth, and "in which the ſupreme being diſplays himſelf in a "wonderful manner; or, as ſo many inſtruments, "which he makes uſe of to manifeſt outwardly, his

(*d*) p. 382.

* *Which, according to* Herodotus, *is no more than* 17 *cubits in length*, l. 2. c. 68.

" incomprehenſible wiſdom. Should men therefore,
" for the embelliſhing of ſtatues, amaſs together all
" the gold and precious ſtones in the world; the wor-
" ſhip muſt not be referr'd to the ſtatues, for the deity
" does not exiſt in colours artfully diſpos'd, nor in
" frail matter deſtitute of ſenſe and motion." (*e*) Plutarch ſays in the ſame treatiſe, " that as the ſun and
" moon, heaven, earth, and the ſea are common to all
" men, but have different names according to the dif-
" ference of nations and languages; in like manner,
" tho' there is but one deity, and one providence
" which governs the univerſe, and which has ſeveral
" ſubaltern miniſters under it; men give to this deity,
" which is the ſame, different names; and pay it dif-
" ferent honours, according to the laws and cuſtoms
" of every country."

But were theſe reflections which offer the moſt rational vindication poſſible, of idolatrous worſhip, ſufficient to cover the ridicule of it? Could it be call'd a raiſing of the divine attributes in a ſuitable manner, to direct the worſhipper to admire and ſeek for the image of them in beaſts of the moſt vile and contemptible kinds, as crocodiles, ſerpents, and cats? Was not this rather degrading and debaſing the deity, of whom, even the moſt ſtupid, uſually entertain a much greater and more auguſt idea?

However, theſe philoſophers were not always ſo juſt, as to aſcend from ſenſible beings to their inviſible author. The ſcriptures tell us, that theſe pretended ſages deſerv'd, on account of their pride and ingratitude, to be (*f*) *given over to a reprobate mind*; *and whilſt they profeſs'd themſelves wiſe, to become fools, for having changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beaſts, and creeping things.* To ſhew what man is when left to himſelf, God permitted that very nation which had carried human wiſdom to its greateſt height, to be the theatre in which the moſt ridiculous

(*e*) p. 377, & 378. (*f*) Rom. i. 22, 25.

and

and abſurd idolatry was acted. And, on the other ſide, to diſplay the almighty power of his grace, he converted the frightful deſarts of Egypt into a terreſtrial paradiſe; by peopling them, in the time appointed by his providence, with numberleſs multitudes of illuſtrious hermits, whoſe fervent piety, and rigorous penance, have done ſo much honour to the Chriſtian religion. I cannot forbear giving here a famous inſtance of it; and I hope the reader will excuſe this kind of digreſſion.

(*g*) The great wonder of Lower Egypt, ſays Abbé Fleury in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, was the city of Oxyrinchus, peopled with monks, both within and without, ſo that they were more numerous than its other inhabitants. The publick edifices, and idol temples had been converted into monaſteries, and theſe likewiſe were more in number than the private houſes. The monks lodg'd even over the gates, and in the towers. The people had twelve churches to aſſemble in, excluſive of the oratories belonging to the monaſteries. There were twenty thouſand virgins and ten thouſand monks in this city, every part of which echoed night and day with the praiſes of God. By order of the magiſtrates, centinels were poſted at the gates, to take notice of all ſtrangers and poor who came into the city; and thoſe who firſt received them, were obliged to provide them with all hoſpitable accommodations.

SECT. II. *The Ceremonies of the* Egyptian FUNERALS.

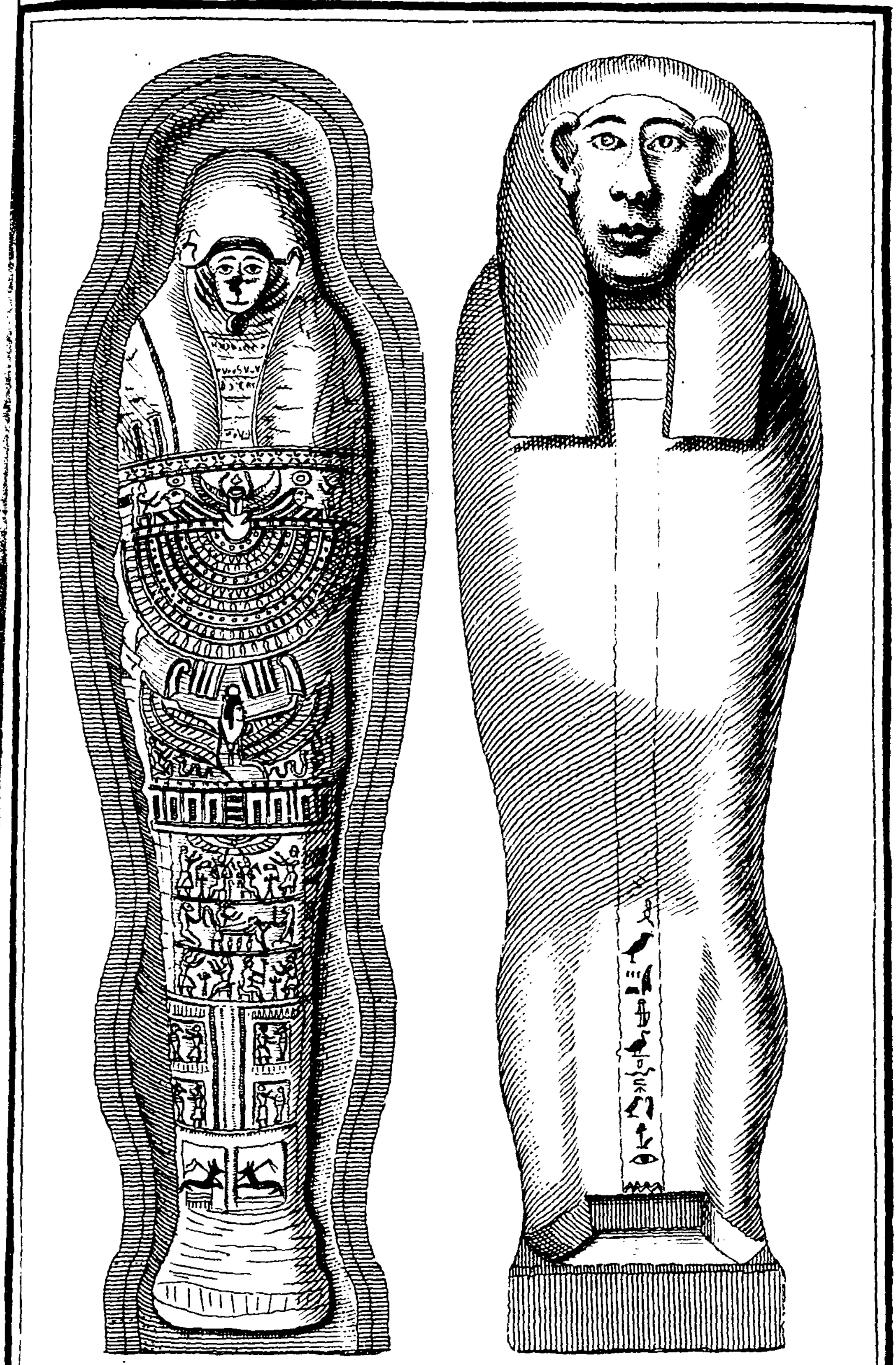
I ſhall now give a conciſe account of the funeral ceremonies of the Egyptians.

The honours which have been paid in all ages and nations to the bodies of the dead; and the religious care taken to provide ſepulchres for them, ſeem to inſinuate an univerſal perſuaſion, that bodies were lodg'd in ſepulchres merely as a depoſit or truſt.

We have already obſerv'd, in our mention of the pyramids, with what magnificence ſepulchres were built

(*g*) Tom. 5. p. 25, 26.

in



An Egyptian Mummy
in the Collection of D.r Mead.

Publish'd Oct.r 16. 1738 by J. & P. Knapton.

up in a kind of open cheſt, fitted exactly to the ſize of the corps,; then they plac'd it upright againſt the wall, either in ſepulchres, (if they had any) or in their houſes. Theſe embalm'd bodies are now what we call Mummies, which are ſtill brought from Egypt, and are found in the cabinets of the curious. This ſhews the care which the Egyptians took of their dead. Their gratitude to their deceas'd relations was immortal. Children, by ſeeing the bodies of their anceſtors thus preſerv'd, recalled to mind thoſe virtues for which the publick had honoured them; and were excited to a love of thoſe laws which ſuch excellent perſons had left for their ſecurity. We find that part of theſe ceremonies were performed in the funeral honours done to Joſeph in Egypt.

I have ſaid that the publick recogniz'd the virtues of deceaſed perſons, becauſe that, before they could be admitted into the ſacred aſylum of the tomb, they underwent a ſolemn trial. And this circumſtance in the Egyptian funerals, is one of the moſt remarkable to be found in ancient hiſtory.

It was a conſolation among the heathens, to a dying man, to leave a good name behind him; and they imagined that this is the only human bleſſing of which death cannot deprive us. But the Egyptians would not ſuffer praiſes to be beſtowed indiſcriminately on all deceaſed perſons. This honour was to be obtained only from the publick voice. The aſſembly of the judges met on the other ſide of a lake which they croſs'd in a boat. He who ſat at the helm was called Charon, in the Egyptian language; and this firſt gave the hint to Orpheus, who had been in Egypt, and after him, to the other Greeks, to invent the fiction of Charon's boat. As ſoon as a man was dead, he was brought to his trial. The publick accuſer was heard. If he prov'd that the deceas'd had led a bad life, his memory was condemn'd, and he was depriv'd of burial. The people were affected with laws, which extended even beyond the grave; and every one ſtruck with the diſgrace in-

flicted

flicted on the dead perſon, was afraid to reflect diſhonour on his own memory, and that of his family. But if the deceaſed perſon was not convicted of any crime, he was interr'd in an honourable manner.

A ſtill more aſtoniſhing circumſtance, in this publick inqueſt upon the dead, was, that the throne itſelf was no protection from it. Kings were ſpar'd during their lives, becauſe the publick peace was concern'd in this forbearance: but their quality did not exempt them from the judgment paſs'd upon the dead, and even ſome of them were depriv'd of ſepulture. This cuſtom was imitated by the Iſraelites. We ſee, in ſcripture, that bad kings were not interr'd in the monuments of their anceſtors. This practice ſuggeſted to princes, that if their majeſty placed them out of the reach of mens judgment, while they were alive, they would at laſt be liable to it, when death ſhould reduce them to a level with their ſubjects.

When therefore a favourable judgment was pronounced on a deceas'd perſon, the next thing was to proceed to the ceremonies of interment. In his panegyrick, no mention was made of his birth, becauſe every Egyptian was deem'd noble. No praiſes were conſider'd as juſt or true, but ſuch as related to the perſonal merit of the deceas'd. He was applauded for having received an excellent education in his younger years; and in his more advanced age, for having cultivated piety towards the gods, juſtice towards men, gentleneſs, modeſty, moderation, and all other virtues which conſtitute the good man. Then all the people ſhouted, and beſtowed the higheſt elogiums on the deceaſed, as one who would be received, for ever, into the ſociety of the virtuous in Pluto's kingdom.

To conclude this article of the ceremonies of funerals, it may not be amiſs to obſerve to young pupils, the different manners with which the bodies of the dead were treated by the ancients. Some, as we obſerved of the Egyptians, expos'd them to view after they had been embalm'd, and thus preſerved them to after-ages.

Others,

Others, as particularly the Romans, burnt them on a funeral pile: and others again, laid them in the earth.

The care to preſerve bodies without lodging them in tombs, appears injurious to human nature in general, and to thoſe perſons in particular for whom this reſpect is deſign'd; becauſe it expoſes too viſibly their wretched ſtate and deformity; ſince whatever care may be taken, ſpectators ſee nothing but the melancholy and frightful remains of what they once were. The cuſtom of burning dead bodies has ſomething in it cruel and barbarous, in deſtroying ſo haſtily the remains of perſons once dear to us. That of interment is certainly the moſt ancient and religious. It reſtores to the earth what had been taken from it; and prepares our belief of a ſecond reſtitution of our bodies, from that duſt of which they were at firſt formed.

CHAP. III.

Of the Egyptian SOLDIERS *and* WAR.

THE profeſſion of arms was in great repute among the Egyptians. After the ſacerdotal families, the moſt illuſtrious, as with us, were thoſe devoted to a military life. They were not only diſtinguiſh'd by honours, but by ample liberalities. Every ſoldier was allowed an Aroura, that is a piece of arable land very near anſwering to half a French acre *, exempt from all tax or tribute. Beſides this privilege, each ſoldier received a daily allowance of five pounds of bread, two of fleſh, and a pint of wine †. This allowance was ſufficient to ſupport part of their family. Such an indulgence made them more affectionate to the perſon of

* *Twelve* Arouras. *An* Egyptian Aroura *was* 10,000 *ſquare cubits, equal to* 3 *roods,* 2 *perches,* 55 $\frac{1}{4}$ *ſquare foot of our meaſure.*

† *The Greek is* οἴνου τέσσαρες ἀρυσῆρες, *which ſome have made to ſignify a determinate quantity of wine, or any other liquid; others; regarding the etymology of the word* ἀρυσὴρ, *have tranſlated it by* hauſtrum *a bucket, as* Lucretius, L. c. 51. *others by* hauſtus *a draught or ſup.* Herodotus *ſays, this allowance was given only to the two thouſand guards who attended annually on the King,* L. 2. c. 168.

(n) their

their prince, and the intereſts of their country, and more reſolute in the defence of both; and as (*l*) Diodorus obſerves, it was thought inconſiſtent with good policy, and even common ſenſe, to commit the defence of a country, to men who had no intereſt in its preſervation.

(*m*) Four hundred thouſand ſoldiers were kept in continual pay; all natives of Egypt, and trained up in the exacteſt diſcipline. They were inur'd to the fatigues of war, by a ſevere and rigorous education. There is an art of forming the body as well as the mind. This art, loſt by our ſloth, was well known to the ancients, and eſpecially to the Egyptians. Foot, horſe and chariot races were performed in Egypt with wonderful agility, and the world could not ſhew better horſe-men than the Egyptians. (*n*) The ſcripture in ſeveral places ſpeaks advantageouſly of their cavalry.

Military laws were eaſily preſerv'd in Egypt, becauſe ſons receiv'd them from their fathers; the profeſſion of war, as all others, being tranſmitted from father to ſon. (*o*) Thoſe who fled in battle, or diſcovered any ſigns of cowardiſe, were only diſtinguiſh'd by ſome particular mark of ignominy; it being thought more adviſeable to reſtrain them by motives of honour, than by the terrors of puniſhment.

But notwithſtanding this, I will not pretend to ſay, that the Egyptians were a warlike people. 'Tis of little advantage to have regular and well-paid troops; to have armies exercis'd in peace, and employed only in mock fights: it is war alone, and real combats, which form the ſoldier. Egypt loved peace, becauſe it loved juſtice, and maintained ſoldiers only for its ſecurity. Its inhabitants, content with a country which abounded in all things, had no ambitious dreams of conqueſt. The Egyptians extended their reputation in a very different manner, by ſending colonies into all parts of the world, and with them laws and politeneſs. They tri-

(*l*) Lib. 1. p. 67. (*m*) Herod. l. 2. c. 164, 168.
(*n*) Cant. i. 8. Iſa. xxxvi. 9. (*o*) Diod. p. 70.

umphed by the wiſdom of their counſels, and the ſuperiority of their knowledge; and this empire of the mind appear'd more noble and glorious to them, than that which is atchieved by arms and conqueſt. But nevertheleſs, Egypt has given birth to illuſtrious conquerors, as will be obſerved hereafter, when we come to treat of its Kings.

CHAP. IV.

Of their ARTS *and* SCIENCES.

THE Egyptians had an inventive genius, and turned it to profitable ſpeculations. Their Mercuries filled Egypt with wonderful inventions, and left it almoſt ignorant of nothing which could accompliſh the mind, or procure eaſe and happineſs. The diſcoverers of any uſeful invention receiv'd, both living and dead, rewards equal to their profitable labours. It is this conſecrated the books of their two Mercuries, and ſtamp'd them with a divine authority. The firſt libraries were in Egypt; and the titles they bore, inſpired the reader with an eager deſire to enter them, and dive into the ſecrets they contained. They were called the * *Office for the diſeaſes of the ſoul*, and that very juſtly, becauſe the ſoul was there cur'd of ignorance, the moſt dangerous and the parent of all her maladies.

As their country was level, and the air of it always ſerene and unclouded, they were ſome of the firſt who obſerved the courſes of the planets. Theſe obſervations led them to regulate the year † from the courſe of the

* Ψυχῆς ἰατρεῖον.

† *It will not ſeem ſurpriſing that the Egyptians, who were the moſt ancient obſervers of the celeſtial motions, ſhould have arrived to this knowledge; when it is conſider'd, that the lunar year, made uſe of by the Greeks and Romans, tho' it appears ſo inconvenient and irregular, ſuppos'd nevertheleſs a knowledge of the ſolar Year, ſuch as Diodorus Siculus aſcribes to the Egyptians. 'Twill appear at firſt ſight, by calculating their intercalations, that thoſe who firſt divided the year in this manner, were not ignorant, that to three hundred ſixty five days, ſome hours were to be added, to keep pace with the ſun. Their only error lay, in the ſuppoſition that only ſix hours were wanting; whereas an addition of almoſt eleven minutes more was requiſite.*

ſun;

ſun; for as Diodorus obſerves, their year, from the moſt remote antiquity, was compoſed of three hundred ſixty five days and ſix hours. To adjuſt the property of their lands, which were every year covered by the overflowing of the Nile, they were obliged to have recourſe to ſurveys; and this firſt taught them geometry. They were great obſervers of nature, which, in a climate ſo ſerene, and under ſo intenſe a ſun, was vigorous and fruitful.

By this ſtudy and application they invented or improved the ſcience of phyſick. The ſick were not abandoned to the arbitrary will and caprice of the phyſician. He was obliged to follow fixed rules, which were the obſervations of old and experienced practitioners, and written in the ſacred books. While theſe rules were obſerved, the phyſician was not anſwerable for the ſucceſs; otherwiſe a miſcarriage coſt him his life. This law checked indeed the temerity of empiricks; but then it might prevent new diſcoveries, and keep the art from attaining to its juſt perfection. Every phyſician, (*p*) if Herodotus may be credited, confined his practice to the cure of one diſeaſe only; one was for the eyes, another for the teeth, and ſo on.

What we have ſaid of the pyramids, the labyrinth, and that infinite number of obeliſks, temples and palaces, whoſe precious remains ſtill ſtrike with admiration, and in which were diſplay'd, the magnificence of the princes who raiſed them, the ſkill of the workmen, the riches of the ornaments diffuſed over every part of them, and the juſt proportion and beautiful ſymmetry of the parts in which their greateſt beauty conſiſted; works, in many of which the livelineſs of the colours remain to this day, in ſpite of the rude hand of time, which commonly deadens or deſtroys them: All this, I ſay, ſhews the perfection to which architecture, painting, ſculpture, and all other arts had arrived in Egypt.

(*q*) The Egyptians entertained but a mean opinion of that ſort of exerciſe, which did not contribute to in-

(*p*) L. 2. c. 84. (*q*) Diod. l. 1. p. 73.

vigorate the body, or improve health; nor of muſick *, which they conſidered as a uſeleſs and dangerous diverſion, and only fit to enervate the mind.

CHAP. V.

Of HUSBANDMEN, SHEPHERDS *and* ARTIFICERS.

(r) HUsbandmen, ſhepherds, and artificers, formed the three claſſes of lower life in Egypt, but were nevertheleſs had in very great eſteem, particularly husbandmen and ſhepherds. The body politick requires a ſuperiority and ſubordination of its ſeveral members; for as in the natural body, the eye may be ſaid to hold the firſt rank, yet its luſtre does not dart contempt upon the feet, the hands, or even on thoſe parts which are leſs honourable. In like manner, among the Egyptians, the prieſts, ſoldiers, and ſcholars were diſtinguiſhed by particular honours; but all profeſſions, to the meaneſt, had their ſhare in the publick eſteem, becauſe the deſpiſing any man, whoſe labours, however mean, were uſeful to the ſtate, was thought a crime.

A better reaſon than the foregoing, might have inſpired them at the firſt with theſe ſentiments of equity and moderation, which they ſo long preſerv'd. As they all deſcended from † Cham their common father, the memory of their origin occurring freſh to the minds of all in thoſe firſt ages, eſtabliſhed among them a kind of equality, and ſtamped, in their opinion, a nobility on every perſon derived from the common ſtock. Indeed the difference of conditions, and the contempt with which perſons of the loweſt rank are treated, are owing merely to the diſtance from the common root; which makes us forget that the meaneſt plebeian, when his deſcent is traced back to the ſource, is equally noble with thoſe of the moſt elevated rank and titles.

(r) Diod. l. 1. p. 67, 68.

* Τὴν δὲ μουσικὴν νομίζουσιν ὐ μόνον ἄχρηστον ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βλαβερὰν ὡς ἂν ἐκθηλύνουσαν τὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ψυχάς.

† or *Ham*.

Be that as it will, no profeſſion in Egypt was conſidered as groveling or ſordid. By this means arts were raiſed to their higheſt perfection. The honour which cheriſhed them mixed with every thought and care for their improvement. Every man had his way of life aſſigned him by the laws, and it was perpetuated from father to ſon. Two profeſſions at one time, or a change of that which a man was born to, were never allowed. By this means, men became more able and expert in employments which they had always exerciſed from their infancy; and every man adding his own experience to that of his anceſtors, was more capable of attaining perfection in his particular art. Beſides, this wholeſome inſtitution which had been eſtabliſhed antiently throughout Egypt, extinguiſhed all irregular ambition; and taught every man to ſit down contented with his condition, without aſpiring to one more elevated, from intereſt, vain-glory or levity.

From this ſource flowed numberleſs inventions for the improvement of all the arts, and for rendering life more commodious, and trade more eaſy. I once could not believe that (*s*) Diodorus was in earneſt, in what he relates concerning the Egyptian induſtry, *viz.* that this people had found out a way, by an artificial fecundity, to hatch eggs without the ſitting of the hen; but all modern travellers declare it to be a fact, which certainly is worthy our curioſity, and is ſaid to be practiſed in Europe. Their relations inform us, that the Egyptians ſtow eggs in ovens, which are heated ſo temperately, and with ſuch juſt proportion to the natural warmth of the hen, that the chickens produced from theſe ovens are as ſtrong as thoſe which are hatched the natural way. The ſeaſon of the year proper for this operation is, from the end of December to the end of April; the heat in Egypt being too violent in the other months. During theſe four months, upwards of three hundred thouſand eggs are laid in theſe ovens, which tho' they are not all ſucceſsful, they nevertheleſs

(*s*) Diod. l. 1. p. 67.

produce vaſt numbers of fowls at an eaſy rate. The art lies in giving the ovens a juſt degree of heat, which muſt not exceed a fixed proportion. About ten days are beſtowed in heating theſe ovens, and very near as much time in hatching the eggs. It is very entertaining, ſay theſe travellers, to obſerve the hatching of theſe chickens, ſome of which ſhew at firſt nothing but their heads, others but half their bodies, and others again come quite out of the egg; theſe laſt, the moment they are hatched, make their way over the unhatched eggs, and form a diverting ſpectacle. (*t*) Corneille le Bruyn, in his travels, has collected the obſervations of other travellers on this ſubject. (*u*) Pliny likewiſe mentions it; but it appears, from him, that the Egyptians, antiently, employed warm dung, not ovens, to hatch eggs *.

I have ſaid, that huſbandmen particularly, and thoſe who took care of flocks, were in great eſteem in Egypt, ſome parts of it excepted, where the latter were not ſuffered †. It was, indeed, to theſe two profeſſions that Egypt owed its riches and plenty. It is aſtoniſhing to reflect what advantages the Egyptians, by their art and labour, drew from a country of no great extent, but whoſe ſoil was made wonderfully fruitful by the inundations of the Nile, and the laborious induſtry of the inhabitants.

(*t*) Tom. II. p. 64.

* *The words of Pliny referr'd to by Mr. Rollin are theſe.* Nuper inde fortaſſe inventum, ut Ova in calido loco impoſita paleis igne modico foverentur homine verſante, pariterque & ſtato die illinc erumperet fœtus. *He ſpeaks of this invention as modern, and ſeems to refer it to the curioſity of Livia the mother of Tiberius Cæſar, who, deſirous of having a male-child, put an egg in her boſom, and when ſhe parted with it, deliver'd it to one of her women to preſerve the heat. This ſhe made an augury to gueſs at*

(*u*) Lib. 10. c. 54.

the ſex of the child ſhe had then in her womb, and we are told, ſays Pliny, that ſhe was not deceiv'd. It is probable Mr. Rollin may have met with ſome other place in Pliny favourable to his ſentiment, though after ſome ſearch I cannot find any.

† *Hogherds, in particular, had a general ill name throughout Egypt, as they had the care of ſo impure an animal.* Herodotus (l. 2. c. 47.) *tells us, that they were not permitted to enter the Egyptian Temples, nor would any man give them his daughter in marriage.*

It

It will be always ſo with every kingdom, whoſe governors direct all their actions to the publick welfare. The culture of lands, and the breeding of cattle will be an inexhauſtible fund of wealth in all countries, where, as in Egypt, theſe profitable callings are ſupported and incouraged by maxims of ſtate and policy: And we may conſider it as a misfortune, that they are at preſent fallen into ſo general a diſeſteem: though 'tis from them that the moſt elevated ranks (as we eſteem them) are furniſhed not only with the neceſſaries, but even the delights of life. "For," *ſays Abbé Fleury, in his admirable work*, Of the manners of the Iſraelites, *where the ſubject I am upon is thoroughly examined*, "it "is the peaſant who feeds the citizen, the magiſtrate, "the gentleman, the eccleſiaſtick: And, whatever ar- "tifice and craft may be uſed to convert money into "commodities, and theſe back again into money; yet "all muſt ultimately be owned to be received from "the products of the earth, and the animals which it "ſuſtains and nouriſhes. Nevertheleſs, when we com- "pare men's different ſtations in life together, we give "the loweſt place to the huſbandman: And with many "people a wealthy citizen, enervated with ſloth, uſe- "leſs to the publick, and void of all merit, has the "preference, merely becauſe he has more money, and "lives a more eaſy and delightful life.

"But let us image to ourſelves a country where ſo "great a difference is not made between the ſeveral "conditions; where the life of a nobleman is not "made to conſiſt in idleneſs and doing nothing, but in "a careful preſervation of his liberty; that is, in a "due ſubjection to the laws and the conſtitution; by "a man's ſubſiſting upon his eſtate without any de- "pendance, and being contented to enjoy a little with "liberty, rather than a great deal at the price of mean "and baſe compliances: A country, where ſloth, ef- "feminacy, and the ignorance of things neceſſary for "life, are had in their juſt contempt; and where "pleaſure is leſs valued than health and bodily ſtrength:

" In ſuch a country, it will be much more for a man's " reputation to plough, and keep flocks, than to waſte " all his hours in ſauntering from place to place, in " gaming, and expenſive diverſions." But we need not have recourſe to Plato's commonwealth for inſtances of men who have led theſe uſeful lives. It was thus that the greateſt part of mankind lived during near four thouſand years; and that not only the Iſraelites, but the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans, that is to ſay, nations the moſt civilized, and moſt renowned for arms and wiſdom. They all inculcate the regard which ought to be paid to agriculture, and the breeding of cattle: One of which (without ſaying any thing of hemp and flax ſo neceſſary for our cloathing) ſupplies us, by corn, fruits, and pulſe, with not only a plentiful but delicious nouriſhment; and the other, beſides its ſupply of exquiſite meats to cover our tables, almoſt alone gives life to manufactures and trade, by the ſkins and ſtuffs it furniſhes.

Princes are commonly deſirous, and their intereſt certainly requires it, that the peaſant who, in a literal ſenſe, ſuſtains the heat and burden of the day, and pays ſo great a proportion of the national taxes, ſhould meet with favour and incouragement. But the kind and good intentions of princes are too often defeated by the inſatiable and mercileſs avarice of thoſe who are appointed to collect their revenues. Hiſtory has tranſmitted to us a fine ſaying of Tiberius on this head. (*x*) A preſect of Egypt having augmented the annual tribute of the province, and, doubtleſs with the view of making his court to the emperor, remitted to him a ſum much larger than was cuſtomary; that prince, who, in the beginning of his reign thought, or at leaſt ſpoke juſtly, anſwered, * *That it was his deſign not to flea but to ſhear his ſheep.*

(*x*) Diod. l. 57. p. 608.

* Κείρεσθαι μὲν τὰ πρόβατα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀποξύρεσθαι βούλομαι. Diod. l. 57.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the FERTILITY *of* EGYPT.

UNDER this head, I ſhall treat only of ſome plants peculiar to Egypt, and of the abundance of corn which it produced.

Papyrus. This is a plant from the root of which ſhoot out a great many triangular ſtalks, to the height of ſix or ſeven cubits. (*y*) The ancients writ at firſt upon palm leaves; next on the inſide of the bark of trees, from whence the word *liber*, or book, is derived; after that, upon tables cover'd over with wax, on which the characters were impreſs'd with an inſtrument called Stylus, ſharp-pointed at one end to write with, and flat at the other to efface what had been written; which gave occaſion to the following expreſſion of Horace.

Sæpe ſtylum vertas, iterum quæ digna legi ſint
Scripturus: *Sat.* 10. *v.* 72.
Oft turn your ſtile, if you deſire to write
Things that will bear a ſecond reading——

The meaning of which is, that a good performance is not to be expected without many corrections. At laſt the uſe of paper * was introduc'd, and this was made of the bark of Papyrus, divided into thin flakes or leaves, which were very proper for writing, and this Papyrus was likewiſe call'd Byblus.

Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere byblos
Noverat. *Lucan.*
Memphis as yet knew not to form in leaves
The watry Biblos.

Pliny calls it a wonderful invention †, ſo uſeful to life, that it preſerves the memory of great actions, and

(*y*) Plin. l. 13. c. 11.

* *The Papyrus was divided into thin flakes (into which it naturally parted) which being laid on a table, and moiſtned with the glutinous waters of the Nile, were afterwards preſs'd together and dried in the ſun.*

† Poſtea promiſcuè patuit uſus rei, qua conſtat immortalitas hominum. Chartæ uſu maxime humanitas conſtat in memoria.

immortalizes thoſe who atchiev'd them. Varro aſcribes this invention to Alexander the Great, when he built Alexandria; but he had only the merit of making paper more common, for the invention was of much greater antiquity. The ſame Pliny adds, that Eumenes, king of Pergamus, ſubſtituted parchment inſtead of paper; in emulation of Ptolemy king of Egypt, whoſe library he was ambitious to excel by this invention, which carried the advantage over paper. Parchment is the ſkin of a ſheep dreſs'd and made fit to write upon. It was called Pergamenum from Pergamus, whoſe kings had the honour of the invention. All the ancient manuſcripts are either upon parchment, or vellum which is calf-ſkin, and a great deal finer than the common parchment. It is very curious to ſee white fine paper, wrought out of filthy rags pick'd up in the ſtreets. (z) The plant Papyrus was uſeful likewiſe for ſails, tackling, clothes, coverlets, &c.

Linum. Flax is a plant whoſe bark, full of fibres or ſtrings, is uſeful in making fine linnen. The method of making this linnen in Egypt was wonderful, and carried to ſuch perfection, that the threads which were drawn out of them, were almoſt too ſmall for the obſervation of the ſharpeſt eye. Prieſts were always habited in linnen, and never in woollen; and not only the prieſts, but all perſons of diſtinction generally wore linnen clothes. This flax form'd a conſiderable branch of the Egyptian trade, and great quantities of it were exported into foreign countries. The making of it employ'd a great number of hands, eſpecially of the women, as appears from that paſſage of Iſaiah, in which the prophet menaces Egypt with a drought of ſo terrible a kind that it ſhould interrupt every kind of labour. (a) *Moreover, they that work in fine flax, and they that weave network ſhall be confounded.* We likewiſe find in ſcripture, that one effect of the plague of hail call'd down by (b) Moſes upon Egypt, was the

(z) Plin. l. 19. c. 1. (a) Iſ. xix. 9. (b) Exod. ix. 31.

deſtruc-

deſtruction of all the flax which was then bolled. This ſtorm was in March.

Byſſus. (*c*) This was another kind of flax extreamly fine and ſmall, which often receiv'd a purple dye. It was very dear; and none but rich and wealthy perſons could afford to wear it. Pliny, who gives the firſt place to the Aſbeſton or Aſbeſtinum (*i. e.* the incombuſtible flax) places the Byſſus in the next rank; and ſays, that it ſerv'd as an ornament to the ladies *. It appears from the holy ſcriptures, that it was chiefly from Egypt cloth made of this fine flax was brought. (*d*) *Fine linnen with broidered work from Egypt.*

I take no notice of the Lotus or Lote-tree, a plant in great requeſt with the Egyptians, and whoſe berries ſerved them in former times for bread. There was another Lotus in Africa, which gave its name to the Lotophagi or Lotus-eaters; becauſe they liv'd upon the fruit of this tree, which had ſo delicious a taſte, if Homer may be credited, that it made the eaters of it forget all the ſweets of their native country †, as Ulyſſes found to his coſt in his return from Troy.

In general, it may be ſaid, that the Egyptian pulſe and fruits were excellent; and might, as Pliny ‖ obſerves, have ſuffic'd ſingly for the nouriſhment of the inhabitants, ſuch was their excellent quality, and ſo great their plenty. And indeed working men lived then

(*c*) Plin. ibid. (*d*) Ezek. xxvii. 7.

* Proximus Byſſino mulierum maxime deliciis genito: inventum jam eſt etiam [*ſcilicet Linum*] quod ignibus non abſumetur, vivum id vocant, ardenteſque in focis conviviorum ex eo vidimus mappas, ſordibus exuſtis ſplendeſcentes igni magis, quam poſſent aquis. *i. e. A flax is now found out which is proof againſt the violence of Fire; it is called living flax, and we have ſeen table napkins of it glowing in the fires of our dining-rooms; and receiving a luſtre and a cleanneſs from flames, which no water could have given it.*

† Τῶνδ' ὅσις λωτοῖο φάγοι μελιηδέα καρπὸν,
Οὐκ ἔτ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι πάλιν ἤθελεν, οὐδὲ νέεσθαι.
Odyſſ. 9. v. 94, 95.

Μή πώ τις λωτοῖο φαγὼν, νόστοιο λάθηται. v. 102.

‖ Ægyptus frugum quidem fertiliſſima, ſed ut prope ſola iis carere poſſit, tanta eſt ciborum ex herbis abundantia. *Plin.* l. 21. c. 15.

almoſt

almoſt upon nothing elſe, as appears from thoſe who were employed in building the pyramids.

Beſides theſe rural riches, the Nile from its fiſh, and the fatneſs it gave to the ſoil for the feeding of cattle, furniſhed the tables of the Egyptians with the moſt exquiſite fiſh of every kind, and the moſt ſucculent fleſh. This it was which made the Iſraelites ſo deeply regret the loſs of Egypt, when they found themſelves in the dreary deſert. *Who*, ſay they in a plaintive, and at the ſame time ſeditious tone, (*f*) *ſhall give us fleſh to eat? We remember the fiſh which we did eat in Egypt freely; the cucumbers and melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick.* (*g*) *We ſat by the fleſh-pots, and we did eat bread to the full.*

But the great and matchleſs wealth of Egypt aroſe from its corn, which, even in an almoſt univerſal famine, enabled it to ſupport all the neighbouring nations, as it particularly did under Joſeph's adminiſtration. In later ages it was the reſource and moſt certain granary of Rome and Conſtantinople. It is a well known ſtory, how a calumny raiſed againſt St. Athanaſius, *viz.* of his having menaced Conſtantinople, that for the future no more corn ſhould be imported to it from Alexandria; incens'd the emperor Conſtantine againſt that holy biſhop, becauſe he knew that his capital city could not ſubſiſt without the corn which was brought to it from Egypt. The ſame reaſon induc'd all the emperors of Rome to take ſo great a care of Egypt, which they conſider'd as the nurſing mother of the world's metropolis.

Nevertheleſs, the ſame river which enabled this province to ſubſiſt the two moſt populous cities in the world, ſometimes reduced even Egypt itſelf to the moſt terrible famine: And it is aſtoniſhing that Joſeph's wiſe foreſight, which in fruitful years had made a proviſion for ſeaſons of ſterility, ſhould not have hinted to theſe ſo much boaſted politicians, a like care againſt the changes and inconſtancy of the Nile. Pliny, in his

(*f*) Num. xi. 4, 5. (*g*) Exod. xvi. 3.

panegyric's

panegyrick upon Trajan, paints with wonderful ſtrength the extremity to which that country was reduced by a famine, under that prince's reign, and his generous relief of it. The reader will not be diſpleas'd to read here an extract of it, in which a greater regard will be had to Pliny's thoughts, than to his expreſſions.

The Egyptians, ſays Pliny, who gloried that they needed neither rain nor ſun to produce their corn, and who believed they might confidently conteſt the prize of plenty with the moſt fruitful countries of the world, were condemn'd to an unexpected drought, and a fatal ſterility; from the greateſt part of their territories being deſerted and left unwater'd by the Nile, whoſe inundation is the ſource and ſure ſtandard of their abundance. They then * implor'd that aſſiſtance from their prince, which they us'd to expect only from their river. The delay of their relief was no longer, than that which employed a courier to bring the melancholy news to Rome; and one would have imagin'd, that this misfortune had befallen them only to diſtinguiſh with greater luſtre, the generoſity and goodneſs of Cæſar. † It was an ancient and general opinion, that our city could not ſubſiſt without proviſions drawn from Egypt. This vain and proud nation boaſted, that tho' it was conquer'd, it nevertheleſs fed its conquerors; that, by means of its river, either abundance or ſcarcity were entirely in its diſpoſal. But we now have returned the Nile his own harveſts, and given him back the proviſions he ſent us. Let the Egyptians be then convinc'd by their own experience, that they are not neceſſary to us, and are only our vaſſals. Let them know that their ſhips do not ſo much bring us the proviſion we ſtand in need of, as the tribute which they owe us.

* Inundatione, id eſt, ubertate regio fraudata, ſic opem Cæſaris invocavit, ut ſolet amnem ſuum.

† Pererebuerat antiquitus urbem noſtram niſi opibus Ægypti ali ſuſtentarique non poſſe. Superbiebat ventoſa & inſolens natio, quod victorem quidem populum paſceret tamen, quodque in ſuo flumine, in ſuis manibus, vel abundantia noſtra vel fames eſſet. Refudimus Nilo ſuas copias. Recepit frumenta quæ miſerat, deportataſque meſſes revexit.

And

And let them never forget, that we can do without them, but that they can never do without us. This moſt fruitful province had been ruin'd, had it not wore the Roman chains. The Egyptians in their ſovereign, have found a deliverer, and a father. Aſtoniſh'd at the ſight of their granaries, fill'd without any labour of their own, they were at a loſs to know to whom they owed this foreign and gratuitous plenty. The famine of a people at ſuch diſtance from us, and which was ſo ſpeedily ſtopped, ſerved only to let them feel the advantage of living under our empire. The * Nile may in other times have diffuſed more plenty on Egypt, but never more glory upon us. May heaven, content with this proof of the people's patience, and the prince's generoſity, reſtore for ever back to Egypt its ancient fertility.

Pliny's reproach to the Egyptians, for their vain and fooliſh pride, with regard to the inundations of the Nile, points out one of their moſt peculiar characteriſticks, and recalls to my mind a fine paſſage of Ezekiel, where God thus ſpeaks to Pharaoh, one of their kings, (*b*) *Behold I am againſt thee Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midſt of his rivers, which hath ſaid, My river is my own, and I have made it for my ſelf.* God perceived an inſupportable pride in the heart of this prince: A ſenſe of ſecurity and confidence in the inundations of the Nile, independent entirely on the influences of heaven; as tho' the happy effects of this inundation had been owing to nothing but his own care and labour, or thoſe of his predeceſſors: *The river is mine, and I have made it.*

Before I conclude this ſecond part of the manners of the Egyptians, I think it incumbent on me, to beſpeak the attention of my readers to different paſſages ſcatter'd in the hiſtory of Abraham, Jacob, Joſeph, and Moſes, which confirm and illuſtrate part of what we meet

(*b*) Ezek. xxix. 3, 9.

* Nilus Ægypto quidem ſæpe, ſed gloriæ noſtræ nunquam largior fluxit.

with

with in profane authors upon this ſubject. They will there obſerve the perfect polity which reign'd in Egypt, both in the court and the reſt of the kingdom; the vigilance of the prince, who was informed of all tranſactions, had a regular council, a choſen number of miniſters, armies ever well maintained and diſciplin'd, and of every order of ſoldiery, horſe, foot, armed chariots; intendants in all the provinces; overſeers or guardians of the publick granaries; wiſe and exact diſpenſers of the corn lodg'd in them; a court compos'd of great officers of the crown, a captain of his guards, a cup-bearer, a maſter of his pantry; in a word, all things that compoſe a prince's houſhold, and conſtitute a magnificent court. (*i*) But above all theſe the readers will admire the fear in which the threatnings of God were held, the inſpector of all actions, and the judge of kings themſelves; and the horror the Egyptians had for adultery, which was acknowledged to be a crime of ſo heinous a nature, that it alone was capable of bringing deſtruction on a nation.

(*i*) Gen. xii. 10, 26.

PART

PART THE THIRD.

THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS of *EGYPT*.

NO part of antient hiſtory is more obſcure or uncertain, than that of the firſt kings of Egypt. This proud nation, fondly conceited of its antiquity and nobility, thought it glorious to loſe itſelf in an abyſs of infinite ages, as tho' it ſeem'd to carry its pretenſions backward to eternity. (*k*) According to its own hiſtorians, firſt, gods, and afterwards demi-gods or heroes, govern'd it ſucceſſively, through a ſeries of more than twenty thouſand years. But the abſurdity of this vain and fabulous claim, is eaſily diſcovered.

To gods and demi-gods, men ſucceeded as rulers or kings in Egypt, of whom Manethon has left us thirty dynaſties or principalities. This Manethon was an Egyptian high-prieſt, and keeper of the ſacred archives of Egypt, and had been inſtructed in the Grecian learning: he wrote a hiſtory of Egypt, which he pretended to have extracted from the writings of Mercurius and other ancient memoirs, preſerved in the archives of the Egyptian temples. He drew up this hiſtory under the reign, and at the command of Ptolemy Philadelphus. If his thirty dynaſties are allow'd to be ſucceſſive, they make up a ſeries of time, of more than five thouſand three hundred years, to the reign of Alexander the Great; but this is a manifeſt forgery.

(*k*) Dicd. l. 1. p. 41.

Beſides,

Beſides, we find in Eratoſthenes *, who was invited to Alexandria by Ptolemy Evergetes, a catalogue of thirty eight kings of Thebes, all different from thoſe of Manethon. The clearing up of theſe difficulties has put the learned to a great deal of trouble and labour. The moſt effectual way to reconcile ſuch contradictions, is, to ſuppoſe with almoſt all the modern writers upon this ſubject, that the kings of theſe different dynaſties, did not reign ſucceſſively after one another, but many of them at the ſame time, and in different countries of Egypt. There were in Egypt four principal dynaſties, that of Thebes, of Thin, of Memphis, and of Tanis. I ſhall not here give my readers a liſt of the kings, who have reign'd in Egypt, moſt of whom are only tranſmitted to us by their names. I ſhall only take notice of what ſeems to me moſt proper, to give youth the neceſſary light into this part of hiſtory, for whoſe ſake principally I engaged in this undertaking; and I ſhall confine my ſelf chiefly to the memoirs left us by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus concerning the Egyptian kings, without even ſcrupulouſly preſerving the exactneſs of ſucceſſion, in the beginnings at leaſt, which are very obſcure; or pretending to reconcile theſe two hiſtorians. Their deſign, eſpecially that of Herodotus, was not to lay before us an exact ſeries of the kings of Egypt, but only to point out thoſe princes whoſe hiſtory appear'd to them moſt important and inſtructive. I ſhall follow the ſame plan, and hope to be forgiven, for not having involved either my ſelf, or my readers in a labyrinth of almoſt inextricable difficulties, from which the moſt capable can ſcarce diſengage themſelves, when they pretend to follow the ſeries of hiſtory, and reduce it to fixed and certain dates. The curious may conſult the learned † pieces, in which this ſubject is treated in all its extent.

I am to premiſe, that Herodotus, upon the credit of

* *An hiſtorian of Cyrene.*

† Sir John Marſham's *Chronic. Canon.* *Father* Pezron, *the diſſertation of* F. Tournemine, *and* Abbé Sevin, *&c.*

the

the Egyptian prieſts, whom he had conſulted, gives us a great number of oracles, and ſingular incidents, all which, tho' he relates them as ſo many facts, the judicious reader will eaſily diſcover to be what they are, I mean fictions.

The ancient hiſtory of Egypt comprehends 2158 years, and is naturally divided into three periods.

The firſt begins with the eſtabliſhment of the Egyptian monarchy, by Menes or Miſraïm, the ſon of (*l*) Cham, in the year of the world 1816; and ends with the deſtruction of that monarchy by Cambyſes, king of Perſia, in the year of the world 3479. This firſt period contains 1663 years.

The ſecond period is intermix'd with the Perſian and Grecian hiſtory, extended to the death of Alexander the Great, which happen'd in the year 3681, and conſequently includes 202 years.

The third period is that in which a new monarchy was form'd in Egypt by the Lagides or Ptolomies, deſcendants from Lagus; to the death of Cleopatra the laſt queen of Egypt in 3974, and this laſt comprehends 293 years.

I ſhall now treat only of the firſt period, reſerving the two others for the Æras to which they belong.

The KINGS *of* EGYPT.

(*m*) MENES. Hiſtorians are unanimouſly agreed, that Menes was the firſt king of Egypt. It is pretended, and not without foundation, that he is the ſame with Miſraïm, the ſon of Cham.

Cham was the ſecond ſon of Noah. When the family of the latter, after the extravagant attempt of building the tower of Babel, diſperſed themſelves into different countries, Cham retir'd to Africa, and it doubtleſs was he who afterwards was worſhipped as a god, under the name of Jupiter Ammon. He had four children, (*n*) Chus, Miſraïm, Phut and Canaan. Chus

(*l*) *Or Ham.* (*m*) An. M. 1816. Ant. J. C. 2188.
(*n*) *Or Cuſh*, Gen. x. 6.

ſettled

ſettled in Ethiopia, Miſraïm in Egypt, which generally is called in ſcripture after his name, and by that of Cham * his father; Phut took poſſeſſion of that part of Africa, which lies weſtward of Egypt; and Canaan of the country which has ſince bore his name. The Canaanites are certainly the ſame people, who are called almoſt always Phœnicians by the Greeks, of which foreign name no reaſon can be given, any more than of the oblivion of the true one.

(*o*) I return to Miſraïm. He is agreed to be the ſame with Menes, whom all hiſtorians declare to be the firſt king of Egypt, the inſtitutor of the worſhip of the gods, and of the ceremonies of the ſacrifices.

BUSIRIS, ſome ages after him, built the famous city of Thebes, and made it the ſeat of his empire. We have elſewhere taken notice of the wealth and magnificence of this city. This prince is not to be confounded with Buſiris, ſo infamous for his cruelties.

OSYMANDYAS. (*p*) Diodorus gives a very particular deſcription of many magnificent edifices, rais'd by this king, one of which was adorned with ſculptures and paintings of exquiſite beauty, repreſenting his expedition againſt the Bactrians, a people of Aſia, whom he had invaded with four hundred thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe. In another part of the edifice, was exhibited an aſſembly of the judges, whoſe preſident wore, on his breaſt, a picture of truth, with her eyes ſhut, and himſelf ſurrounded with books; an emphatic emblem, denoting that judges ought to be perfectly verſed in the laws, and impartial in the adminiſtration of them.

The king likewiſe was painted here, offering to the gods gold and ſilver, which he drew every year from

(*o*) Herod. l. 2. 99. Diod. l. 1. p. 42.

(*p*) Diod. l. 1. p. 44, 45.

* *The footſteps of its old name (Meſraïm) remain to this day among the Arabians, who call it Meſre; by the teſtimony of Plutarch, it was call'd* χημία *Chemia, by an eaſy corruption for Chamia, and this for* Cham *or* Ham.

the

the mines of Egypt, amounting to the ſum of ſixteen millions *.

Not far from hence, was ſeen a magnificent library, the oldeſt mentioned in hiſtory. Its title or inſcription on the front was, *The office, or treaſury for the diſeaſes of the ſoul.* Near it were ſtatues, repreſenting all the Egyptian gods, to each of whom the king made ſuitable offerings; by which he ſeemed to be deſirous of informing poſterity, that his life and reign had been crown'd with piety to the Gods, and juſtice to men.

His mauſoleum diſcover'd an uncommon magnificence; it was encompaſs'd with a circle of gold, a cubit in breadth, and 365 cubits in circumference. Each of which ſhew'd the riſing and ſetting of the ſun, moon and the reſt of the planets. (*q*) For ſo old as this king's reign, the Egyptians divided the year into twelve months, each conſiſting of thirty days; to which they added every year five days and ſix hours. The ſpectator did not know which to admire moſt in this ſtately monument, whether the richneſs of its materials, or the genius and induſtry of the artiſts and workmen.

(*r*) UCHOREUS, one of the ſucceſſors of Oſymandyas, built the city of Memphis. This city was 150 furlongs, or more than ſeven leagues in circumference, and ſtood at the point of the Delta, in that part where the Nile divides itſelf into ſeveral branches or ſtreams. Southward from the city, he rais'd a very high mole. On the right and left he dug very deep moats to receive the river. Theſe were faced with ſtone, and rais'd, near the city, by ſtrong cauſeys; the whole deſigned to ſecure the city from the inundations of the Nile, and the incurſions of the enemy. A city ſo advantagiouſly ſituated, and ſo ſtrongly fortified, that it was almoſt the key of the Nile, and, by this means, commanded the whole country, became ſoon the uſual reſidence of the Egyptian kings. It kept poſſeſſion of this honour, till

(*q*) *See Sir* Iſaac Newton's *Chronology*, p. 30. (*r*) Diod. p. 46.

* *Three thouſand two hundred Myriads of* Minæ.

it

it was forc'd to reſign it to Alexandria, built by Alexander the Great.

MOERIS. This king made the famous lake, which went by his name, and whereof mention has been already made.

(*s*) Egypt had long been governed by its native princes, when ſtrangers, call'd Shepherd-kings (Hycſos in the Egyptian language) from Arabia or Phœnicia invaded and ſeized a great part of lower Egypt, and Memphis itſelf; but upper Egypt remained unconquer'd, and the kingdom of Thebes exiſted till the reign of Seſoſtris. Theſe foreign princes governed about 260 years.

(*t*) Under one of theſe princes, called Pharaoh in the ſcripture (a name common to all the kings of Egypt) Abraham arrived there with his wife Sarah, who was expoſed to great hazard, on account of her exquiſite beauty, which reaching the prince's ear, ſhe was by him taken from Abraham, upon the ſuppoſition, that ſhe was not his wife, but only his ſiſter.

(*u*) THETHMOSIS, or Amoſis, having expelled the Shepherd-Kings, reigned in lower Egypt.

(*x*) Long after his reign, Joſeph was brought a ſlave into Egypt, by ſome Iſmaelitiſh merchants; ſold to Potiphar; and, by a ſeries of wonderful events, enjoyed the ſupream authority, by his being rais'd to the chief employment of the kingdom. I ſhall paſs over his hiſtory, as it is ſo univerſally known. But muſt take notice of a remark of Juſtin (the epitomizer of Trogus Pompeius (*y*), an excellent hiſtorian of the Auguſtan age) *viz.* that Joſeph the youngeſt of Jacob's children, whom his brethren, fired by envy, had ſold to foreign merchants, being endowed from heaven * with the interpretation of dreams, and a knowledge of

(*s*) A. M. 1920, *before Jeſus Chriſt* 2084. (*t*) Gen. xii. 10, 20. A. M. 2084, *before Jeſus Chriſt* 1920. (*u*) A. M. 2179, *before Chriſt* 1825. (*x*) A. M. 2276, *before Chriſt* 1728. (*y*) L. 36. c. 2.

* *Juſtin aſcribes this gift of heaven to Joſeph's skill in magical arts.*

Cum magicas ibi artes (*Egypto ſc.*) ſolerti ingenio percepiſſet, &c.

futurity, preſerved, by his uncommon prudence, Egypt from the famine with which it mas menac'd, and was extreamly careſſed by the king.

(y) JACOB alſo went into Egypt with his whole family, which met with the kindeſt treatment from the Egyptians, whilſt Joſeph's important ſervices were freſh in their memories. But after his death, ſay the ſcriptures, (z) *there aroſe up a new king, which knew not Joſeph.*

(a) RAMESES-MIAMUN, according to archbiſhop Uſher, was the name of this king, who is called Pharaoh in ſcripture. He reign'd ſixty ſix years, and oppreſs'd the Iſraelites in a moſt grievous manner. (b) *He ſet over them task-maſters, to afflict them with their burdens, and they built for Pharaoh treaſure-cities* †, *Pithom and Raamſes* —— *and the Egyptians made the children of Iſrael to ſerve with rigour, and they made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of ſervice in the field; all their ſervice wherein they made them ſerve, was with rigour.* This king had two ſons, Amenophis and Buſiris.

(c) AMENOPHIS, the eldeſt, ſucceeded him. He was the Pharaoh under whoſe reign the Iſraelites departed out of Egypt, and who was drown'd in his paſſage through the Red-ſea.

(d) Father Tournemine makes Seſoſtris, of whom we ſhall ſpeak immediately, the Pharaoh who rais'd the perſecution againſt the Iſraelites, and oppreſſed them with the moſt painful toils. This is exactly agreeable to the account given, by Diodorus, of this prince, who employ'd in his Egyptian works only foreigners; ſo that we may place the memorable event of the paſſage of the Red-ſea, under his ſon Pheron *; and the cha-

(y) A. M. 2298, Ant. J. C. 1706. (z) Exod. i. 8. (a) A. M. 2427, Ant. J. C. 1577. (b) Exod. i. 11, 13, 14. (c) A. M. 2494, Ant. J. C. 1510. (d) A. M. 2513, Ant. J. C. 1491.

† *Heb.* urbes theſaurorum 70. urbes munitas. *Theſe cities were appointed to preſerve, as in a ſtore-houſe, the corn, oil, and other products of Egypt. Vatab.*

* *This name bears a great reſemblance to Pharaoh, ſo common to the Egyptian Kings.*

racteriſtic

racteriſtic of impiety aſcribed to him by Herodotus, greatly ſtrengthens the probability of this conjecture. The plan I have propoſed to follow in this hiſtory, excuſes me from entering into chronological diſcuſſions.

(*d*) DIODORUS, ſpeaking of the Red-ſea, has made one remark very worthy our obſervation; a tradition (ſays that hiſtorian) has been tranſmitted through the whole nation, from father to ſon, for many ages, that once an extraordinary ebb dried up the ſea, ſo that its bottom was ſeen; and that a violent flow immediately after brought back the waters to their former channel. It is evident, that the miraculous paſſage of Moſes over the Red-ſea is here hinted at; and I make this remark, purpoſely to admoniſh young ſtudents, not to ſlip over, in their peruſal of authors, theſe precious remains of antiquity; eſpecially when they bear, like this paſſage, any relation to religion.

Archbiſhop Uſher ſays, that Amenophis left two ſons, one called Seſothis or Seſoſtris, and the other Armais. The Greeks call him Belus, and his two ſons Egyptus and Danaus.

(*e*) SESOSTRIS was not only one of the moſt powerful kings of Egypt, but one of the greateſt conquerors that antiquity boaſts of.

His father, whether by inſpiration, caprice, or as the Egyptians ſay, by the authority of an oracle, formed a deſign of making his ſon a conqueror. This he ſet about after the Egyptian manner, that is, in a great and noble way; all the male-children born the ſame day with Seſoſtris, were, by the king's order, brought to court. Here they were educated as if they had been his own children, with the ſame care beſtow'd on Seſoſtris, with whom they were lodg'd. He could not poſſibly have given him more faithful miniſters, or officers who more zealouſly deſired the ſucceſs of his arms. The chief part of their education was, the inuring them, from their infancy, to a hard and

(*d*) L. 3. p. 74.

(*e*) Herod. l. 2. cap. 102, 110. Diod. l. 1. p. 48, 54.

laborious

laborious life, in order that they might one day be capable of ſuſtaining with eaſe the toils of war. They were never ſuffered to eat, till they had run, on foot or horſeback, a conſiderable race. Hunting was their moſt common exerciſe.

(*f*) ÆLIAN remarks that Seſoſtris was taught by Mercury, who inſtructed him in politicks, and the arts of government. This Mercury, is he whom the Greeks called Triſmegiſtus, *i. e.* thrice great. Egypt, his native country, owes to him the invention of almoſt every art. The two books, which go under his name, bear ſuch evident characters of novelty, that the forgery is no longer doubted. There was another Mercury who alſo was very famous amongſt the Egyptians, for his rare knowledge; and of much greater antiquity than him in queſtion. Jamblicus, a prieſt of Egypt, affirms, that it was cuſtomary with the Egyptians, to publiſh all new books or inventions under the name of Hermes or Mercury.

When Seſoſtris was more advanc'd in years, his father ſent him againſt the Arabians, in order that by fighting againſt them, he might acquire military knowledge. Here the young prince learned to bear hunger and thirſt, and ſubdued a nation which till then had never been conquered. The youth educated with him, attended him in all his campaigns.

Accuſtomed by this conqueſt to martial toils, he was next ſent by his father to try his fortune weſtward. He invaded Libya, and ſubdued the greateſt part of that vaſt continent.

SESOSTRIS. (*g*) In the time of this expedition, his father died, and left him capable of attempting the greateſt enterprizes. He formed no leſs a deſign than that of the conqueſt of the world. But before he left his kingdom, he had provided for his domeſtic ſecurity; in winning the hearts of his ſubjects by his generoſity, juſtice, and a popular and obliging behaviour. He was

(*f*) Τὰ νοήματα ἐκμεστάθηναι. L. 12. c. 4.
(*g*) A. M. 2513, Ant. J. C. 1491.

no

no leſs ſtudious to gain the affection of his officers and ſoldiers, who were ever ready to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in his ſervice; perſuaded that his enterprizes would all be unſucceſsful, unleſs his army ſhould be attached to his perſon, by all the ties of eſteem, affection and intereſt. He divided the country into thirty-ſix governments (called Nomi) and beſtowed them on perſons of merit and the moſt approved fidelity.

In the mean time he made the requiſite preparations, levied forces, and headed them with officers of the greateſt bravery and reputation, that were taken chiefly from among the youths who had been educated with him. He had ſeventeen hundred of theſe officers, who all were capable of inſpiring his troops with reſolution, a love of diſcipline, and a zeal for the ſervice of their prince. His army conſiſted of ſix hundred thouſand foot, and twenty-four thouſand horſe, beſides twenty-ſeven thouſand armed chariots.

He began his expedition by invading Æthiopia, ſituated to the ſouth of Egypt. He made it tributary, and obliged the nations of it to furniſh him annually with a certain quantity of ebony, ivory and gold.

He had fitted out a fleet of four hundred ſail, and ordering it to ſail to the Red-ſea, made himſelf maſter of the iſles and cities lying on the coaſts of that ſea. He himſelf heading his land army, over-ran and ſubdued Aſia with amazing rapidity, and pierced farther into India than Hercules, Bacchus, and in after-times Alexander himſelf had ever done; for he ſubdued the countries beyond the Ganges, and advanced as far as the Ocean. One may judge from hence how unable the more neighbouring countries were to reſiſt him. The Scythians, as far as the river Tanais, Armenia and Cappadocia were conquer'd. He left a colony in the ancient kingdom of Colchos, ſituated to the eaſt of the Black-ſea, where the Egyptian cuſtoms and manners have been ever ſince retained. Herodotus ſaw in Aſia Minor, from one ſea to the other, monuments of

his victories. In ſeveral countries was read the following inſcription engraven on pillars. *Seſoſtris, king of kings, and lord of lords, ſubdued this country by the power of his arms.* Such pillars were found even in Thrace, and his empire extended from the Ganges to the Danube. In his expeditions, ſome nations bravely defended their liberties, and others yielded them up without making the leaſt reſiſtance. This diſparity was denoted by him in hieroglyphical figures, on the monuments erected to perpetuate the remembrance of his victories, agreeably to the Egyptian practice.

The ſcarcity of proviſions in Thrace ſtopped the progreſs of his conqueſts, and prevented his advancing farther in Europe. One remarkable circumſtance is obſerved in this conqueror, who never once thought, as others had done, of preſerving his acquiſitions; but contenting himſelf with the glory of having ſubdued and deſpoiled ſo many nations; after having made wild havock up and down the world for nine years, he confin'd himſelf almoſt within the antient limits of Egypt, a few neighbouring provinces excepted; for we do not find any traces or footſteps of this new empire, either under himſelf or his ſucceſſors.

He returned therefore laden with the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed nations; dragging after him a numberleſs multitude of captives, and cover'd with greater glory than his predeceſſors; that glory I mean which employs ſo many tongues and pens in its praiſe; which invades a great number of provinces in a hoſtile way, and is often productive of numberleſs calamities. He rewarded his officers and ſoldiers with a truly royal magnificence, in proportion to their rank and merit. He made it both his pleaſure and duty, to put the companions of his victory in ſuch a condition as might enable them to enjoy, during the remainder of their days, a calm and eaſy repoſe, the juſt reward of their paſt toils.

With regard to himſelf, for ever careful of his own reputation, and ſtill more of making his power advantageous to his ſubjects, he employ'd the repoſe which peace

peace allowed him, in raiſing works that might contribute more to the enriching of Egypt, than the immortalizing his name; works, in which the art and induſtry of the workman was more admired, than the immenſe ſums which had been expended on them.

An hundred famous temples, rais'd as ſo many monuments of gratitude to the tutelar gods of all the cities, were the firſt, as well as the moſt illuſtrious teſtimonies of his victories; and he took care to publiſh in the inſcriptions of them, that theſe mighty works had been compleated without the aſſiſtance of any of his ſubjects. He made it his glory to be tender of them, and to employ only captives in theſe monuments of his conqueſts. The ſcriptures take notice of ſomething like this, where they ſpeak of the buildings of Solomon *. But he was eſpecially ſtudious of adorning and enriching the temple of Vulcan at Peluſium, in acknowledgment of that god's imaginary protection of him, when, on his return from his expeditions, his brother had a deſign of deſtroying him, in that city, with his wife and children, by ſetting fire to the apartment where he then lay.

His great work was, the raiſing, in every part of Egypt, a conſiderable number of high banks or moles, on which new cities were built, in order for them to be a ſecurity for men and beaſts, during the inundations of the Nile.

From Memphis, as far as the ſea, he cut on both ſides of the river, a great number of canals, for the conveniency of trade, and the conveying of proviſions; and for the ſettling an eaſy correſpondence between ſuch cities as were moſt diſtant from one another. Beſides the advantages of traffick, Egypt was, by theſe canals, made inacceſſible to the cavalry of its enemies, which before had ſo often haraſſed it, by repeated incurſions.

He went farther: To ſecure Egypt from the inroads

* 2 Chron. viii. 9. *But of the children of Iſrael did Solomon make no ſervants for his work.*

of its nearer neighbours, the Syrians and Arabians, he fortified all the eaſtern coaſt from Peluſium to Heliopolis, that is, for upwards of ſeven leagues †.

Seſoſtris might have been conſider'd as one of the moſt illuſtrious and moſt boaſted heroes of antiquity, had not the luſtre of his warlike actions, as well as his pacific virtues, been tarniſh'd by a thirſt of glory, and a blind fondneſs for his own grandeur, which made him forget that he was a man. The kings and chiefs of the conquer'd nations came, at ſtated times, to do homage to their victor, and pay him the appointed tribute. On every other occaſion, he treated them with ſome humanity and generoſity. But when he went to the temple, or enter'd his capital, he cauſed theſe princes, four abreaſt, to be harneſs'd to his carr, inſtead of horſes; and valued himſelf upon his being thus drawn by the lords and ſovereigns of other nations. What I am moſt ſurpris'd at, is, that Diodorus ſhould rank this fooliſh and inhuman vanity, among the moſt ſhining actions of this prince.

(*b*) Being grown blind in his old age, he diſpatched himſelf, after having reign'd thirty-three years, and left his kingdom infinitely rich. His empire nevertheleſs did not reach beyond the fourth generation. But there ſtill remain'd, ſo low as the reign of Tiberius, magnificent monuments, which ſhewed the extent of Egypt under (*i*) Seſoſtris, and the immenſe tributes which were paid to it *.

I now go back to ſome facts which ſhould have been mention'd before, as they fell out in this period, but were omitted, in order that I might not break the thread of the hiſtory, and therefore will now be only glanced at.

About the Æra in queſtion, the Egyptians ſettled

(*b*) Tacit. Ann. l. 2. c. 60.

(*i*) Tacit. Ann. l. 2.

† 150 ſtadia, *about* 18 *miles Eng.*

* L..ebantur indicta gentibus tributa—haud minus magnifica quam nunc vi Parthorum aut potentia Romana jubentur—*inſcrib'd on pillars, were read the tributes impos'd on vanquiſhed nations, which were not inferior to thoſe now paid to the Parthian and Roman powers.*

themſelves

themſelves in divers parts of the earth. (*k*) The colony, which Cecrops led out of Egypt, built twelve cities, or rather ſo many towns, of which he compos'd the kingdom of Athens.

We obſerv'd, that the brother of Seſoſtris, call'd by the Greeks Danaus, had form'd a deſign to murder him, in his return to Egypt, from his conqueſts. (*l*) But being defeated in his horrid project, he was oblig'd to fly. He thereupon retir'd to Peloponneſus, where he ſeiz'd upon the kingdom of Argos, which had been founded about four hundred years before, by Inachus.

(*m*) BUSIRIS, brother of Amenophis, ſo infamous among the antients for his cruelties, exercis'd his tyranny at that time on the banks of the Nile; and barouſly cut the throats of all foreigners who landed in his country: This was probably during the abſence of Seſoſtris.

(*n*) About the ſame time, Cadmus brought from Syria into Greece, the invention of letters. Some pretend that theſe characters or letters were Egyptian, and that Cadmus himſelf was a native of Egypt, and not of Phœnicia; and the Egyptians, who aſcribe to themſelves the invention of every art, and boaſt a greater antiquity than any other nation, give to their Mercury the honour of inventing letters. Moſt of the learned * agree, that Cadmus carried the Phœnician or Syrian letters into Greece, and that thoſe letters were Hebraic; the Hebrews, as a ſmall nation, being comprehended under the general name of Syrians. Joſeph Scaliger, in his notes on the Chronicon of Euſebius, proves, that the Greek letters, and thoſe of the Latin alphabet form'd from them, derive their original from the ancient Phœnician letters, which are the ſame with the Samaritan,

(*k*) A. M. 2448. (*l*) A. M. 2530. (*m*) A. M. 2533.
(*n*) A. M. 2549.

* *The reader may conſult, on this ſubject, two learned diſſertations of Abbé Renaudot, inſerted in the ſecond volume of* the hiſtory of the academy of inſcriptions.

and were us'd by the Jews before the Babyloniſh captivity. Cadmus carried only ſixteen letters * into Greece; eight others being added afterwards.

I return to the hiſtory of the Egyptian kings, whom I ſhall hereafter rank in the ſame order with Herodotus.

(o) PHERON ſucceeded Seſoſtris in his kingdom, but not in his glory. (p) Herodotus relates but one action of his, which ſhews how greatly he had degenerated from the religious ſentiments of his father. In an extraordinary inundation of the Nile, which exceeded eighteen cubits, this prince enrag'd at the wild havock which was made by it, threw a javelin at the river, as if he intended thereby to chaſtiſe its inſolence; but was himſelf immediately puniſhed for his impiety, if the hiſtorian may be credited, with the loſs of ſight.

(q) PROTEUS. * He was of Memphis, where, in Herodotus's time, his temple was ſtill ſtanding, in which was a chapel dedicated to Venus the Stranger. It is conjectur'd that this Venus was Helen. For, in the reign of this monarch, Paris the Trojan, returning

(o) A. M. 2547. Ant. J. C. 1457. (p) Herod. l. 2. c. 111. Diod. l. 1. p. 54. (q) A. M. 2800. Ant. J. C. 1204. Herod. l. 2. c. 112, 120.

* *The ſixteen letters brought by Cadmus into Greece, are* α, β, γ, δ, ε, ι, κ, λ, μ, ν, ο, π, ρ, σ, τ, υ. Palamedes, *at the ſiege of Troy,* i. e. *upwards of two hundred and fifty years lower than Cadmus, added the four following,* ζ, θ, φ, χ; *and Simonides, a long time after, invented the four others, namely,* η, ω, ξ, ψ.

† *I don't think my ſelf obliged to enter here into a diſcuſſion, which would be attended with very perplexing difficulties, ſhould I pretend to reconcile the ſeries, or ſucceſſion of the kings, as given by Herodotus, with the opinion of archbiſhop Uſher. This laſt ſuppoſes, with a great many other learned men, that Seſoſtris is the ſon of that Egyptian king, who was drown'd in the Red-ſea, whoſe reign muſt conſequently have begun in the year of the world* 2513, *and continued till the year* 2547, *ſince it laſted thirty three years. Should we allow fifty years to the reign of Pheron his ſon, there would ſtill be an interval of above two hundred years between Pheron and Proteus, who, according to Herodotus, ſucceeded immediately the firſt; ſince Proteus liv'd at the time of the ſiege of Troy, which, according to Uſher, was taken* An. Mun. 2820. *I know not whether his almoſt total ſilence on the Egyptian kings after Seſoſtris, was owing to his ſenſe of this difficulty. I ſuppoſe a long interval to have been between Pheron and Proteus; accordingly Diodorus* (l. 154.) *fills it up with a great many kings; and the ſame muſt be ſaid of ſome of the following kings.*

homic

home with Helen whom he had ſtoln, was drove by a ſtorm into one of the mouths of the Nile, called the Canopic; and from thence was conducted to Proteus at Memphis, who reproach'd him in the ſtrongeſt terms for his baſe perfidy and guilt, in ſtealing the wife of his hoſt, and with her all the effects in his houſe. He added, that the only reaſon why he did not puniſh him with death (as his crime deſerved) was, becauſe the Egyptians did not care to imbrue their hands in the blood of ſtrangers: That he would keep Helen with all the riches that were brought with her, in order to reſtore them to their owner: That as for himſelf (Paris) he muſt either quit his dominions in three days, or expect to be treated as an enemy. The king's order was obeyed. Paris continued his voyage, and arrived at Troy, whither he was cloſely purſued by the Grecian army. The Greeks ſummoned the Trojans to ſurrender Helen, and, with her, all the treaſures of which her huſband had been plunder'd. The Trojans anſwer'd, that neither Helen, nor her treaſures, were in their city. And indeed was it at all likely, ſays Herodotus, that Priam, who was ſo wiſe an old prince, ſhould chuſe to ſee his children and country deſtroyed before his eyes, rather than give the Greeks the juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction they deſir'd? But it was to no purpoſe for them to affirm with an oath, that Helen was not in their city; the Greeks, being firmly perſuaded that they were trifled with, perſiſted obſtinately in their unbelief. The deity, continues the ſame hiſtorian, being reſolved that the Trojans, by the total deſtruction of their city, ſhould teach the affrighted world this leſſon †: THAT GREAT CRIMES ARE ATTENDED WITH AS GREAT AND SIGNAL PUNISHMENTS, FROM THE OFFENDED GODS. Menelaus, in his return from Troy, call'd at the court of king Proteus, who reſtor'd him Helen with all her treaſure. Herodotus proves, from ſome paſſages in Ho-

* Ὡς τ μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων μεγάλαι εἰσὶ καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι παρὰ τ θεῶν.

mer, that the voyage of Paris to Egypt was not unknown to this poet.

RHAMPSINITUS. The treaſury built by this king, who was the richeſt of all his predeceſſors, and his deſcent into hell, as they are related by (r) Herodotus, have ſo much the air of romance and fiction, that they deſerve no mention here.

Till the reign of this king, there had been ſome ſhadow, at leaſt, of juſtice and moderation, in Egypt; but in the two following reigns, violence and cruelty uſurp'd their place.

(s) CHEOPS and CEPHRENUS. Theſe two princes, who were truly brothers by the ſimilitude of their manners, ſeem to have ſtrove which of them ſhould diſtinguiſh himſelf moſt, by a bareſac'd impiety towards the gods, and a barbarous inhumanity to men. Cheops reign'd fifty years, and his brother Cephrenus fifty-ſix years after him. They kept the temples ſhut during the whole time of their long reigns; and forbid the offering of ſacrifices under the ſevereſt penalties. On the other hand, they oppreſſed their ſubjects by employing them in the moſt grievous and uſeleſs works; and ſacrificed the lives of numberleſs multitudes of men, merely to gratify a ſenſeleſs ambition, of immortalizing their names by edifices of an enormous magnitude, and a boundleſs expence. It is remarkable, that thoſe ſtately pyramids, which have ſo long been the admiration of the whole world, were the effect of the irreligion and mercileſs cruelty of thoſe princes.

(t) MYCERINUS. He was the ſon of Cheops, but of a character oppoſite to that of his father. So far from walking in his ſteps, he deteſted his conduct, and purſued quite different meaſures. He again opened the temples of the gods, reſtored the ſacrifices, did all that lay in his power to comfort his ſubjects, and make them forget their paſt miſeries; and believ'd himſelf ſet over them for no other purpoſe but to exerciſe juſ-

(r) L. 2. c. 121, 123. (s) Herod. l. 2. c. 124, 128. Diod. l. 1. P. 57. (t) Herod. l. 2. p. 139, 140. Diod. p. 58.

tice,

tice, and to make them taſte all the bleſſings of an equitable and peaceful adminiſtration. He heard their complaints, dry'd their tears, eas'd their miſery, and thought himſelf not ſo much the maſter as the father of his people. This procured him the love of them all. Egypt reſounded with his praiſes, and his name commanded veneration in all places.

One would naturally have concluded, that ſo prudent and humane a conduct, muſt have drawn down on Mycerinus the protection of the gods. But it happen'd far otherwiſe. His misfortunes began from the death of a darling and only daughter, in whom his whole felicity conſiſted. He order'd extraordinary honours to be paid to her memory, which were ſtill continued in Herodotus's time. This hiſtorian informs us, that in the city of Saïs, exquiſite odours were burnt, in the day time, at the tomb of this princeſs; and that it was illuminated with a lamp by night.

He was told by an oracle, that his reign would continue but ſeven years. And as he complained of this to the gods, in enquiring the reaſon, why ſo long and proſperous a reign had been indulg'd his father and uncle, who were equally cruel and impious; whilſt his own, which he had endeavoured ſo carefully to render as equitable and mild as it was poſſible for him to do, ſhould be ſo ſhort and unhappy; he was anſwer'd, that theſe were the very cauſes of it, it being the will of the gods, to oppreſs and afflict Egypt, during the ſpace of 150 years, as a puniſhment for its crimes; and that his reign, which was appointed like thoſe of the preceding monarchs to be of fifty years continuance, was ſhortned on account of his too great lenity. Mycerinus likewiſe built a pyramid, but much inferior in dimenſions to that of his father.

(*u*) ASYCHIS. He enacted the law relating to loans, which forbid a ſon to borrow money, without giving the dead body of his father by way of ſecurity for it. The law added, that in caſe the ſon took no care to

(*u*) Herod. l. 2. c. 136.

redeem his father's body, by reſtoring the loan, both himſelf and his children ſhould be deprived for ever of the rights of ſepulture.

He valued himſelf for having ſurpaſs'd all his predeceſſors, by the building a pyramid of brick, more magnificent, if this king was to be credited, than any hitherto ſeen. The following inſcription, by its founder's order, was engraved upon it. COMPARE ME NOT WITH PYRAMIDS BUILT OF STONE; WHICH I AS MUCH EXCELL AS JUPITER DOES ALL THE OTHER GODS *.

If we ſuppoſe the ſix preceding reigns (the exact duration of ſome of which is not fixed by Herodotus) to have continued one hundred and ſeventy years, there will remain an interval of near three hundred years, to the reign of Sabachus the Ethiopian. In this interval I ſhall place a few circumſtances related in holy ſcripture.

(*x*) PHARAOH, king of Egypt, gives his daughter in marriage to Solomon king of Iſrael; who receiv'd her in that part of Jeruſalem, called the city of David, till he had built her a palace.

SESACH or Shiſhak, otherwiſe called Seſonchis.

(*z*) It was to him that Jeroboam fled, to avoid the wrath of Solomon, who intended to kill him. He abode in Egypt till Solomon's death, and then returned to Jeruſalem, when, putting himſelf at the head of the rebels, he won from Rehoboam the ſon of Solomon, ten tribes, over whom he declared himſelf king.

This Seſach, in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, marched againſt Jeruſalem, becauſe the Jews had tranſgreſſed againſt the Lord. (*a*) He came with twelve hundred chariots of war, and ſixty thouſand

(*x*) 1 Kings iii. 1. A. M. 2991. Ant. J. C. 1013.
(*z*) 1 Kings xi. 40. and c. xii. A. M. 3026. Ant. J. C. 978.
(*a*) 2 Chron. xii. 1—9. A. M. 3033. Ant. J. C. 971.

* *The remainder of the inſcription, as we find it in* Herodotus, *is*—for men plunging long poles down to the bottom of the lake, drew bricks (πλίνθες ἐιρύσαν) out of the mud which ſtuck to them, and gave me this form.

horſe. He had brought numberleſs multitudes of people, who were all * Lybians, Troglodytes, and Ethiopians. He ſeized upon all the ſtrongeſt cities of Judah, and advanced as far as Jeruſalem. Then the king, and the princes of Iſrael, having humbled themſelves and aſked the protection of the God of Iſrael; he told them, by his prophet Shemaiah, that he would not, becauſe they humbled themſelves, deſtroy them all as they had deſerved; but that they ſhould be the ſervants of Seſach: in order *that they might know* the difference of *his ſervice, and the ſervice of the kingdoms of the* † *country.* Seſach retired from Jeruſalem, after having plundered the treaſures of the houſe of the Lord, and of the king's houſe; he carried off every thing with him, *and even alſo the* 300 *ſhields of gold which Solomon had made.*

(*b*) ZERAH, king of Ethiopia, and doubtleſs of Egypt at the ſame time, made war upon Aſa king of Judah. His army conſiſted of a million of men, and three hundred chariots of war. Aſa marched againſt him, and drawing up his army in order of battle, in full reliance on the God whom he ſerved: "Lord, ſays he, it is "nothing with thee to help whether with many, or "with them that have no power. Help us, O Lord "our God, for we reſt on thee, and in thy name we "go againſt this multitude; O Lord, thou art our "God, let not man prevail againſt thee." A prayer offered up with ſuch ſtrong faith was heard. God ſtruck the Ethiopians with terror; they fled, and all were irrecoverably defeated, being *deſtroyed before the Lord and before his hoſt.*

(*c*) ANYSIS. He was blind, and under his reign SABACHUS, king of Ethiopia, being encouraged by an oracle, entered Egypt with a numerous army, and poſſeſſed himſelf of it. He reign'd with great clemency

(*b*) 2 Chron. xiv. 9—13. A. M. 3063. Ant. J. C. 741.
(*c*) Herod. l. 2. cap. 137. Diod. l. 1. p. 59.

* *The Engliſh verſion of the Bible ſays,* The Lubims, the Sukkiims, and the Ethiopians.

† *Or, of the kingdoms of the earth.*

and

and juſtice. Inſtead of putting to death ſuch criminals, as had been ſentenced to die by the judges, he made them repair the cauſeys, on which the reſpective cities, to which they belonged, were ſituated. He built ſeveral magnificent temples, and among the reſt, one in the city of Bubaſte, of which Herodotus gives a long and and elegant deſcription. After a reign of fifty years, which was the time appointed by the oracle, he retired voluntarily to his old kingdom of Ethiopia; and left the throne of Egypt to Anyſis, who, during this time, had concealed himſelf in the fens. (*d*) It is believed that this Sabachus was the ſame with SO, whoſe aid was implored by Hoſhea King of Iſrael, againſt Shalmaneſer king of Aſſyria.

SETHON. He reigned fourteen years.

(*e*) He is the ſame with Sevechus, the ſon of Sabacon or Sual the Ethiopian, who reigned ſo long over Egypt. This prince, ſo far from diſcharging the functions of a king, was ambitious of thoſe of a prieſt; he cauſing himſelf to be conſecrated high-prieſt of Vulcan. Abandoning himſelf entirely to ſuperſtition, he neglected to defend his kingdom by force of arms; paying no regard to military men, from a firm perſuaſion that he ſhould never have occaſion for their aſſiſtance; he therefore was ſo far from endeavouring to gain their affections, that he deprived them of their privileges, and even diſpoſſeſſed them of ſuch lands, as his predeceſſors had given them.

He was ſoon made ſenſible of their reſentment in a war that broke out ſuddenly, and from which he delivered himſelf ſolely by a miraculous protection, if Herodotus may be credited, who intermixes his account of this war, with a great many fabulous particulars. Sennacharib (ſo Herodotus calls this prince) king of the Arabians and Aſſyrians, having entred Egypt with a numerous army, the Egyptian officers and ſoldiers refuſed to march againſt him. The high-prieſt

(*d*) 4 Reg. xvii. 4. A. M. 3279. Ant. J. C. 725. (*e*) A. M. 3285. Ant. J. C. 719.

of

of Vulcan, being thus reduced to the greateſt extremity, had recourſe to his god, who bid him not deſpond, but march couragiouſly againſt the enemy with the few ſoldiers he could raiſe. Sethon obeyed the god. A ſmall number of merchants, artificers, and others who were the dregs of the populace, joined him; and with this handful of men, he marched to Peluſium where Sennacharib had pitched his camp. The night following, a prodigious multitude of rats entered the enemy's camp, and gnawing to pieces all their bow-ſtrings and the thongs of their ſhields, rendered them incapable of making the leaſt defence. Being diſarmed in this manner, they were obliged to fly; and they retreated with the loſs of a great part of their forces. Sethon, when he returned home, ordered a ſtatue of himſelf to be ſet up in the temple of Vulcan, holding in his right hand a rat, and theſe words iſſuing out of his mouth. LET THE MAN WHO BEHOLDS ME LEARN TO REVERENCE THE GODS.*

It is very obvious that this ſtory, as related here from Herodotus, is an alteration of that which is told in the ſecond book of Kings. (*f*) We there ſee, that Sennacharib king of the Aſſyrians, having ſubdued all the neighbouring nations, and ſeized upon all the cities of Judah, reſolved to beſiege Hezekiah in Jeruſalem his capital city. The miniſters of this holy king, in ſpight of his oppoſition and the remonſtrances of the prophet Iſaiah, who promiſed them, in God's name, a ſure and certain protection, provided they would truſt in him only, ſent ſecretly to the Egyptians and Ethiopians for ſuccour. Their armies being united, marched to the relief of Jeruſalem at the time appointed, and were met and vanquiſhed by the Aſſyrian in a pitched battle. He purſued them into Egypt, and entirely laid waſte the country. At his return from thence, the very night before he was to have given a general aſſault to Jeruſalem, which then ſeemed loſt to all

(*f*) Chap. xvii.

* Ἐς ἐμέ τις εὐσεβὴς ἔστω.

hopes,

hopes, the deſtroying angel made dreadful havock in the camp of the Aſſyrians; deſtroyed an hundred fourſcore and five thouſand men by fire and ſword; and proved evidently, that they had great reaſon to rely, as Hezekiah had done, on the promiſe of the God of Iſrael.

This is the real fact. But as it was no ways honourable to the Egyptians, they endeavoured to turn it to their own advantage, by diſguiſing and corrupting the circumſtances of it. Nevertheleſs the footſteps of this hiſtory, tho' ſo much defaced, ought yet to be highly valued, as coming from an hiſtorian of ſo great antiquity and authority as Herodotus.

The prophet Iſaiah had foretold, at ſeveral times, that this expedition of the Egyptians, which had been concerted, ſeemingly, with ſuch prudence, conducted with the greateſt ſkill, and in which the forces of two powerful empires were united, in order to relieve the Jews, would not only be of no ſervice to Jeruſalem, but even deſtructive to Egypt itſelf, whoſe ſtrongeſt cities would be taken, and its inhabitants of all ages and ſexes led into captivity. See the 18th, 19th, 20th, 30th, 31ſt, &c. chapters of the ſecond book of Kings.

It was doubtleſs in this period, that the ruin of the famous city No-Amon * ſpoken of by the prophet Nahum, happened. That prophet ſays, (g) that *ſhe was carried away*—that *her young children were daſh'd in pieces at the top of all the ſtreets*—that the enemy *caſt lots for her honourable men, and* that *all her great men were bound in chains.* He obſerves, that all theſe misfortunes befel that city, when Egypt and Ethiopia *were her ſtrength*; which ſeems to refer clearly enough to the time of which we are here ſpeaking, when Tharaca

(g) iii. 8, 10.

* *The vulgate calls that city Alexandria, to which the Hebrew gives the name of No-Amon; becauſe Alexandria was afterwards built in the place where this ſtood. Dean Prideaux, after Bochart, thinks that it was Thebes ſurnamed Dioſpolis. Indeed, the Egyptian Amon is the ſame with Jupiter. But Thebes is not the place where Alexandria was ſince built. Perhaps there was another city there, which alſo was called No-Amon.*

and

and Sethon had united their forces. However, this opinion is not without ſome difficulties, and is contradicted by ſome learned men. It ſuffices for me, to have hinted it to the reader.

(*b*) Till the reign of Sethon, the Egyptian prieſts computed three hundred and forty-one generations of men; which make eleven thouſand three hundred and forty years; allowing three generations to an hundred years. They counted the like number of prieſts and kings. The latter, whether gods or men, had ſucceeded one another without interruption, under the name of Piromis, an Egyptian word ſignifying good and virtuous. The Egyptian prieſts ſhew'd Herodotus three hundred and forty-one wooden coloſſal ſtatues of theſe Piromis, all ranged in order in a great hall. Such was the folly of the Egyptians, to loſe themſelves as it were, in a remote antiquity to which no other people pretended.

(*i*) THARACA. He it was who joined Sethon, with an Ethiopian army, to relieve Jeruſalem. After the death of Sethon, who had ſat fourteen years on the throne, Tharaca aſcended it, and reigned eighteen years. He was the laſt Ethiopian king who reigned in Egypt.

After his death, the Egyptians, not being able to agree about the ſucceſſion, were two years in a ſtate of anarchy, during which there were great diſorders and confuſions among them.

TWELVE KINGS.

(*k*) At laſt, twelve of the principal noblemen, conſpiring together, ſeized upon the kingdom, and divided it into ſo many parts. It was agreed by them, that each ſhould govern his own diſtrict with equal power and authority, and that no one ſhould attempt to invade or ſeize the dominions of another. They thought it neceſſary to make this agreement, and to bind it with the moſt dreadful oaths, to elude the prediction of an

(*b*) Herod. l. 2. cap. 142. Afric. apud Syncel. p. 74.
(*i*) A. M. 3199. Ant. J. C. 705.
(*k*) A. M. 3319. Ant. J. C. 685. Herod. l. 2. cap. 147, 152. Diod. l. 1. p. 59.

oracle,

oracle, which had foretold, that he among them who ſhould offer his libation to Vulcan out of a brazen bowl, ſhould gain the ſovereignty of Egypt. They reigned together fifteen years in the utmoſt harmony: and to leave a famous monument of their concord to poſterity, they jointly, and at a common expence, built the famous labyrinth, which was a pile of building conſiſting of twelve large palaces, with as many edifices under ground as appear'd above it. I have ſpoke elſewhere of this labyrinth.

One day, as the twelve kings were aſſiſting at a ſolemn and periodical ſacrifice offered in the temple of Vulcan; the prieſts, having preſented each of them a golden bowl for the libation, one was wanting; when * Pſammetichus, without any deſign, ſupplied the want of this bowl with his brazen helmet (for each wore one) and with it performed the ceremony of the libation. This accident ſtruck the reſt of the kings, and recalled to their memory the prediction of the oracle above mention'd. They thought it therefore neceſſary to ſecure themſelves from his attempts, and therefore, with one conſent, baniſhed him into the fenny parts of Egypt.

After Pſammetichus had paſſed ſome years there, waiting a favourable opportunity to revenge himſelf for the affront which had been put upon him; a courier brought him advice, that brazen men were landed in Egypt. Theſe were Grecian ſoldiers, Carians and Ionians, who had been caſt upon Egypt by a ſtorm; and were completely covered with helmets, cuiraſſes and other arms of braſs. Pſammetichus immediately called to mind the oracle, which had anſwer'd him, that he ſhould be ſuccour'd by brazen men from the ſea-coaſt. He did not doubt but the prediction was now fulfilled. He therefore made a league with theſe ſtrangers; engaged them with great promiſes to ſtay with him; privately levy'd other forces; put theſe Greeks at their head; when giving battle to the eleven

* *He was one of the twelve.*

kings, he defeated them, and remained ſole poſſeſſor of Egypt.

PSAMMETICHUS. (*l*) As this prince owed his preſervation to the Ionians and Carians, he ſettled them in Egypt (from which all foreigners hitherto had been excluded;) and, by aſſigning them ſufficient lands and fixed revenues, he made them forget their native country. By his order, Egyptian children were put under their care, to learn the Greek tongue; and on this occaſion, and by this means, the Egyptians began to have a correſpondence with the Greeks; and from that Æra, the Egyptian hiſtory, which till then had been intermix'd with pompous fables, by the artifice of the prieſts, begins, according to Herodotus, to ſpeak with greater truth and certainty.

As ſoon as Pſammetichus was ſettled on the throne, he engaged in war againſt the king of Aſſyria, on account of the limits of the two empires. This war was of long continuance. Ever ſince Syria had been conquered by the Aſſyrians, Paleſtine, being the only country that ſeparated the two kingdoms, was the ſubject of continual diſcord; as afterwards between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ. They were eternally contending for it, and it was alternately won by the ſtronger. Pſammetichus, ſeeing himſelf the peaceable poſſeſſor of all Egypt, and having reſtored the ancient form of government *, thought it high time for him to look to his frontiers; and to ſecure them againſt the Aſſyrian, his neighbour, whoſe power increaſed daily. For this purpoſe he entered Paleſtine at the head of an army.

Perhaps we are to refer to the beginning of this war, an incident related by (*m*) Diodorus: That the Egyptians, provoked to ſee the Greeks poſted on the right wing by the king himſelf in preference to them, quit-

(*l*) A. M. 3334. Ant. J. C. 670. Herod. l. 2. c. 153, 154.
(*m*) Lib. 1. p. 61.

* *This revolution happened about ſeven years after the captivity of Manaſſeh king of Judah.*

ted

ted the ſervice, they being upwards of two hundred thouſand men, and retired into Ethiopia, where they met with an advantageous ſettlement.

(*n*) Be this as it will, Pſammetichus entered Paleſtine, where his career was ſtopped by Azotus, one of the principal cities of the country, which gave him ſo much trouble, that he was forced to beſiege it twenty-nine years, before he could take it. This is the longeſt ſiege mentioned in ancient hiſtory.

This was anciently one of the five capital cities of the Philiſtines. The Egyptians, having ſeized it ſometime before, had fortified it with ſuch care, that it was their ſtrongeſt bulwark on that ſide. Nor could Sennacharib enter Egypt, till he had firſt made himſelf maſter of this city, which was taken by Tartan, one of his generals. (*o*) The Aſſyrians had poſſeſſed it hitherto; and it was not till after the long ſiege juſt now mentioned, that Egypt recovered it.

In this period, the Scythians leaving the banks of the Palus Mæotis, made an inroad into Media, defeated Cyaxares the king of that country, and laid waſte all Upper Aſia, of which they kept poſſeſſion during twenty eight years. They puſhed their conqueſts in Syria, as far as to the frontiers of Egypt. But Pſammetichus marching out to meet them, prevailed ſo far, by his preſents and intreaties, that they advanced no farther; and by that means delivered his kingdom from theſe dangerous enemies.

(*p*) Till his reign, the Egyptians had imagined themſelves to be the moſt ancient nation upon earth. Pſammetichus was deſirous to prove this himſelf, and he employed a very extraordinary experiment for this purpoſe; he commanded (if we may credit the relation) two children, newly born of poor parents, to be brought up (in the country) in a hovel, that was to be kept continually ſhut. They were committed to the care of a ſhepherd, (others ſay, of nurſes, whoſe

(*n*) Diod. c. 157.
(*o*) Iſa. xx. 1. Herod. l. 1. c. 105.
(*p*) Herod. l. 2. c. 2, 3.

tongues

tongues were cut out) who was to feed them with the milk of goats ; and was commanded not to ſuffer any perſon to enter into this hut, nor himſelf to ſpeak even a ſingle word in the hearing of theſe children. At the expiration of two years, as the ſhepherd was one day coming into the hut, to feed theſe children, they both cried out, with hands extended towards their foſter-father, *beckos*, *beckos*. The ſhepher'd ſurpriz'd to hear a language that was quite new to him, but which they repeated frequently afterwards, ſent advice of this to the king, who ordered the children to be brought before him, in order that he himſelf might be witneſs to the truth of what was told him ; and accordingly both of them began in his preſence, to ſtammer out the ſounds above mentioned. Nothing now was wanting but to enquire what nation it was that us'd this word ; and it was found, that the Phrygians called bread by this name. From this time they were allowed the honour of antiquity, or rather of priority, which the Egyptians themſelves, notwithſtanding their jealouſy of it, and the many ages they had poſſeſs'd this glory, were obliged to reſign to them. As goats were brought to theſe children, in order that they might feed upon their milk, and hiſtorians do not ſay that they were deaf ; ſome are of opinion, that they might have learnt the word *bek*, or *bekkos*, by mimicking the cry of thoſe creatures.

Pſammetichus died in the 24th year of Joſias king of Judah, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Nechao.

* NECHAO. (*q*) This prince is often call'd in ſcripture Pharaoh-Necho.

He attempted to join the Nile to the Red-Sea, by cutting a canal from the one to the other. They are ſeparated at the diſtance of at leaſt a thouſand ſtadia †.

(*q*) A. M. 3388. Ant. J. C. 616. Herod. l. 1. c. 158.

* *He is called Necho in the Engliſh verſion of the ſcriptures.*

† *Allowing* 625 *feet* (*or* 125 *geometrical paces*) *to each ſtadium, the diſtance will be* 118 *Engliſh miles, and a little above one third of a mile. Herodotus ſays, that this deſign was afterwards put in execution by Darius the Perſian.* B. 2. c. 158.

After

After an hundred and twenty thouſand workmen had loſt their lives in this attempt, Nechao was obliged to deſiſt. The oracle which had been conſulted by him, having anſwer'd, that this new canal would open a paſſage to the Barbarians, (for ſo the Egyptians call'd all other nations) to invade Egypt.

(r) Nechao was more ſucceſsful in another enterprize. Skilful Phœnician mariners, whom he had taken into his ſervice, having ſail'd out of the Red-Sea to diſcover the coaſts of Africk, went ſucceſsfully round them; and the third year after their ſetting out, returned to Egypt through the Straits of Gibraltar. This was a very extraordinary voyage, in an age when the compaſs was not known. It was made twenty one centuries before Vaſco de Gama, a Portugueſe (by diſcovering the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1497) found out the very ſame way to ſail to the Indies, by which theſe Phœnicians had come from thence into the Mediterranean.

(s) The Babylonians and Medes having deſtroy'd Nineveh, and with it the empire of the Aſſyrians, were thereby become ſo formidable, that they drew upon themſelves the jealouſy of all their neighbours. Nechao, alarmed at the danger, advanced to the Euphrates, at the head of a powerful army, in order to check their progreſs. Joſiah, king of Judah, ſo famous for his uncommon piety, obſerving that he took his rout through Judea, reſolved to oppoſe his paſſage. With this view, he rais'd all the forces of his kingdom, and poſted himſelf in the valley of Megiddo (a city on this ſide Jordan, belonging to the tribe of Manaſſeh, and call'd Magdolus by Herodotus). Nechao informed him by a herald, that his enterprize was not deſign'd againſt him; that he had other enemies in view, and that he had undertook this war, in the name of God, who was with him; that for this reaſon he adviſed Joſiah not to concern himſelf with

(r) Herod. l. 4. c. 42. (s) Joſeph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 6. 2 Kings xxiii. 29, 30. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20—25.

this

this war, for fear leſt it otherwiſe ſhould turn to his diſadvantage. However, Joſiah was not mov'd by theſe reaſons: he was ſenſible that the bare march of ſo powerful an army through Judea, would entirely ruin it. And beſides, he feared that the victor, after the defeat of the Babylonians, would fall upon him, and diſpoſſeſs him of part of his dominions. He therefore marched to engage Nechao; and was not only overthrown by him, but unfortunately received a wound, of which he died at Jeruſalem, whither he had ordered himſelf to be carried.

Nechao animated by this victory, continued his march, and advanced towards the Euphrates. He defeated the Babylonians; took Carchemiſh, a large city in that country; and ſecuring to himſelf the poſſeſſion of it, by a ſtrong garriſon, returned to his own kingdom, after having been abſent three months from it.

(*t*) Being inform'd in his march homeward, that Jehoaz had cauſed himſelf to be proclaim'd king at Jeruſalem, without firſt aſking his conſent, he commanded him to meet him at Riblah in Syria. The unhappy prince was no ſooner arrived there, but he was put in chains by Nechao's order, and ſent priſoner to Egypt, where he died. From thence, purſuing his march, he came to Jeruſalem, where he gave the ſcepter to Eliakim (called by him Jehoiakim) another of Joſiah's ſons, in the room of his brother; and impoſed an annual tribute on the land, of an hundred talents of ſilver, and one talent of gold *. This being done, he returned in triumph to Egypt.

(*u*) Herodotus, mentioning this king's expedition, and the victory gain'd by him at † Magdolus, (as he

(*t*) 4 Reg. xxiii. 33, 35. 2 Paral. xxxvi. 1, 4. (*u*) Lib. 2. c. 159.

* *The Hebrew ſilver talent, according to Dr. Cumberland, is equivalent to* 353 l. 11 s. 10 d. $\frac{2}{4}$ *ſo that* 100 *talents Engliſh money, make* —— 353 l. 07 s. 6 d.

The gold talent according to the ſame —— 5075 l. 15 s. 7 d. $\frac{2}{4}$

The amount of the whole tribute —— 40435 l. 03 s. 1 d. $\frac{2}{4}$

† Megiddo.

calls

calls it) says, that he afterwards took the city Cadytis, which he represents as situated in the mountains of Palestine, and equal in extent to Sardis, the capital at that time not only of Lydia, but of all Asia Minor: This description can suit only Jerusalem, which was situated in the manner above described, and was then the only city in those parts that could be compared to Sardis. It appears besides from scripture, that Nechao, after his victory, won this capital of Judea: for he was there in person, when he gave the crown to Jehoiakim. The very name Cadytis, which in Hebrew signifies the Holy, points clearly to the city of Jerusalem, as is proved by the learned Dean Prideaux †.

(x) Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, observing that since the taking of Carchemish by Nechao, all Syria and Palestine had shaken off their allegiance to him; and that his years and infirmities would not permit him to march against the rebels in person, he therefore associated his son Nabuchodonosor, or Nebuchadnezzar with him in the empire, and sent him at the head of an army into those countries. (y) This young prince vanquished the army of Nechao near the river Euphrates, recovered Carchemish, and reduced the revolted provinces to their allegiance, as (z) Jeremiah had foretold. Thus he dispossess'd the Egyptians of all that belong'd to them, from the * little (a) river of Egypt to the

(x) A. M. 3397. Ant. J. C. 607. (y) Jer. xlvi. 2, &c.
(z) 2 Kings xxiv. 7. (a) A rivo Ægypti.

† *From the time that Solomon, by means of his temple, had made Jerusalem the common place of worship to all Israel, it was distinguished from the rest of the cities by the epithet* Holy, *and in the Old Testament was called* Air Hakkodesh, *i. e. the city of holiness, or the holy city. It bore this title upon the coins, and the shekel was inscribed* Jerusalem Kedusha, *i. e. Jerusalem the holy. At length Jerusalem, for brevity sake, was omitted, and only* Kedusha *reserved. The Syriac being the prevailing language in Herodotus's time, Kedusha, by a change in that dialect of* sh *into* th, *was made Kedutha; and Herodotus giving it a Greek termination, it was writ* Καδυτις *or Cadytis.* Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Testament, Vol. 1. Part 1. p. 80, 81. 8vo. Edit.

* *This litle river of Egypt, so often mentioned in scripture, as the boundary*

the Euphrates, which comprehended all Syria and Paleſtine.

Nechao dying after he had reigned ſixteen years, left the kingdom to his ſon

PSAMMIS. (*a*) His reign was but of ſix years, and hiſtory has left us nothing memorable concerning him, except that he made an expedition into Ethiopia.

It was to this prince that the Eleans ſent a ſplendid embaſſy, after having inſtituted the Olympick games. They had eſtabliſhed the whole with ſuch care, and made ſuch excellent regulations, that, in their opinion, nothing ſeem'd wanting to their perfection, and envy itſelf could not find any fault with them. (*b*) However, they did not deſire ſo much to have the opinion, as to gain the approbation of the Egyptians, who were look'd upon as the wiſeſt and moſt judicious people in the world. Accordingly the king aſſembled the ſages of his nation. After all things had been heard which could be ſaid in favour of this inſtitution; the Eleans were aſked, if the citizens and foreigners were admitted indifferently to theſe games; to which anſwer was made, that they were open to every one. To this the Egyptian replied, that the rules of juſtice would have been more ſtrictly obſerved, had foreigners only been admitted to theſe combats; becauſe it was very difficult for the judges, in their award of the victory and the prize, not to be prejudiced in favour of their fellow citizens.

APRIES. (*c*) In ſcripture he is called Pharaoh-Hophra; and, ſucceeding his father Pſammis, reign'd twenty-five years.

During the firſt years of his reign, he was as happy

(*a*) A. M. 3404. Ant. J. C. 600. Herod. l. 2. c. 160. (*b*) c. 160. (*c*) A. M. 3410. Ant. J. C. 594. Jerem. xliv. 30. Herod. l. 2. c. 161. Diod. l. 2. p. 72.

boundary of Paleſtine towards Egypt, was not the Nile, but a ſmall river, which running thro' the deſart that lay betwixt thoſe two nations, was antiently the common boundary of both. So far the land, which had been promis'd to the poſterity of Abraham, and divided among them by lot, extended.

as

as of any of his predeceſſors. He carried his arms into Cyprus; beſieg'd the city of Sidon by ſea and land; took it, and made himſelf maſter of all Phœnicia and Paleſtine.

So rapid a ſucceſs elated his heart to a prodigious degree, and as Herodotus informs us, ſwell'd him with ſo much pride and infatuation, that he boaſted, it was not in the power of the gods themſelves to dethrone him; ſo great was the idea he had form'd to himſelf of the firm eſtabliſhment of his own power. It was with a view to theſe arrogant conceits, that Ezekiel put the vain and impious words following into his mouth: (*d*) *My river is mine own, and I have made it for my ſelf.* But the true God proved to him afterwards that he had a maſter, and that he was a mere man; and he had threatned him long before, by his prophets, with all the calamities he was reſolved to bring upon him, in order to puniſh him for his pride.

A little after Ophra had aſcended the throne, Zedekiah (*e*), king of Judah, ſent an embaſſy, and concluded a mutual alliance with him; and the year following, breaking the oath of fidelity he had taken to the king of Babylon, he rebelled openly againſt him.

Notwithſtanding God had ſo often forbid his people, to have recourſe to Egypt, or put any confidence in the people of it; notwithſtanding the repeated calamities in which they had been involved, for their having relied on the Egyptians, they ſtill thought this nation their moſt ſure refuge in danger; and accordingly could not forbear applying to it. This they had already done in the reign of the holy king Hezekiah; and which gave occaſion to God's meſſage to his people, by the mouth of his prophet Iſaiah (*f*). "Wo to "them that go down to Egypt for help, and ſtay on "horſes and truſt in chariots, becauſe they are many; "but they look not unto the holy One of Iſrael, neither "ſeek the Lord.—The Egyptians are men and not "God, and their horſes fleſh, not ſpirit: when the

(*d*) xxix. 3. (*e*) Ezek. xvii. 15. (*f*) xxxi. 1, 3.

"Lord

"Lord ſhall ſtretch out his hand, both he that help-
"eth ſhall fall, and he that is holpen ſhall fall down,
"and they ſhall fall together." But neither the pro-
phet nor the king were heard; and nothing but the moſt fatal experience could open their eyes, and make them ſee evidently the truth of God's threatnings.

The Jews behaved in the very ſame manner on this occaſion. Zedekiah, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of Jeremiah to the contrary, reſolved to conclude an alliance with the Egyptian monarch, who; puffed up with the ſucceſs of his arms, and confident that nothing could reſiſt his power, declared himſelf the protector of Iſrael, and promiſed to deliver it from the tyranny of Nabuchodonoſor. But God, offended that a mortal had thus dared to intrude himſelf into his place, expreſſed his mind to another prophet, as follows. (*g*) "Son of man, ſet thy face againſt Pharaoh
"king of Egypt, and propheſy againſt him, and a-
"gainſt all Egypt. Speak and ſay, Thus ſaith the
"Lord God, Behold, I am againſt thee, Pharaoh
"king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the
"midſt of his rivers, which hath ſaid, My river is my
"own, and I have made it for my ſelf. But I will
"put hooks in thy jaws, &c." God, after comparing him to a reed, which breaks under the man who leans upon it, and wounds his hand, adds, (*h*) "Behold I
"will bring a ſword upon thee, and cut off man and
"beaſt out of thee; the land of Egypt ſhall be deſo-
"late, and they ſhall know that I am the Lord, be-
"cauſe he hath ſaid, The river is mine, and I have
"made it." The ſame (*i*) prophet, in ſeveral ſucceeding chapters, continues to foretel the calamities with which Egypt was going to be overwhelmed.

Zedekiah was far from giving credit to theſe predictions. When he heard of the approach of the Egyptian army, and ſaw Nabuchodonoſor raiſe the ſiege of Jeruſalem, he fancied that his deliverance was com-

(*g*) Ezek. xxix. 2, 3, 4. (*h*) xxix. 8, 9. (*i*) Ch. xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxxii.

pleated, and anticipated a triumph. His joy however was but of ſhort duration; for the Egyptians ſeeing the Chaldeans advancing forward again, did not dare to encounter ſo numerous and well-diſciplin'd an army. (*k*) They therefore marched back into their own country, and left the unfortunate Zedekiah expoſed to all the dangers of a war in which they themſelves had involv'd him. Nabuchodonoſor again ſat down before Jeruſalem; took and burnt it, as Jeremiah had propheſied.

(*l*) Many years after, the chaſtiſements with which God had threatened Apries (Pharaoh Hophra) began to fall upon him. For the Cyrenians, a Greek colony, which had ſettled in Africa, between Libya and Egypt, having ſeized upon, and divided among themſelves a great part of the country belonging to the Lybians; forced theſe nations, who were thus diſpoſſeſſed by violence, to throw themſelves into the arms of this prince, and implore his protection. Immediately Apries ſent a mighty army into Lybia, to oppoſe the Cyrenian Greeks; but this army being entirely defeated and almoſt cut to pieces; the Egyptians imagined that Apries had ſent it into Lybia, only to get it deſtroyed; and by that means, to attain the power of governing his ſubjects without check or controul. This reflexion prompted the Egyptians to ſhake off the yoke which had been laid on them by their prince, whom they now conſidered as their enemy. But Apries, hearing of the rebellion, diſpatched Amaſis, one of his officers, to ſuppreſs it, and force the rebels to return to their allegiance. But the moment Amaſis began to make his ſpeech, they fixed a helmet upon his head, in token of the exalted dignity to which they intended to raiſe him, and proclaimed him king. Amaſis having accepted the crown, ſtaid with the mutineers, and confirmed them in their rebellion.

(*k*) A M. 3416. Ant. J. C. 588. Jer. xxxvii. 6, 7. (*l*) A. M. 3430. Ant. J. C. 574. Herod. l. 2. c. 161, &c. Diod. l. 1. p. 62.

Apries

Apries more exaſperated than ever at this news, ſent Paterbemis, another of his great officers, and one of the principal Lords of his court, to put Amaſis under an arreſt, and bring him before him; but Paterbemis not being able to execute his commands, and bring away the rebel, as he was ſurrounded with the inſtruments of his treachery, was treated by Apries at his return in the moſt ignominious and inhuman manner; for, his noſe and ears were cut off by the command of that prince, who never conſidered, that only his want of power had prevented his executing his commiſſion. So bloody an outrage, done to a perſon of ſuch high diſtinction, exaſperated the Egyptians ſo much, that the greateſt part of them joined the rebels, and the inſurrection became general. Apries was now forced to retire into Upper Egypt, where he ſupported himſelf ſome years, during which Amaſis enjoyed the reſt of his dominions.

The troubles which thus diſtracted Egypt, afforded Nabuchodonoſor a favourable opportunity to invade that kingdom; and 'twas God himſelf inſpired him with the reſolution. This prince, who was the inſtrument of God's wrath (tho' he did not know himſelf to be ſo) againſt a people whom he was reſolv'd to chaſtiſe, had juſt before taken Tyre, where himſelf and his army had laboured under incredible difficulties. To recompenſe their toils, God abandoned Egypt to their arms. It is wonderful to hear the Creator himſelf delivering his thoughts on this ſubject. There are few paſſages in ſcripture more remarkable than this, or which give a ſtronger idea of the ſupreme authority which God exerciſes over all the princes and kingdoms of the earth. (*m*) "Son of man (ſays the Almighty to his "prophet Ezekiel) Nebuchadnezzar king of Baby-"lon cauſed his army to ſerve a great ſervice againſt "Tyrus: Every head was made bald, and every

(*m*) xxix. 18, 19, 20.

" ſhoulder was peeled * : Yet had he no wages, nor
" his army, † for the ſervice he had ſerved againſt it.
" Therefore thus ſaith the Lord God, Behold I will
" give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar king
" of Babylon, and he ſhall take her multitude, and
" take her ſpoil, and take her prey, and it ſhall be
" the wages for his army. I have given him the land of
" Egypt for his labour wherewith he ſerved againſt it,
" becauſe they wrought for me, ſaith the Lord God."
Says another prophet, (*n*) " He ſhall array himſelf
" with the land of Egypt, as a ſhepherd putteth on
" his garment, and he ſhall go forth from thence in
" peace." Thus ſhall he load himſelf with booty, and thus cover his own ſhoulders, and thoſe of his fold, with all the ſpoils of Egypt. Noble expreſſions! which ſhew the prodigious eaſe with which all the power and riches of a kingdom are carried away, when God appoints the revolution; and ſhift like a garment, to a new owner, who has no more to do but to take it, and cloath himſelf with it.

The king of Babylon taking advantage therefore of the inteſtine diviſions, which the rebellion of Amaſis had occaſioned in that kingdom, marched thither at the head of his army. He ſubdued Egypt from Migdol or Magdol, a town on the frontiers of it, as far as Syene, in the oppoſite extremity where it borders on Ethiopia. He made a horrible devaſtation wherever he came; killed a great number of the inhabitants, and made ſuch dreadful havock in the country, that the

(*n*) Jerem. xliii. 12.

* *The baldneſs of the heads of the Babylonians was owing to the preſſure of their helmets; and their* peeled ſhoulders *to their carrying baſkets of earth, and large pieces of timber, to join Tyre to the continent. Baldneſs was itſelf a badge of ſlavery; and, joined to the* peeled ſhoulders, *ſhews that the conqueror's army ſuſtained even the moſt ſervile labours in this memorable ſiege.*

† *For the better underſtanding of this paſſage, we are to know, that Nabuchodonoſor ſuſtained incredible hardſhips at the ſiege of Tyre; and that when the Tyrians ſaw themſelves cloſely attacked, the nobles conveyed themſelves and their richeſt effects on ſhip-board, and retired into other iſlands. So that when Nabuchodonoſor took the city, he found nothing to recompenſe his loſſes, and the troubles he had undergone in this ſiege. S. Hieron.*

damage

damage could not be repaired in forty years. Nabuchodonosor, having loaded his army with spoils, and conquered the whole kingdom, came to an accommodation with Amasis; and leaving him as his viceroy there, returned to Babylon.

(o) APRIES (Pharaoh-Hophra) now leaving the place where he had concealed himself, advanced towards the sea-coast (probably towards Libya;) and hiring an army of Carians, Ionians, and other foreigners, he marched against Amasis, whom he fought near Memphis; but being overcome, Apries was taken prisoner; carried to the city of Sais, and there strangled in his own palace.

The Almighty had given, by the mouth of his prophets, an astonishing relation of the several circumstances of this mighty event. It was he who had broke the power of Apries, which was once so formidable; and put the sword into the hand of Nabuchodonosor, in order that he might chastise and humble that haughty prince. (p) "I am, said he, against Pharoah king of "Egypt, and will break his arms which were strong, "but now are broken; and I will cause the sword to "fall out of his hand.—(q) But I will strengthen the "arms of the king of Babylon, and put my sword into "his hand.—(r) And they shall know that I am the "Lord."

He enumerates the towns which were to fall a prey to the victors; (s) Pathros, Zoan, No (called in the vulgate Alexandria) Sin, Aven, Phibeseth, &c. *

He takes notice particularly of the unhappy end, to which the captive king should come. (t) "Thus saith "the Lord, behold I will give Pharaoh-Hophra, the

(o) Herod. l. 2. c. 163, 169. Diod. l. 1. p. 72. (p) Ezek. xxx. 22.
(q) 24. (r) 25. (s) v. 14. 17. (t) Jerem. xliv. 30

* *I have given the names of these towns as they stand in our English version. In the margin are printed against Zoan, Tanis; against Sin, Pelusium; against Aven, Heliopolis; against Phibeseth, Pubastum (Bubaste;) and by these last names they are mentioned in the original.*

" king of Egypt, into the hand of his enemies, and " into the hand of them that ſeek his life."

Laſtly he declares, that during forty years, the Egyptians ſhall be oppreſſed with every ſpecies of calamity, and be reduced to ſo deplorable a ſtate, (*u*) " That there ſhould be no more a prince of the land " of Egypt." The event verified this prophecy. Soon after the expiration of theſe forty years, Egypt was made a province of the Perſian empire, and has been governed ever ſince by foreigners. For ſince the ruin of the Perſian monarchy, it has been ſubject ſucceſſively to the Macedonians, the Romans, the Saracens, the Mamalukes, and laſtly to the Turks, who poſſeſs it at this day.

(*x*) God was not leſs punctual in the accompliſhment of his prophecies, with regard to ſuch of his own people, as had retir'd, contrary to his prohibition, into Egypt, after the taking of Jeruſalem; and forced Jeremiah along with them. The inſtant they had reached Egypt, and were arrived at Taphnis (or Tanis) the prophet, after having hid in their preſence (by God's command) ſtones in a grotto which was near the king's palace; he declared to them, that Nabuchodonoſor ſhould ſoon arrive in Egypt, and that God would eſtabliſh his throne in that very place; that this prince would lay waſte the whole kingdom, and carry fire and ſword into all places; that themſelves ſhould fall into the hand of theſe cruel enemies, when one part of them would be maſſacred, and the reſt led captive to Babylon; that only a very ſmall number ſhould eſcape the common deſolation, and be at laſt reſtored to their country. All theſe prophecies had their accompliſhment in the appointed time.

(*y*) AMASIS. After the death of Apries, Amaſis became peaceable poſſeſſor of Egypt, and reigned forty years over it. He was, according to (*z*) Plato, a native of the city of Sais.

(*u*) Ezek. xxx. 13. (*x*) Jerem. Chapters xliii. xliv.
(*y*) A. M. 3435. Ant. J. C. 569. (*z*) In Tim.

As

(*a*) As he was but of mean extraction, he met with no reſpect, but was only contemned by his ſubjects, in the beginning of his reign: He was not inſenſible of this; but nevertheleſs thought it his intereſt to ſubdue their tempers by an artful carriage, and win their affection by gentleneſs and reaſon. He had a golden ciſtern, in which himſelf, and thoſe perſons who were admitted to his table uſed to waſh their feet: He melted it down, and had it caſt into a ſtatue, and then expoſed the new god to publick worſhip. The people haſted in crouds to pay their adoration to the ſtatue. The king, having aſſembled the people, informed them of the vile uſes to which this ſtatue had once been put, which nevertheleſs had now their religious proſtrations: The application was eaſy, and had the deſired ſucceſs; the people thenceforward paid the king all the reſpect that is due to majeſty.

(*b*) He always uſed to devote the whole morning to publick affairs, in order to receive petitions, give audience, pronounce ſentence, and hold his councils: The reſt of the day was given to pleaſure; and as Amaſis, in hours of diverſion, was extremely gay, and ſeemed to carry his mirth beyond due bounds; his courtiers took the liberty to repreſent to him the unſuitableneſs of ſuch a behaviour; when he anſwered, that it was as impoſſible for the mind to be always ſerious and intent upon buſineſs, as for a bow to continue always bent.

It was this king who obliged the inhabitants of every town, to enter their names in a book kept by the magiſtrate for that purpoſe, with their profeſſion, and manner of living. Solon inſerted this cuſtom among his laws.

He built many magnificent temples, eſpecially at Sais the place of his birth. Herodotus admired eſpecially a chapel there, formed of one ſingle ſtone, and which was twenty one cubits * in front, fourteen in depth, and eight in height; its dimenſions within were

(*a*) Herod. l. 2. c. 172. (*b*) Ibid. cap. 73.

* *The cubit is one foot and almoſt ten inches.* Vide ſupra.

not quite ſo large: It had been brought from Elephantina, and two thouſand men had employed three years, in conveying it along the Nile.

Amaſis had a great eſteem for the Greeks. He granted them large privileges; and permitted ſuch of them as were deſirous of ſettling in Egypt, to live in the city of Naucratis, ſo famous for its harbour. When the rebuilding of the temple of Delphos, which had been burnt, was debated on, and the expence was computed at three hundred talents †, Amaſis furniſhed the Delphians with a very conſiderable ſum towards diſcharging their quota, which was the fourth part of the whole charge.

He made an alliance with the Cyrenians, and married a wife from among them.

He is the only king of Egypt who conquered the iſland of Cyprus, and made it tributary.

Under his reign Pythagoras came into Egypt, being recommended to that monarch by the famous Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, who had contracted a friendſhip with Amaſis, and will be mentioned hereafter. Pythagoras, during his ſtay in Egypt, was initiated in all the myſteries of the country; and inſtructed by the prieſts in whatever was moſt abſtruſe and important in their religion. 'Twas here he imbibed his doctrine of the Metempſychoſis, or tranſmigration of ſouls.

In the expedition in which Cyrus conquered ſo great a part of the world, Egypt doubtleſs was ſubdued, like the reſt of the provinces; and Xenophon declares this in the beginning of his Cyropedia or inſtitution of that prince *. Probably, after that the forty years of deſolation which had been propheſied by the prophet, were expired; Egypt beginning gradually to recover itſelf, Amaſis ſhook off the yoke, and recovered his liberty.

Accordingly we find, that one of the firſt cares of Cambyſes the ſon of Cyrus, after he had aſcended the

† *Or*, 58125 *l. ſterling.*

* Ἐπῆρξε δὲ καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ασίᾳ, καταλὰς δὲ ἐπὶ θάλατταν, καὶ Κυπρίων & Αἰγυπτίων, p. 5. Edit. Hutchinſoni.

throne,



H. Gravelot, inv. et delin. — Le Bas sculp.

HANNIBAL at nine Years of Age, Swearing Enmity to the Romans. P. 226.

Published Oct. 16. 1738. by J. & P. Knapton.

throne, was to carry his arms into Egypt. On his arrival there, Amasis was just dead, and succeeded by his son Psammenitus.

(z) PSAMMENITUS. Cambyses, after having gained a battle, pursued the enemy to Memphis; besieged the city, and soon took it: However he treated the king with clemency, granted him his life, and assigned him an honourable pension; but being informed that he was secretly concerting measures to re-ascend his throne, he put him to death. Psammenitus reigned but six months: All Egypt submitted immediately to the victor. The particulars of this history will be related more at large, when I come to that of Cambyses.

Here ends the succession of the Egyptian kings. From this æra the history of this nation, as was before observed, will be blended with that of the Persians and Greeks, till the death of Alexander. At that period, a new monarchy will arise in Egypt, founded by Ptolemy the son of Lagus, which will continue to Cleopatra, that is, for about three hundred years. I shall treat each of these subjects, in the several periods to which they belong.

(z) A. M. 3479. Ant. J. C. 525.

THE ANCIENT
HISTORY
OF THE
EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES and PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

By Mr. ROLLIN, *late Principal of the Univerſity of Paris, now Profeſſor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles-Lettres.*

Tranſlated from the FRENCH.

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BOOK THE SECOND.

THE HISTORY OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

I SHALL divide the following history of the Carthaginians into two parts. In the firſt, I ſhall give a general idea of the manners of that people, their character, government, religion, power, and riches. In the ſecond, after relating, in few words, by what ſteps Carthage eſtabliſhed and enlarged its power, I ſhall give an account of the wars by which it became ſo famous.

PART

PART THE FIRST.

OF THE CHARACTER, MANNERS, RELIGION, and GOVERNMENT OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

SECT. I.

Carthage form'd after the model of Tyre, *of which that city was a colony.*

THE Carthaginians were indebted to the Tyrians not only for their origin, but their manners, language, cuſtoms, laws, religion; and their great application to commerce, as will appear from every part of the ſequel. They ſpoke the ſame language with the Tyrians, and theſe the ſame with the Canaanites and Iſraelites, that is, the Hebrew tongue, or at leaſt a language which was entirely derived from it. Their names had commonly ſome particular meaning: (*a*) Thus *Hanno* ſignified *gracious, bountiful*; Dido, *amiable* or *well beloved*; Sophoniſba, *one who keeps faithfully her husband's ſecrets.* From a ſpirit of religion, they likewiſe joined the name of God to their own, conformably to the genius of the Hebrews. Hannibal, which anſwers to Ananias, ſignifies *Baal* (or the *Lord*) *has been gracious to me.* Aſdrubal anſwering to Azarias, implies *the Lord will be*

(*a*) Bochart. Part II. L. 2. c. 16.

our

our ſuccour. It is the ſame with other names, Adherbal, Maharbal, Maſtanabal, &c. The word Pœni, from which Punic is derived, is the ſame with Phœni or Phœnicians, becauſe they came originally from Phœnicia. In the Pœnulus of Plautus, is a ſcene written in the Punic tongue, which has very much exerciſed the learned †.

But the ſtrict union which always ſubſiſted between the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, is ſtill more remarkable. (*b*) When Cambyſes had reſolved to make war upon the latter, the Phœnicians, who formed the chief ſtrength of his fleet, told him plainly, that they could not ſerve him againſt their countrymen; and this declaration obliged that prince to lay aſide his deſign. The Carthaginians, on their ſide, were never forgetful of the country from whence they came, and to which they owed their origin. (*c*) They ſent regularly every year to Tyre, a ſhip freighted with preſents, as a quit-rent or acknowledgment paid to their antient country; and its tutelar gods had an annual ſacrifice offered to them by the Carthaginians, who conſidered them as their protectors. They never failed to ſend thither the firſt fruits of their revenues; nor the tithe of the ſpoils taken from their enemies, as offerings to Hercules, one of the principal gods of Tyre and Carthage. The Tyrians, to ſecure from Alexander (who was then beſieging their city) what they valued above all things, I mean their wives and children; ſent them to Carthage, where, at a time that the inhabitants of the latter were involved in a furious war, they were received and entertained with ſuch a kindneſs and generoſity as might be expected from the moſt tender and opulent parents. Such uninterrupted teſtimonies of a warm and ſincere gratitude, do a nation more honour, than the greateſt conqueſts, and the moſt glorious victories.

(*b*) Herodot. l. 3. c. 17—19. (*c*) Polyb. 944. Q. Curt. l. 4. c. 2, 3.

† *The firſt ſcene of the fifth act, tranſlated into latin by* Petit, *in the ſecond book of his miſcellanies.*

SECT. II.

SECT. II. *The religion of the Carthaginians.*

IT appears from ſeveral paſſages of the hiſtory of Carthage, that its generals looked upon it as an indiſpenſable duty, to begin and end all their enterprizes, with the worſhip of the gods. (*d*) Hamilcar, father of the great Hannibal, before he entered Spain in an hoſtile manner, offered up a ſacrifice to the gods; and his ſon treading in his ſteps, before he left Spain, and marched againſt Rome, went to Cadiz in order to pay the vows he made to Hercules; and to offer up new ones, in caſe that god ſhould be propitious to him. (*e*) After the battle of Cannæ, when he acquainted the Carthaginians with the joyful news, he recommended to them above all things, the offering up a thankſgiving to the immortal gods, for the ſeveral victories he had obtained. *Pro his tantis totque victoriis verum eſſe grates diis immortalibus agi haberique.*

Nor was this religious honouring of the deity on all occaſions, the ambition of particular perſons only; but was the genius and diſpoſition of the whole nation.

(*f*) Polybius has tranſmitted to us a treaty of peace concluded between Philip ſon of Demetrius king of Macedon, and the Carthaginians, in which the great reſpect and veneration of the latter for the deity, their inherent perſuaſion that the gods aſſiſt and preſide over human affairs, and particularly over the ſolemn treaties made in their name and preſence, are ſtrongly diſplayed. Mention is therein made of five or ſix different orders of deities; and this enumeration appears very extraordinary in a publick inſtrument, ſuch as a treaty of peace concluded between two nations. I will here preſent my reader with the very words of the hiſtorian, as it will give ſome idea of the Carthaginian theology. *This treaty was concluded in the preſence of Jupiter, Juno, and Apollo; in the preſence of the dæmon or genius* (Δαίμονος) *of the Carthaginians, of Hercules and Iolaus;*

(*d*) Liv. l. 21. n. 1. Ibid. n. 21. (*e*) Liv. l. 23. n. 11.
(*f*) L. 7. p. 699. Edit. Gronov.

in

in the preſence of Mars, Triton, and Neptune; in the preſence of all the confederate gods of the Carthaginians; and of the ſun, the moon, and the earth; in the preſence of the rivers, meads, and waters; in the preſence of all thoſe gods who poſſeſs Carthage: What would we now ſay to an inſtrument of this kind, in which the tutelar angels and ſaints of a kingdom ſhould be introduced?

The Carthaginians had two deities, to whom they paid a more particular worſhip, and who deſerve to have ſome mention made of them in this place.

The firſt was the goddeſs Cœleſtis, called likewiſe Urania or the Moon, who was invoked in great calamities, and particularly in droughts, in order to obtain rain: (*g*) That very virgin Cœleſtis, ſays Tertullian, the promiſer of rain. *Iſta ipſa virgo Cœleſtis pluviarum pollicitatrix.* Tertullian, ſpeaking of this goddeſs and of Æſculapius, makes the heathens of that age a challenge, which is bold indeed, but at the ſame time very glorious to the cauſe of chriſtianity, and declares, that any Chriſtian who firſt comes, ſhall oblige theſe falſe gods to confeſs publickly, that they are but devils; and conſents that this Chriſtian ſhall be immediately killed, if he does not extort ſuch a confeſſion from the mouth of theſe gods. *Niſi ſe dæmones confeſſi fuerint Chriſtiano mentiri non audentes, ibidem illius Chriſtiani procaciſſimi ſanguinem fundite.* St. Auſtin likewiſe makes frequent mention of this deity. (*h*) *What is now*, ſays he, *become of Cœleſtis, whoſe empire was once ſo great in Carthage?* This was doubtleſs the ſame deity, whom (*i*) Jeremiah calls *the queen of heaven*; and who was held in ſo much reverence by the Jewiſh women, that they addreſſed their vows, burnt incenſe, poured out drink-offerings, and made cakes for her with their own hands, *ut faciant placentas reginæ cœli*; and from whom they boaſted their having received all manner of bleſſings, whilſt they paid her a regular worſhip;

(*g*) Apolog. c. 23. (*h*) In Pſalm. xcviii. (*i*) Jer. vii. 18. and xliv. 17—25.

whereas,

whereas, ſince they had failed in it, they had been oppreſſed with misfortunes of every kind.

The ſecond deity particularly adored by the Carthaginians, and in whoſe honour human ſacrifices were offered, was Saturn, known in ſcripture by the name of Moloch; and this worſhip paſſed from Tyre to Carthage. Philo quotes a paſſage from Sanchoniathon, which ſhews that the kings of Tyre, in great dangers, uſed to ſacrifice their ſons to appeaſe the anger of the gods; and that one of them, by this action, procured himſelf divine honours, and was worſhipped as a god, under the name of the planet Saturn: To this doubtleſs was owing the fable of Saturn's devouring his own children. Particular perſons, when they were deſirous of averting any great calamity, took the ſame method; and, in imitation of their princes, were ſo very ſuperſtitious, that ſuch as had no children, purchaſed thoſe of the poor, in order that they might not be deprived of the merit of ſuch a ſacrifice. This cuſtom prevailed long among the Phœnicians and Canaanites, from whom the Iſraelites borrowed it, though forbid expreſsly by heaven. At firſt, children were inhumanly burnt, either in a fiery furnance, like thoſe in the valley of Hinnon ſo often mentioned in ſcripture; or in a flaming ſtatue of Saturn. (*k*) The cries of theſe unhappy victims were drowned by the uninterrupted noiſe of drums and trumpets. Mothers * made it a merit, and a part of their religion, to view this barbarous ſpectacle with dry eyes, and without ſo much as a groan; and if a tear or a ſigh ſtole from them, the ſacrifice was leſs acceptable to the deity, and all the effects of it were entirely loſt. (*l*) This ſtrength of mind, or rather ſavage barbarity, was carried to ſuch exceſs, that even mothers would endeavour, with embraces and kiſſes, to huſh the cries of their children;

(*k*) Plut. de Superſtit. p. 171.

* Παρεισήκει δὲ ἡ μήτηρ ἀτεγκτῳ καὶ ἀσταναχτῳ, &c. *The cruel and pitileſs mother ſtood by as an unconcerned ſpectator; a groan or a tear falling from her* would have been puniſhed by a fine; *and ſtill the child muſt have been ſacrificed.* Plut. de ſuperſtitione.

(*l*) Tertull. in Apolog.

leſt,

left, had the victim been offered with an unbecoming grace, and in the midst of tears, it should anger the god: *Blanditiis & osculis comprimebant vagitum, ne flebilis hostia immolaretur* (*m*). They afterwards contented themselves with making their children pass through the fire; in which they frequently perished, as appears from several passages of scripture.

(*n*) The Carthaginians retained the barbarous custom of offering human sacrifices to their gods, till the ruin of their city *: An action which ought to have been called a sacrilege rather than a sacrifice. *Sacrilegium veriùs quàm sacrum.* It was suspended only for some years, from the fear they were under of drawing upon themselves the indignation and arms of Darius I. king of Persia, who forbid them the offering up of human sacrifices, and the eating the flesh of dogs: (*o*) But they soon resumed this horrid practice, since, in the reign of Xerxes, the successor to Darius, Gelon the tyrant of Syracuse, having gained a considerable victory over the Carthaginians in Sicily, made the following condition among other articles of peace he granted them, *viz. That no more human sacrifices should be offered to Saturn.* And doubtless, the practice of the

(*m*) Minut. Felix.
(*o*) Plut. de sera vindic. deorum, p. 552.
(*n*) Q. Curt. l. 4. c. 5.

* *It appears from Tertullian's apology, that this barbarous custom prevailed in Africa, long after the ruin of Carthage.* Infantes penes Africam Saturno immolabantur palam usque ad proconsulatum Tiberii, qui eosdem sacerdotes in eisdem arboribus templi sui obumbraticibus scelerum votivis crucibus exposuit, teste militia patriæ nostræ, quæ id ipsum munus illi proconsuli functa est, *i. e. Children were publickly sacrificed to Saturn, down to the proconsulship of Tiberius, who hanged the sacrificing priests themselves on the trees which shaded their temple, as on so many crosses, raised to expiate their crimes, of which the militia of our country are witnesses, who were the actors of this execution at the command of this proconsul.* Tertul. Apolog. c. 9. *Two learned men are at variance about the proconsul, and the time of his government. Salmasius confesses his ignorance of both; but rejects the authority of Scaliger, who, for* proconsulatum, *reads* proconsulem Tiberii, *and thinks Tertullian, when he writ his apology, had forgot his name. However this be, it is certain that the memory of the incident here related by Tertullian, was then recent, and probably the witnesses of it had not been long dead.*

Cartha-

Carthaginians on this very occaſion made Gelon uſe this precaution. (*p*) For during the whole engagement, which laſted from morning till night, Hamilcar, the ſon of Hanno their general, was perpetually offering up to the gods, ſacrifices of living men, who were thrown on a flaming pile; and ſeeing his troops routed and put to flight, he himſelf ruſhed into the pile, in order that he might not ſurvive his own diſgrace; and to extinguiſh, ſays St. Ambroſe ſpeaking of this action, with his own blood this ſacrilegious fire, when he found that it had not proved of ſervice to him *.

In times of peſtilence † they uſed to ſacrifice a great number of children to their gods, unmoved with pity for a tender age, which excites compaſſion in the moſt cruel enemies; thus ſeeking a remedy for their evils in guilt itſelf; and endeavouring to appeaſe the gods by the moſt ſhocking kind of barbarity.

(*q*) Diodorus relates an inſtance of this cruelty which ſtrikes the reader with horror. At the time that Agathocles was juſt going to beſiege Carthage, its inhabitants, ſeeing the extremity to which they were reduced, imputed all their misfortunes to the juſt anger of Saturn, becauſe that, inſtead of offering up children nobly born, who were uſually ſacrificed to him, he had been fraudulently put off with the children of ſlaves and foreigners. To atone for this crime, two hundred children of the beſt families in Carthage were ſacrificed to Saturn; beſides which, upwards of three hundred citizens, from a ſenſe of their guilt of this pretended crime, voluntarily ſacrificed themſelves. Diodorus adds, that Saturn had a brazen ſtatue, the hands of

(*p*) Herod. l. 7. c. 167. (*q*) L. 2. p. 756.

* In ipſos quos adolebat ſeſe præcipitavit ignes, ut eos vel cruore ſuo extingueret, quos ſibi nihil profuiſſe cognoverat. *S. Amb.*

† Cum peſte laborarent cruenta ſacrorum religione & ſcelere pro remedio uſi ſunt. Quippe homines ut victimas immolabant & impuberes (quæ ætas etiam hoſtium miſericordiam provocat) aris admovebant, pacem deorum ſanguine eorum expoſcentes, pro quorum vita dii maxime rogari ſolent. *Juſtin.* l. 18. c. 6. *The Gauls as well as Germans uſed to ſacrifice men, if Dionyſius and Tacitus may be credited.*

which

which were turned downward; so that when a child was laid on them, it dropped immediately into an hollow, where was a fiery furnace.

Can this, says (r) Plutarch, be called worshipping the gods? Can we be said to entertain an honourable idea of them, if we suppose that they are pleased with slaughter, thirsty of human blood, and capable of requiring or accepting such offerings? (s) Religion, says this judicious author, is placed between two rocks, that are equally dangerous to man, and injurious to the deity, I mean impiety and superstition. The one, from an affectation of free-thinking, believes nothing; and the other, from a blind weakness, believes all things. Impiety, to rid itself of a terror which galls it, denies the very existence of the gods: whilst superstition, to calm its fears, capriciously forges gods, which it makes not only the friends, but protectors, and models, of crimes. (t) Had it not been better, says he farther, for the Carthaginians to have had a Critias, a Diagoras, and such like open and undisguised atheists for their law-givers, than to have established so frantic and wicked a religion? Could the Typhons and the giants, (the open enemies to the gods) had they gained a victory over them, have established more abominable sacrifices?

Such were the sentiments which a heathen entertained of this part of the Carthaginian worship. But one would scarce believe that mankind were capable of such madness and frenzy. Men do not generally entertain ideas so destructive of all those things which nature considers as most sacred; as to sacrifice, to murder their children with their own hands; and to throw them in cool blood into fiery furnaces! Such sentiments of so unnatural and barbarous a kind, and yet adopted by whole nations, and even by those that passed for civilized, as the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Gauls, Scythians, and even the Greeks and Romans; and consecrated by custom during a long series of ages,

(r) De superstitione, p. 169—171. (s) Idem in Camill. p. 132.
(t) De superstitione.

can have been inſpired by him only, who was a murderer from the beginning; and who delights in nothing but the humiliation, miſery, and perdition of man.

SECT III. *Form of the government of Carthage.*

THE government of Carthage was founded upon principles of the moſt conſummate wiſdom, and it is with reaſon that (*u*) Ariſtotle ranks this republick in the number of thoſe that were had in the greateſt eſteem by the antients, and which was fit to ſerve as a model for others. He grounds his opinion on a reflection which does great honour to Carthage, by remarking, that from its foundation to his time, (that is upwards of five hundred years) no conſiderable ſedition had diſturbed the peace, nor any tyrant oppreſſed the liberty of Carthage. Indeed, mixed governments, ſuch as that of Carthage, where the power was divided betwixt the nobles and the people, are ſubject to two inconveniencies; either of degenerating into an abuſe of liberty by the ſeditions of the populace, as frequently happened in Athens, and in all the Grecian republicks; or into the oppreſſion of the publick liberty by the tyranny of the nobles, as in Athens, Syracuſe, Corinth, Thebes, and Rome itſelf under Sylla and Cæſar. It is therefore giving Carthage the higheſt praiſe, to obſerve, that it had found out the art, by the wiſdom of its laws, and the harmony of the different parts of its government, to ſhun, during ſo long a ſeries of years, two rocks that are ſo dangerous, and on which others ſo often ſplit.

It were to be wiſhed, that ſome antient author had left us an accurate and regular deſcription of the cuſtoms and laws of this famous republick. For want of ſome ſuch aſſiſtance, we can only give our readers a confuſed and imperfect idea of them, by collecting the ſeveral paſſages which lie ſcattered up and down in authors. Chriſtopher Hendrich has obliged the learned world in

(*u*) De rep. l. 2. c. 11.

this

this particular; and his * work has been of great service to me.

(x) The government of Carthage, like that of Sparta and Rome, united three different authorities, which counterpoised and gave mutual assistance to one another. These authorities were, that of the two supreme magistrates calted Suffetes †; that of the senate; and that of the people. There afterwards was added the tribunal of one hundred, which had great credit and influence in the republick.

The Suffetes.

The power of the Suffetes was only annual, and their authority in Carthage answered to that of the consuls at Rome ‖. In authors they are frequently called kings, dictators, consuls, because they exercised the functions of all three. History does not inform us of the manner of their election. They were empowered to assemble the senate ⸸, in which they presided, proposed subjects for deliberation, and told the voices; ** and they likewise presided in all emergent and decisive debates. Their authority was not limited to the city, nor confined to civil affairs: They sometimes had the command of the armies. We find, that when their employment of suffetes expired, they were made prætors, whose office was considerable, since it empowered them to preside in some causes; as also to propose and enact new laws, and call to account the receivers of the publick revenues, as appears from what

(x) Polyb. l. 6. p. 493.

* *It is entitled*, Carthago, sive Carthaginensium respublica, *&c.* Francofurti ad Oderam, an. 1664.

† *This name is derived from a word, which, with the Hebrews and Phœnicians, signifies judges*, Sophetim.

‖ Ut Romæ consules, sic Carthagine quotannis annui bini reges creabantur. *Corn. Nep. in vita Annibalis* c. 7. *The great Hannibal was once one of the Suffetes.*

⸸ Senatum itaque Suffetes, quod velut consulare imperium apud eos erat, vocaverunt. *Liv.* l. 30. n. 7.

** Cum Suffetes ad jus dicendum consedissent. *Id.* l. 34. n. 62.

Livy (*y*) relates concerning Hannibal on this head, and which I ſhall take notice of in the ſequel.

The Senate.

The ſenate, compoſed of perſons who were venerable on account of their age, their experience, their birth, their riches, and eſpecially their merit, formed the council of ſtate; and were, if I may uſe that expreſſion, the ſoul of the publick deliberations. Their number is not exactly known: It muſt however have been very great, ſince an hundred were ſelected from it to form a ſeparate aſſembly, of which I ſhall immediately have occaſion to ſpeak. In the ſenate, all affairs of conſequence were debated, the letters from generals read, the complaints of provinces heard, ambaſſadors admitted to audience, and peace or war determined, as is ſeen on many occaſions.

(*z*) When the ſentiments and votes were unanimous, the ſenate decided ſupremely, and there lay no appeal from it. When there was a diviſion, and the ſenate could not be brought to an agreement, the affair was then brought before the people, on whom the power of deciding thereby devolved. The reader will eaſily perceive the great wiſdom of this regulation; and how happily it was adapted to cruſh factions, to produce harmony, and to inforce and corroborate good counſels; ſuch an aſſembly being extremely jealous of its authority, and not eaſily prevailed upon to let it paſs into other hands. Of this we have a memorable inſtance in (*a*) Polybius. When after the loſs of the battle, fought in Africa, at the end of the ſecond Punic war, the conditions of peace, offered by the victor, were read in the ſenate; Hannibal, obſerving that one of the ſenators oppoſed them, repreſented in the ſtrongeſt terms, that as the ſafety of the republic lay at ſtake, it was of the utmoſt importance for the ſenators to be unanimous in their reſolutions, to prevent

(*y*) L. 33. n. 46, 47.
(*a*) L. 15. p. 706, 707.
(*z*) Ariſt. loc. cit.

ſuch

ſuch a debate from coming before the people; and he carried his point. This doubtleſs laid the foundation in the infancy of the republic, of the ſenate's power, and raiſed its authority to ſo great a height. (*b*) And the ſame author obſerves, in another place; that whilſt the ſenate had the adminiſtration of affairs, the ſtate was governed with great wiſdom, and ſucceſsful in all its enterprizes.

The People.

It appears from every thing related hitherto, that ſo low as Ariſtotle's time, who gives ſo beautiful a draught, and beſtows ſo noble an elogium on the government of Carthage, the people ſpontaneouſly left the care of publick affairs, and the chief adminiſtration of them to the ſenate: And this it was which made the republic ſo powerful. But things changed afterwards. For the people grown inſolent by their wealth and conqueſts, and forgetting that they owed theſe bleſſings to the prudent conduct of the ſenate, were deſirous of having a ſhare in the government, and arrogated to themſelves almoſt the whole power. From that period, the publick affairs were tranſacted wholly by cabals and factions; which Polybius aſſigns as one of the chief cauſes of the ruin of Carthage.

The Tribunal of the Hundred.

This was a body compoſed of an hundred and four perſons; tho' often, for brevity ſake, they are called the Hundred. Theſe, according to Ariſtotle, were the ſame in Carthage, as the Ephori in Sparta: whence it appears, that they were inſtituted to balance the power of the nobles and ſenate: But with this difference, that the Ephori were but five in number, and elected annually; whereas theſe were perpetual, and were upwards of an hundred. It is believed, that theſe centumvirs are the ſame with the hundred judges mentioned by (*c*) Juſtin, who were taken out of the ſe-

(*b* Polyb. l. 6. p. 494. *487th year of Carthage.*

(*c*) L. 19. c. 2. A. M. 3609.

nate, and appointed to inquire into the conduct of their generals. The exorbitant power of Mago's family, which, by its engroſſing the chief employments both of the ſtate and the army, had thereby the ſole direction and management of all affairs, gave occaſion to this eſtabliſhment. It was intended as a curb to the authority of their generals, which, whilſt the armies were in the field, was almoſt boundleſs and abſolute; but, by this inſtitution, it became ſubject to the laws, by the obligation their generals were under, of giving an account of their actions before theſe judges, on their return from the campaign, (*d*) *Ut hoc metu ita in bello imperia cogitarent, ut domi judicia legeſque reſpicerent.* Of theſe hundred and four judges, five had a particular juriſdiction ſuperior to that of the reſt; but it is not known how long their authority laſted. This council of five was like the council of ten in the Venetian ſenate. A vacancy in their number could be filled by none but themſelves. They alſo had the power of chuſing thoſe who compoſed the council of the hundred. Their authority was very great, and for that reaſon none were elected into this office but perſons of uncommon merit: and it was not judged proper to annex any ſalary or reward to it; the ſingle motive of the publick good, being thought a tie ſufficient, to engage honeſt men to a conſcientious and faithful diſcharge of their duty. (*e*) Polybius, in his account of the taking of new Carthage by Scipio, diſtinguiſhes clearly two orders of magiſtrates eſtabliſhed in old Carthage; for he ſays, that among the priſoners taken at new Carthage, were two magiſtrates belonging to the body or aſſembly of old men [ἐκ τῆς Γερουσίας] ſo he calls the council of the hundred; and fifteen of the ſenate [ἐκ τῆς Συγκλήτου.] (*f*) Livy mentions only the fifteen ſenators; but, in another place, he names the old men; and tells us, that they formed the moſt venerable council of the government, and had great authority in the

(*d*) Juſtin. l. 19. (*e*) L. 10. p. 824. Edit. Gronov. (*f*) L. 26. n. 51. L. 30. n. 26.

ſenate.

ſenate. * *Carthaginienſes——Oratores ad pacem petendam mittunt triginta ſeniorum principes. Id erat ſanctius apud illos concilium, maximaque ad ipſum ſenatum regendum vis.*

Eſtabliſhments, tho' conſtituted with the greateſt wiſdom, and the juſteſt harmony of parts, degenerate however inſenſibly into diſorder and the moſt deſtructive licentiouſneſs. Theſe judges, who, by the lawful execution of their power were a terror to tranſgreſſors, and the great pillars of juſtice; abuſing their almoſt unlimited authority, became ſo many petty tyrants. We ſhall ſee this verified in the hiſtory of the great Hannibal, who, during his prætorſhip, after his return to Africa, employed all his credit to reform ſo horrid an abuſe; and made an authority, which before was perpetual, only annual, (*g*) about two hundred years from the firſt founding the tribunal of the one hundred.

Defects in the government of Carthage.

Ariſtotle, among other reflections made by him on the government of Carthage, remarks two great defects in it, both which, in his opinion, are repugnant to the views of a wiſe law-giver, and the maxims of good policy.

The firſt of theſe defects was, the inveſting the ſame perſon with different employments, which was conſidered at Carthage, as a proof of uncommon merit. But Ariſtotle thinks this practice vaſtly prejudicial to a community. For, ſays this author, a man poſſeſſed but of one employment, is much more capable of acquitting himſelf well in the execution of it; becauſe

(*g*) A. M. 3802. *Year of Carthage* 632.

* *Mr.* Rollin *might have taken notice of ſome civil officers who were eſtabliſhed at Carthage, with a power like that of the cenſors of Rome, to inſpect the manners of the citizens. The chief of theſe officers, took from Hamilcar, the father of Hannibal, a beautiful youth, named Aſdrubal, on a report that Hamilcar was more familiar with this youth than was conſiſtent with modeſty.* Erat præterea cum eo [Amilcare] adoleſcens illuſtris et formoſus Haſdrubal, quem nonnulli diligi turpius, quam par erat ab Amilcare, loquebantur—Quo factum eſt ut a præfecto morum Haſdrubal cum eo vetaretur eſſe. *Corn. Nep. in Vita Amilcaris.*

affairs are then examined with greater care, and ſooner diſpatched. We never ſee, continues our author, either by ſea or land, the ſame officer commanding two different bodies, or the ſame pilot ſteering two ſhips. Beſides, the welfare of the ſtate requires, that places and preferments ſhould be divided, in order to excite an emulation among men of merit: whereas the beſtowing of them on one man, too often dazzles him by ſo diſtinguiſhing a preference; and always fills others with jealouſy, diſcontent and murmurs.

The ſecond defect taken notice of by Ariſtotle in the government of Carthage, was, that in order for a man to attain the firſt poſts, a certain eſtate was required (beſides merit and a conſpicuous birth.) By which means poverty might exclude perſons of the moſt exalted merit, which he conſiders as a great evil in a government. For then, ſays he, as virtue is wholly diſregarded, and money is all-powerful, becauſe all things are attained by it; the admiration and deſire of riches ſeize and corrupt the whole community. Add to this, that when magiſtrates and judges are obliged to pay large ſums for their employments, they ſeem to have a right to reimburſe themſelves.

There is not, I believe, one inſtance in all antiquity, to ſhew that employments, either in the ſtate or the courts of juſtice, were ſold. The expence, therefore, which Ariſtotle talks of here, to raiſe men to preferments in Carthage, muſt doubtleſs be underſtood of the preſents that were given, in order to procure the votes of the electors; a practice, as Polybius obſerves, very common at Carthage, where no kind of gain was judged a diſgrace *. It is therefore no wonder, that Ariſtotle ſhould condemn a practice whoſe conſequences, 'tis very plain, may prove fatal to a government.

But in caſe he pretended, that the chief employments of a ſtate ought to be equally acceſſible to the rich and the poor, as he ſeems to inſinuate; his opinion

* Παρὰ Καρχηδονίοις ἐδὲν ἀισχρὸν τ' ἀνηκόντων πρὸς κέρδος. Polyb. l. 6. p. 497.

is

is refuted by the general practice of the wiſeſt republics; for theſe, without any way demeaning or aſperſing poverty, have thought that on this occaſion, the preference ought to be given to riches; becauſe it is to be preſumed, that the wealthy have received a better education, have nobler views, are more out of the reach of corruption, and leſs liable to commit baſe actions; and that even the ſtate of their affairs makes them more affectionate to the government, inclines them to maintain peace and order in it, and to ſuppreſs whatever may tend to ſedition and rebellion.

Ariſtotle, in concluding his reflections on the republic of Carthage, is much pleaſed with a cuſtom practiſed in it, *viz.* of ſending from time to time colonies into different countries; and in this manner, procuring its citizens commodious ſettlements. This provided for the neceſſities of the poor, who, equally with the rich, are members of the ſtate; and it diſcharged Carthage of multitudes of lazy indolent people, who were its diſgrace, and often proved dangerous to it: It prevented commotions and inſurrections, by thus removing ſuch perſons as commonly occaſion them; and who being ever uneaſy under their preſent circumſtances, are always ready for innovations and tumults.

SECT. IV. *Trade of Carthage, the firſt ſource of its wealth and power.*

COMMERCE, ſtrictly ſpeaking, was the occupation of Carthage, the particular object of its induſtry, and its peculiar and predominant characteriſtic. It formed the greateſt ſtrength and the chief ſupport of that commonwealth. In a word, we may affirm that the power, the conqueſts, the credit, and glory of the Carthaginians all flowed from trade. Situated in the center of the Mediterranean, and ſtretching out their arms eaſtward and weſtward, the extent of their commerce, took in all the known world; and wafted it to the coaſt of Spain, of Mauritania, of Gaul, and beyond the ſtraits and pillars of Hercules. They ſailed

to all countries, in order to buy, at a cheap rate, the ſuperfluities of every nation; which, by the wants of others, became neceſſaries, and theſe they ſold to them at the deareſt rates. From Egypt the Carthaginians fetched fine flax, paper, corn, ſails and cables for ſhips: from the coaſt of the Red-Sea, ſpices, frankincenſe, perfumes, gold, pearls and precious ſtones. From Tyre and Phœnicia, purple and ſcarlet, rich ſtuffs, tapeſtry, coſtly furniture, and divers very curious and artificial works: in fine, they fetched from various countries, all things that are abſolutely neceſſary, or capable of contributing to eaſe, luxury and the delights of life. They brought back from the weſtern parts of the world, in return for the commodities carried thither, iron, tin, lead and copper: by the ſale of theſe various commodities, they enriched themſelves at the expence of all nations; and put them under a kind of contribution, which was ſo much the ſurer, as it was ſpontaneous.

In thus becoming the factors and agents of all nations, they had made themſelves lords of the ſea; the band which held the eaſt, the weſt, and ſouth together; and the neceſſary canal of their communication; ſo that Carthage roſe to be the common city, and the center of the trade, of all thoſe nations which the ſea ſeparated from one another.

The moſt conſiderable perſonages of the city were not aſhamed to trade. They applied themſelves to it as induſtriouſly as the meaneſt citizens; and their great wealth did not make them leſs in love with the diligence, patience and labour, which are neceſſary for the acquiring them. To this they owed their empire of the ſea, the ſplendor of their republic; their being able to diſpute for the ſuperiority with Rome itſelf; and their elevation of power, which forced the Romans to carry on a bloody and doubtful war, for upwards of forty years, in order to humble and ſubdue this haughty rival. In fine, Rome even in its triumphant ſtate, thought Carthage was not to be entirely reduced

any

any other way, than by depriving that city of the benefit of its commerce, by which it had ſo long been enabled to reſiſt the whole ſtrength of that mighty republic.

However, it is no wonder that, as Carthage came in a manner out of the greateſt ſchool of traffick in the world, I mean Tyre, ſhe ſhould have been crowned with ſuch rapid and uninterrupted ſucceſs. The very veſſels on which its founders had been conveyed into Africa, were afterwards employed by them in their trade. They began to make ſettlements upon the coaſts of Spain, in thoſe ports where they unloaded their goods. The eaſe with which they had founded theſe ſettlements, and the conveniencies they met with, inſpired them with the deſign of conquering thoſe vaſt regions; and ſome time after, *Nova Carthago*, or New Carthage, gave the Carthaginians an empire in that country, almoſt equal to that they enjoyed in Africa.

SECT. V. *The mines of Spain, ſecond ſource of the riches and power of Carthage.*

(*b*) DIODORUS juſtly remarks, that the gold and ſilver mines found by the Carthaginians in Spain, were an inexhauſtible fund of wealth, that enabled them to ſuſtain ſuch long wars againſt the Romans. The natives had long been ignorant of theſe treaſures (at leaſt of their uſe and value) that lay concealed in the bowels of the earth. The Phœnicians firſt made the diſcovery; and, by bartering ſome wares of little value for this precious metal, which the natives ſuffered them to dig up, they amaſs'd infinite wealth. The Carthaginians improved, from their example, when they conquered that country; as did the Romans afterwards, when they had diſpoſſeſſed the latter of it.

(*i*) The labour employed to come at theſe mines, and to dig the gold and ſilver out of them, was incredible. For the veins of theſe metals rarely appeared on the ſuperficies: they were to be ſought for, and traced

(*b*) Lib. 4. p. 312, &c. (*i*) ibid.

through frightful depths, where very often floods of water ſtopped the miners, and ſeemed to defeat all future purſuits. But avarice is as patient in undergoing fatigues, as ingenious in finding expedients. By pumps which Archimedes had invented when in Egypt, the Romans afterwards threw up the water out of theſe kind of pits, and quite drained them. Numberleſs multitudes of ſlaves periſhed in theſe mines, which were dug to enrich their maſters, who treated them with the utmoſt barbarity; forced them by heavy ſtripes to labour, and gave them no reſpite either day or night. (*k*) Polybius, as quoted by Strabo, ſays that in his time, upwards of forty thouſand men were employed in the mines near *Nova Carthago*; and furniſhed the Romans every day with twenty-five thouſand drachms, or eight hundred fifty-nine pounds, ſeven ſhillings and ſix pence *.

We muſt not be ſurprized to ſee the Carthaginians ſoon after the greateſt defeats, ſending freſh and numerous armies again into the field, fitting out mighty fleets; and ſupporting at a great expence, for many years, wars carried on by them in far-diſtant countries. But it muſt ſurprize us, to hear of the Romans doing the ſame; they whoſe revenues were very inconſiderable before thoſe great conqueſts, which ſubjected to them the moſt powerful nations; and who had no reſſources, either from trade, to which they were abſolute ſtrangers; or from gold or ſilver mines, which were very rarely found in Italy, in caſe there were any; and conſequently, the expences of which muſt have ſwallowed up all the profit. The Romans, in the frugal and ſimple life they led; in their zeal for the publick welfare, and their love for their country; poſſeſſed funds which were not leſs ready or ſecure than thoſe of Carthage, but at the ſame time were far more honourable.

(*k*) Lib. 3. p. 147.

* 25000 *drachms*—*An Attick drachm, according to Dr. Bernard* = 8*d*. $\frac{1}{4}$ *Engliſh money, conſequently* 25000 = 859 *l*. 7 *s*. 6 *d*.

SECT.

SECT. VI. *WAR.*

CARTHAGE muſt be conſidered as a trading, and at the ſame time a warlike republic. Its genius and the nature of its government led it to traffick; and the neceſſity the Carthaginians were under, firſt of defending their ſubjects againſt the neighbouring nations, and afterwards a deſire of extending their commerce and empire, led them to war. This double idea gives us, in my opinion, the true plan and character of the Carthaginian republic. We have already ſpoke of its commerce.

The military power of the Carthaginians conſiſted in their alliances with kings; in tributary nations, from which they drew both men and money; in ſome troops raiſed from among their own citizens; and in mercenary ſoldiers purchaſed of neighbouring ſtates, without their being obliged to levy or exerciſe them, becauſe they were already well diſciplined and inured to the fatigues of war; they making choice, in every country, of ſuch ſoldiers as had the greateſt merit and reputation. They drew, from Numidia, a nimble, bold, impetuous, and indefatigable cavalry, which formed the principal ſtrength of their armies; from the Balearian iſles, the moſt expert ſlingers in the world; from Spain, a ſtout and invincible infantry; from the coaſts of Genoa and Gaul, troops of known valour; and from Greece itſelf, ſoldiers fit for all the various operations of war; for the field or the garriſons, for beſieging or defending cities.

In this manner the Carthaginians ſent out at once powerful armies, compoſed of ſoldiers which were the flower of all the armies in the univerſe, without depopulating either their fields or cities by new levies; without ſuſpending their manufactures, or diſturbing the peaceable artificer; without interrupting their commerce, or weakning their navy. By venal blood they poſſeſſed themſelves of provinces and kingdoms; and made other nations the inſtruments of their grandeur

and glory, with no other expence of their own, but their money; and even this furniſhed from the traffick they carried on with foreign nations.

If the Carthaginians, in the courſe of a war, ſuſtained ſome loſſes, theſe were but as ſo many foreign accidents, which only grazed, as it were, over the body of the ſtate, but did not make a deep wound, in the bowels or heart of the republic. Theſe loſſes were ſpeedily repaired, by ſums ariſing out of a flouriſhing commerce, as from a perpetual ſinew of war, by which the government was furniſhed with new ſupplies for the purchaſe of mercenary forces, who were ready at the firſt ſummons. And from the vaſt extent of the coaſts which the Carthaginians poſſeſſed, it was eaſy for them to levy in a very little time, a ſufficient number of ſailors and rowers for the working of their fleets, and to procure able pilots and experienced captains to conduct them.

But as theſe parts were fortuitouſly brought together, they did not adhere by any natural, intimate, or neceſſary tye. No common and reciprocal intereſt united them in ſuch a manner, ſo as to form a ſolid and unalterable body. Not one individual in theſe mercenary armies, wiſhed ſincerely the proſperity of the ſtate. They did not act with the ſame zeal, nor expoſe themſelves to dangers with equal reſolution, for a republic which they conſidered as foreign, and which conſequently was indifferent to them, as they would have done for their native country, whoſe happineſs conſtitutes that of the ſeveral members who compoſe it.

In great reverſes of fortune, the kings (*l*) in alliance with the Carthaginians might eaſily be detached from their intereſt, either by a jealouſy which the grandeur of a more powerful neighbour naturally gives; or from the hopes of reaping greater advantages from a new friend; or from the fear of being involved in the misfortunes of an old ally.

The tributary nations, being impatient under the

(*l*) *As Syphax and Maſiniſſa.*

weight

weight and diſgrace of a yoke which had been forced upon their necks, greatly flattered themſelves with the hopes of finding one leſs galling in changing their maſters; or, in caſe ſervitude was unavoidable, the choice was indifferent to them, as will appear from many inſtances in the courſe of this hiſtory.

The mercenary forces, accuſtomed to meaſure their fidelity by the largeneſs or continuance of their pay, were ever ready, on the leaſt diſcontent, or the ſlighteſt expectation of a more conſiderable ſtipend, to deſert to the enemy with whom they had juſt before fought, and to turn their arms againſt thoſe who had invited them to their aſſiſtance.

Thus the grandeur of the Carthaginians being ſuſtained only by theſe foreign ſupports, was ſhaken to the very foundation when they were once taken away. And if, to this, there happened to be added an interruption of their commerce (by which only they ſubſiſted) ariſing from the loſs of a naval engagement, they imagined themſelves to be on the brink of ruin, and abandoned themſelves to deſpondency and deſpair, as was evidently ſeen at the end of the firſt Punic war.

Ariſtotle, in the treatiſe wherein he ſhews the advantages and defects of the government of Carthage, finds no fault with its keeping up none but foreign forces; it is therefore probable, that the Carthaginians did not fall into this practice till a long time after. But the rebellions which harraſſed Carthage in its later years, ought to have taught its citizens, that no miſeries are comparable to thoſe of a government which is ſupported only by foreigners; ſince neither zeal, ſecurity, or obedience can be expected from them.

But this was not the caſe with the republic of Rome. As the Romans had neither trade nor money, they were not able to hire forces, in order to puſh on their conqueſts with the ſame rapidity as the Carthaginians: But then, as they procured every thing from within themſelves; and as all the parts of the ſtate were intimately united; they had ſurer reſſources in

great

great misfortunes than the Carthaginians. And for this reaſon, they never once thought of ſuing for peace after the battle of Cannæ, as the Carthaginians had done in a leſs imminent danger.

The Carthaginians had beſides a body of troops, (which was not very numerous) levied from among their own citizens; and this was a kind of ſchool, in which the flower of their nobility, and thoſe whoſe talents and ambition prompted them to aſpire to the firſt dignities, learned the rudiments of the art of war. From among theſe were ſelected all the general officers, who were put at the head of the different bodies of their forces, and had the chief command in the armies. This nation was too jealous and ſuſpicious to employ foreign generals. But they were not ſo diſtruſtful of their own citizens as Rome and Athens; for the Carthaginians, at the ſame time that they inveſted them with great power, did not guard againſt the abuſe they might make of it, in order to oppreſs their country. The command of armies was neither annual, nor limited to any time, as in the two republics above mentioned. Many generals held their commiſſions for a great number of years, either till the war or their lives ended; tho' they were ſtill accountable to the commonwealth for their conduct; and liable to be recalled, whenever a real overſight, a misfortune, or the ſuperior intereſt of a cabal, furniſhed an opportunity for it.

SECT. VII. *Arts and ſciences.*

IT cannot be ſaid that the Carthaginians renounced entirely the glory which reſults from ſtudy and knowledge. The ſending of Maſiniſſa, ſon of a powerful king *, thither for education, gives us room to believe, that Carthage was provided with an excellent ſchool. (*m*) The great Hannibal, who in all reſpects was an ornament to that city, was not unacquainted with

(*m*) Nepos in vita Annibalis.

* *King of the Maſſylians in Africk.*

polite

polite literature, as will be ſeen hereafter. (*n*) Mago, another very celebrated general, did as much honour to Carthage by his pen, as by his victories. He wrote twenty-eight volumes upon huſbandry, which the Roman ſenate had in ſuch eſteem, that after the taking of Carthage, when they preſented the African princes with the libraries founded there (another proof that learning was not entirely baniſhed from Carthage) they gave orders to have theſe books tranſlated into Latin †, tho' Cato had before written books on that ſubject. (*o*) There is ſtill extant a Greek verſion of a treatiſe drawn up by Hanno in the Punic tongue, relating to a voyage he made, (by order of the ſenate) with a conſiderable fleet round Africa, for the ſettling of different colonies in that part of the world. This Hanno is believed to be more antient, than that perſon of the ſame name, who lived in the time of Agathocles.

(*p*) Clitomachus, called, in the Punic language, Aſdrubal, was a great philoſopher. He ſucceeded the famous Carneades, whoſe diſciple he had been; and maintained, in Athens, the honour of the academic ſect. * Cicero ſays, that he was a more ſenſible man, and fonder of ſtudy than the Carthaginians generally are. (*q*) He compoſed ſeveral books, in one of which he drew a piece to conſole the unhappy citizens of Carthage, who, by the ruin of their city, were reduced to ſlavery.

I might rank among, or rather place at the head of, the writers who have adorned Africa with their compoſitions, the celebrated Terence; himſelf being ſingly capable of reflecting infinite honour on his country by the fame of his productions, if, on this account,

(*n*) Cic. l. 1. de orat. n. 249. Plin. l. 18. c. 3. (*o*) Voſſ. de hiſt. Gr. l. 4. (*p*) Plut. de fort. Alex. p. 328. Diog. Laert. in Clitom. (*q*) Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 3. n. 54.

† *Theſe books were writ by Mago in the Punic language, and tranſlated into Greek by Caſſius Dionyſius of Utica, from whoſe verſion, we may probably ſuppoſe, the Latin was made.*

* Clitomachus, homo & acutus ut Poenus & valdè ſtudioſus ac diligens. *Academ. Quæſt.* l. 4. n. 98.

Carthage,

Carthage, the place of his birth, ought not to be leſs conſidered as his country than Rome, where he was educated, and acquired that purity of ſtile, that delicacy and elegance, which have gained him the admiration of all ſucceeding ages. (r) It is ſuppoſed, that he was carried off when an infant, or at leaſt very young, by the Numidians in their incurſions into the Carthaginian territories; during the war carried on between theſe two nations, from the concluſion of the ſecond, to the beginning of the third Punic war. He was ſold a ſlave to Terentius Lucanus, a Roman ſenator, who, after giving him an excellent education, gave him his liberty, and called him by his own name, as was then the cuſtom. He was united in a very ſtrict friendſhip with the ſecond Scipio Africanus, and Lælius; and it was a common report at Rome, that he had the aſſiſtance of theſe two great men in compoſing his pieces. The poet, ſo far from endeavouring to ſtifle a report ſo advantageous to him, made a merit of it. Only ſix of his comedies are extant. Some authors, according to Suetonius, (the writer of his life) ſay, that in his return from Greece, whither he had made a voyage, he loſt a hundred and eight comedies tranſlated from Menander, and could not ſurvive an accident which muſt naturally affict him in a ſenſible manner; but this incident is not very well founded. However this be, he died in the year of Rome 594, under the conſulſhip of Cneius Cornelius Dolabella, and M. Fulvius, aged thirty-five years, and conſequently was born *anno* 560.

It muſt yet be confeſſed, notwithſtanding all we have ſaid, that there ever was a great ſcarcity of learned men in Carthage, ſince it ſcarce furniſhed three or four writers of reputation in upwards of ſeven hundred years. Although the Carthaginians held a correſpondence with Greece and the moſt civilized nations, yet this did not excite them to borrow their learning, as being foreign to their views of trade and commerce. Eloquenee, poetry, hiſtory, ſeem to have been little

(r) Suet. in vit. Terent.

known

known among them. A Carthaginian philoſopher was conſidered as a ſort of prodigy by the learned. What then would an aſtronomer or a geometrician have been thought? I know not in what reputation phyſick, which is ſo advantagious to life, was at Carthage; or the civil law, ſo neceſſary to ſociety.

As works of wit were generally had in ſo much diſregard, the education of youth muſt neceſſarily have been very imperfect and unpoliſhed. In Carthage, the ſtudy and knowledge of youth were for the moſt part confined to writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, and the buying and ſelling goods, in a word, to whatever related to traffick. But polite learning, hiſtory and philoſophy, were in little repute among them. Theſe were, in later years, even prohibited by the laws, which expreſsly forbid any Carthaginian to learn the Greek tongue, leſt it might qualify them for carrying on a dangerous correſpondence with the enemy, either by letter or word of mouth *.

Now what could be expected from ſuch a caſt of mind? Accordingly, there was never ſeen among them, that elegance of behaviour, that eaſe and complacency of manners, and thoſe ſentiments of virtue, which are generally the fruits of a liberal education in all civilized nations. The ſmall number of great men, which this nation has produced, muſt therefore have owed their merit to the felicity of their genius, to the ſingularity of their talents, and a long experience, without any great aſſiſtance from inſtruction. Hence it was, that the merit of the greateſt men of Carthage, was ſullied by great failings, low vices, and cruel paſſions; and it is rare to meet with any conſpi-

* Factum ſenatus-conſultum ne quis poſtea Carthaginienſis aut literis Græcis aut ſermoni ſtuderet; ne aut loqui cum hoſte, aut ſcribere ſine interprete poſſet. *Juſtin.* l. 20. c. 5. *Juſtin aſcribes the reaſon of this law, to a treaſonable correſpondence between one Suniatus, a powerful Carthaginian, and Dionyſius the tyrant of Sicily; the former, by letters written in Greek (which afterwards fell into the hands of the Carthaginians) having informed the tyrant of the war deſigned againſt him by his country; out of hatred to Hanno the general, to whom he was an enemy.*

cuous virtue among them, without ſome blemiſh; with any virtue of a noble, generous, and amiable kind, and ſupported by clear and laſting principles, ſuch as is every where found among the Greeks and Romans. The reader will perceive, that I here ſpeak only of the heathen virtues, and agreeable to the idea which the Pagans entertained of them.

I meet with as few monuments of their ſkill in arts of a leſs noble and neceſſary kind, as painting and ſculpture. I find, indeed, that they had plundered the conquered nations of a great many works in both theſe kinds; but it does not appear that they themſelves had produced many.

From what has been ſaid, one cannot help concluding, that traffick was the predominant inclination, and the peculiar characteriſtic of the Carthaginians; that it formed, in a manner, the baſis of the ſtate, the ſoul of the commonwealth, and the grand ſpring which gave motion to all their enterprizes. The Carthaginians, in general, were ſkilful merchants; employed wholly in traffick; excited ſtrongly by the deſire of gain, and eſteeming nothing but riches; directing all their talents, and placing their chief glory in amaſſing them, though at the ſame time they ſcarce knew the uſe for which they were deſigned, or how to uſe them in a noble or worthy manner.

SECT. VIII. *The character, manners, and qualities of the Carthaginians.*

IN the enumeration of the various qualities which Cicero † aſſigns to different nations, as their diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics, he declares that of the Carthaginians to be craft, ſkill, addreſs, induſtry, cunning, *calliditas*; which doubtleſs appeared in war, but was ſtill more conſpicuous in the reſt of their conduct; and this was joined to another quality that bears a very

† Quam volumus licet ipſi nos amemus, tamèn nec numero Hiſpanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, ſed pietate ac religione, &c. omnes gentes nationeſque ſuperavimus. *De Aruſp. Reſp.* n. 19.

near relation to it, and is ſtill leſs reputable. Craft and cunning lead naturally to lying, hypocriſy, and breach of faith; and theſe, by accuſtoming the mind inſenſibly to be leſs ſcrupulous with regard to the choice of the means for compaſſing its deſigns, prepare it for the baſeſt frauds and the moſt perfidious actions. This was alſo one of the characteriſtics of the Carthaginians *; and it was ſo notorious, that to ſignify any *remarkable diſhoneſty*, it was uſual to call it *Punic honour*, *fides Punica*; and to denote a *knaviſh*, *deceitful mind*, no expreſſion was thought more proper and emphatical than this, a *Carthaginian mind*, *Punicum ingeniun*.

An exceſſive thirſt for, and an immoderate love of profit, generally gave occaſion in Carthage to the committing baſe and unjuſt actions. One ſingle example will prove this. In the time of a truce, granted by Scipio, to the earneſt intreaties of the Carthaginians; ſome Roman veſſels, being drove by a ſtorm on the coaſts of Carthage, were ſeized by order of the ſenate and people †, who could not ſuffer ſo tempting a prey to eſcape them. They were reſolved to get money, though the manner of acquiring it were ever ſo ſcandalous. ‖ The inhabitants of Carthage, even in St. Auſtin's time, (as that father informs us) ſhowed on a particular occaſion, that they ſtill retained part of this characteriſtic.

(s) But theſe were not the only blemiſhes and faults

(s) Plut. de ger. Rep. p. 799.

* Carthaginienſes fraudulenti & mendaces—multis & variis mercatorum advenarumque ſermonibus ad ſtudium fallendi quæſtûs cupiditate vocabantur. *Cic. orat. 2. in Rull.* n. 94.

† Magiſtratus ſenatum vocare, populus in curiæ veſtibulo fremere, ne tanta ex oculis manibuſque amitteretur præda. Conſenſum eſt ut, &c. *Liv.* l. 30. n. 24.

‖ *A mountebank had promiſed the citizens of Carthage, to diſcover to them their moſt ſecret thoughts, in caſe they would come, on a day appointed, to hear him. Being all met, he told them, they were deſirous to buy cheap, and ſell dear. Every man's conſcience pleaded guilty to the charge; and the mountebank was diſmiſſed with applauſe and laughter.* Vili vultis emere, & carè vendere; in quo dicto leviſſimi ſcenici omnes tamen conſcientias invenerunt ſuas, eique vera & tamen improviſa dicenti admirabili favore plauſerunt. *S. Auguſt.* l. 13. *de Trinit.* c. 3.

of the Carthaginians. They had ſomething auſtere and ſavage in their diſpoſition and genius, a haughty and imperious air, a ſort of ferocity, which, in its firſt ſtarts, was deaf to either reaſon or remonſtrances, and plunged brutally into the utmoſt exceſſes of violence. The people, cowardly and groveling under apprehenſions, were fiery and cruel in their tranſports; at the ſame time that they trembled under their magiſtrates, they were dreaded in their turn, by their miſerable vaſſals. In this we ſee the difference which education makes between one nation and another. The Athenians, whoſe city was always conſidered as the centre of learning, were naturally jealous of their authority, and difficult to govern; but ſtill, a fund of good nature and humanity made them compaſſionate the misfortunes of others, and be indulgent to the errors of their leaders. Cleon one day deſired the aſſembly, in which he preſided, to break up; becauſe, as he told them, he had a ſacrifice to offer, and friends to entertain. The people only laughed at the requeſt, and immediately ſeparated. Such a liberty, ſays Plutarch, at Carthage, would have coſt a man his life.

(*t*) Livy makes a like reflection with regard to Terentius Varro. That general, being returned to Rome after the battle of Cannæ, which had been loſt by his ill conduct, was met by perſons of all orders of the ſtate, at ſome diſtance from Rome; and thanked by them, for his not having deſpaired of the commonwealth; who, ſays the hiſtorian, had he been a general of the Carthaginians, muſt have expected the moſt ſevere puniſhment. *Cui, ſi Carthaginienſium ductor fuiſſet, nihil recuſandum ſupplicii foret.* Indeed a court was eſtabliſhed at Carthage, where the generals were obliged to give an account of their conduct; and they all were made reſponſible for the events of war. Ill ſucceſs was puniſhed there as a crime againſt the

(*t*) Lib. 22. n. 61.

ſtate;

ſtate; and whenever a general loſt a battle, he was almoſt ſure, at his return, of ending his life upon a gibbet. Such was the furious, cruel, and barbarous diſpoſition of the Carthaginians, who were always ready to ſhed the blood of their citizens as well as of foreigners. The unheard-of tortures which they made Regulus ſuffer, are a manifeſt proof of this aſſertion; and their hiſtory will furniſh us with ſuch inſtances of it, as are not to be read without horror.

PART

PART THE SECOND.

THE HISTORY OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

THE interval of time between the foundation of Carthage and its ruin, included ſeven hundred years, and may be divided into two parts. The firſt, which is much the longeſt, and the leaſt known, (as is ordinary with the beginnings of all ſtates) extends to the firſt Punic war, and takes up five hundred and eighty-two years. The ſecond, which ends at the deſtruction of Carthage, contains but an hundred and eighteen years.

CHAPTER I.

The foundation of Carthage, and its progreſs till the time of the firſt Punic war.

CARTHAGE in Africa was a colony from Tyre, the moſt renowned city at that time for commerce in the world. Tyre had long before tranſ-

* Utica et Carthago ambæ inclytæ, ambæ à Phœnicibus conditæ; Illa fato Catonis inſignis, hæc ſuo. *Pompon. Mel.* c. 67. *Utica and Carthage, both famous, and both built by Phœnicians; the firſt renowned by Cato's fate, the laſt by its own.*

Cato,

Cato, who for this reaſon is generally called Cato Uticenſis.

Authors diſagree very much with regard to the æra of the foundation of Carthage *. It is a difficult matter, and not very material, to reconcile them; at leaſt, agreeably to the plan laid down by me, it is ſufficient to know, within a few years, the time in which that city was built.

(*u*) Carthage exiſted a little above ſeven hundred years. It was deſtroyed under the conſulate of Cn. Lentulus, and L. Mummius, the 603d year of Rome, 3859th of the world, and 145 before Chriſt. The foundation of it may therefore be fixed at the year of the world 3158, when Joaſh was king of Judah, 98 years before the building of Rome, and 846 before our Saviour.

(*x*) The foundation of Carthage is aſcribed to Eliſa a Tyrian princeſs, better known by the name of Dido. Ithobal, king of Tyre, and father of the famous Jezabel, called in ſcripture Ethbaal, was her great grandfather. She married her near relation Acerbas, called otherwiſe Sicharbas and Sichæus, an extremely rich prince, and Pygmalion king of Tyre was her brother. This prince having put Sichæus to death, in order that he might have an opportunity to ſeize his immenſe treaſures; Dido eluded the cruel avarice of her brother, by withdrawing ſecretly with all her dead huſband's poſſeſſions. After having long wandered, ſhe at laſt landed on the coaſt of the Mediterranean, in the

(*u*) Liv. Epit. l. 51. (*x*) Juſtin. l. 18. c. 4, 5, 6. App. de bello Pun. p. 1. Strab. l. 17. p. 832. Paterc. l. 1. c. 6.

* *Our countryman Howel endeavours to reconcile the three different accounts of the foundation of Carthage, in the following manner. He ſays that the town conſiſted of three parts, viz. Cothon, or the port and buildings adjoining to it, which he ſuppoſes to have been firſt built; Megara, built next, and in reſpect of Cothon, called the New Town, or Karthada; and Byrſa, or the citadel, built laſt of all, and probably by Dido.*

Cothon, to agree with Appian, was built fifty years before the taking of Troy; Megara, to correſpond with Euſebius, was built an hundred ninety-four years later; Byrſa, to agree with Menander, (cited by Joſephus) was built an hundred ſixty ſix years after Megara.

gulph

gulph where Utica ſtood, and in the country of Africa, properly ſo called, diſtant almoſt fifteen * miles from Tunis, ſo famous, at this time, for its corſairs; and there ſettled with her few followers, after having purchaſed ſome lands from the inhabitants of the country †.

Many of the neighbouring people, invited by the proſpect of lucre, repaired thither to ſell to theſe foreigners the neceſſaries of life; and ſhortly after incorporated themſelves with them. Theſe inhabitants who had been thus gathered from different places, ſoon grew very numerous. The citizens of Utica conſidering them as their countrymen, and as deſcended from the ſame common ſtock, deputed envoys with very conſiderable preſents, and exhorted them to build a city in the place where they had firſt ſettled. The natives of the country, from the eſteem and reſpect frequently ſhewn to ſtrangers, made them the like offers. Thus all things conſpiring with Dido's views, ſhe built her city, which was appointed to pay an annnal tribute to the Africans for the ground it ſtood upon; and called Carthada ||, or Carthage, a name, that, in the Phœnician and Hebrew tongues (which have a great affinity) ſignifies the New City. It is ſaid that when the foundations were dug, a horſe's head was found, which was thought a good omen, and a preſage of the future warlike genius of that people ‡.

This

* 120 *Stadia*. Strab. l. 14. p. 687.

† *Some authors ſay, that Dido put a trick on the natives, by deſiring to purchaſe of them, for her intended ſettlement, only ſo much land as an ox's hide would encompaſs. The requeſt was thought too moderate to be denied. She then cut the hide into the ſmalleſt thongs; and, with them, encompaſſed a large tract of ground, on which ſhe built a citadel called Byrſa, from the hide. But this tale of the thongs is generally exploded by the learned; who obſerve, that the Hebrew word* Boſra, *which ſignifies a fortification, gave riſe to the Greek word* Byrſa, *which is the name of the citadel of Carthage.*

|| *Kartha Hadath or Hadtha.*

‡ Effodêre loco ſignum, quod regia Juno
Monſtrârat, caput acris equi; nam ſic fore bello
Egregiam, et facilem victu per ſecula gentem.

Virg. Æn. l. 1. v. 447.

The

This princeſs was afterwards courted by Iarbas king of Getulia, and threatned with a war in caſe of refuſal. Dido, who had bound herſelf by an oath not to conſent to a ſecond marriage, being incapable of violating the faith ſhe had ſworn to Sichæus, deſired time for deliberation, and for appeaſing the manes of her firſt huſband by ſacrifice. Having therefore ordered a pile to be raiſed, ſhe aſcended it; and drawing out a dagger ſhe had concealed under her robe, ſtabbed herſelf with it *.

Virgil has made a great alteration in this hiſtory, by ſuppoſing that Æneas, his hero, was cotemporary with Dido, though there was an interval of near three centuries between the one and the other; the æra of the building of Carthage being fixed three hundred years lower than the deſtruction of Troy. This liberty is very excuſable in a poet, who is not tied to the ſcrupulous accuracy of an hiſtorian; we admire, with great reaſon, the judgment he has ſhewn in his

The Tyrians landing near this holy ground,
And digging here, a proſperous omen found:
From under earth a courſer's head they drew,
Their growth and future fortune to foreſhew:
This fated ſign their foundreſs Juno gave,
Of a ſoil fruitful, and a people brave. DRYDEN.

* *The ſtory, as it is told more at large in Juſtin,* (l. 18. c. 6.) *is this*——*Iarbas, king of the Mauritanians, ſending for ten of the principal Carthaginians, demanded Dido in marriage, threatning to declare war againſt her in caſe of a refuſal; the ambaſſadors being afraid to deliver the meſſage of Iarbas, told her,* (*with* Punic honeſty) that he wanted to have ſome perſon ſent him, who was capable of civilizing and poliſhing himſelf and his Africans; but that there was no poſſibility of finding any Carthaginian, who would be willing to quit his native place and kindred, for the converſation of Barbarians, who were as ſavage as the wildeſt beaſts. *Here the queen with indignation interrupting them, and aſking,* if they were not aſhamed to refuſe living in any manner, which might be beneficial to their country, to which they owed even their lives? *They then delivered the king's meſſage; and bid her* ſet them a pattern, and ſacrifice herſelf to her country's welfare. *Dido being thus enſnared, called on Sichæus with tears and lamentations, and anſwered*; that ſhe would go where the fate of her city called her. *At the expiration of three months, ſhe aſcended the fatal pile; and with her laſt breath told the ſpectators, that ſhe was going to her huſband as they had ordered her.*

plan,

plan, when, to affect the Romans the more, (for whom he wrote) with his ſubject, he has the art of introducing into it the implacable hatred which ſubſiſted between Carthage and Rome, and ingeniouſly deduces the original of it from the very remote foundation of thoſe two rival cities.

Carthage, whoſe beginnings, as we have obſerved, were very weak, grew larger by inſenſible degrees, where it was founded. But its dominion was not long confined to Africa. The inhabitants of this ambitious city extended their conqueſts into Europe, by invading Sardinia, ſeizing a great part of Sicily, and reducing almoſt all Spain; and having ſent powerful colonies every where, they enjoyed the empire of the ſeas for more than ſix hundred years; and formed a ſtate which was able to diſpute pre-eminence with the greateſt empires of the world, by their wealth, their commerce, their numerous armies, their formidable fleets, and above all, by the courage and ability of their captains. The dates and circumſtances of many of theſe conqueſts are little known. I ſhall take but a tranſient notice of them, in order to enable my readers to form ſome idea of the countries, which will be often mentioned in the courſe of this hiſtory.

Conqueſts of the Carthaginians in Africa.

(y) The firſt wars made by the Carthaginians, were to free themſelves from the annual tribute which they had engaged to pay the Africans, for the land theſe had permitted them to ſettle in. This conduct does them no honour, as the ſettlement was granted them, upon condition of their paying a tribute. One would be apt to imagine, that they were deſirous of covering the obſcurity of their original, by aboliſhing this proof of it. But they were not ſucceſsful on this occaſion. The Africans had juſtice on their ſide, and they proſpered accordingly, the war being terminated by the payment of the tribute.

(z) The Carthaginians afterwards carried their arms

(y) Juſtin. l. 19. c. 1. (z) Id. c. 2.

againſt

againſt the Moors and Numidians, and won conqueſts from both. Being now emboldened by theſe happy ſucceſſes, they ſhook off entirely the tribute which gave them ſo much uneaſineſs *, and poſſeſſed themſelves of a great part of Africa.

(*a*) About this time there aroſe a great diſpute between Carthage and Cyrene, on account of their reſpective limits. Cyrene was a very powerful city, ſituated on the Mediterranean, towards the greater Syrtis, and had been built by Battus the Lacedæmonian.

It was agreed on each ſide, that two young men ſhould ſet out at the ſame time, from either city; and that the place of their meeting ſhould be the common boundary of both ſtates. The Carthaginians (theſe were two brothers named Philæni) made the moſt haſte; and their antagoniſts pretending that foul play had been uſed; and that theſe two brothers abovementioned had ſet out before the time appointed, refuſed to ſtand to the agreement, unleſs the two brothers, (to remove all ſuſpicion of their unfair dealing,) would conſent to be buried alive in the place where they had met. They acquieſced with the propoſal, and the Carthaginians erected, on that ſpot, two altars to their memories, and paid them divine honours in their city; and from that time, the place was called the altars of the Philæni, Aræ Philænorum †, and ſerved as the boundary of the Carthaginian empire, which extended from thence to the pillars of Hercules.

Conqueſts of the Carthaginians in Sardinia, &c.

Hiſtory does not inform us exactly, either of the time when the Carthaginians entered Sardinia, or of the manner they got poſſeſſion of it. (*b*) This iſland

(*a*) Salluſt. de bello Jugurth. n. 77. Valer. Max. l. 5. c. 6.
(*b*) Strab. l. 5. p. 224. Diod. l. 5. p. 296.

* Afri compulſi ſtipendium urbis conditæ Carthaginienſibus remittere. *Juſtin.* l. 19. c. 2.

† *Theſe pillars were not ſtanding in Strabo's time. Some Geographers think Arcadia to be the city which was antiently called Philænorum Aræ; but others believe it was Naina or Tain, ſituated a little weſt of Arcadia, in the gulph of Sidra.*

was of great uſe to them; and, during all their wars, ſupplied them abundantly with proviſions. It is ſeparated from Corſica by a ſtrait of about three leagues over. The metropolis of the ſouthern and moſt fertile part of it, was Caralis or Calaris, now called Cagliari. On the arrival of the Carthaginians, the natives withdrew to the mountains in the northern parts of the iſland, which are almoſt inacceſſible, and whence the enemy could not diſlodge them.

The Carthaginians ſeized likewiſe on the Baleares, now called Majorca and Minorca. Port Magon, in the latter iſland, was ſo called from Mago a Carthaginian general, who firſt made uſe of, and fortified it. (*c*) It is not known who this Mago was; but 'tis very probable that he was Hannibal's brother. This harbour is, at this day, one of the moſt conſiderable in the Mediterranean.

(*d*) Theſe iſles furniſhed the Carthaginians with the moſt expert ſlingers in the world, who did them great ſervice in battles and ſieges. They ſlung large ſtones of above a pound weight; and ſometimes threw leaden bullets * with ſo much violence, that they would pierce even the ſtrongeſt helmets, ſhields and cuiraſſes; and were ſo dextrous in their aim, that they ſcarce ever miſſed the blow. The inhabitants of theſe iſlands were accuſtomed, from their infancy, to handle the ſling; for which purpoſe their mothers placed, on the bough of a high tree, the piece of bread deſigned for their children's breakfaſt, who were not allowed a morſel, till they had brought it down with their ſlings. (*e*) From this practice theſe iſlands were called Baleares and Gymnaſiæ by the Greeks; becauſe the inhabitants uſed to exerciſe themſelves ſo early in ſlinging of ſtones †.

Conqueſts

(*c*) Liv. l. 28. n. 37. (*d*) Diod. l. 5. n. 298. and l. 19. p. 742. Liv. loco citato. (*e*) Strab. l. 3. p. 167.

* Liqueſcit excuſſa glans fundâ, et attritu aëris, velut igne, diſtillat. i. e. *The ball when thrown from the ſling, diſſolves; and, by the friction of the air, runs as if it was melted by fire.* Senec. Nat. Quæſt. l. 2. c. 57.

† *Bochart derives the name of theſe*

Conqueſts of the Carthaginians in Spain.

Before I enter on the relation of theſe conqueſts, I believe it will be proper to give my readers ſome idea of Spain.

(*f*) Spain is divided into three parts, Bœtica, Luſitania, Tarraconia.

Bœtica, ſo called from the river Bœtis (*g*), was the ſouthern diviſion of it, and comprehended the preſent kingdom of Granada, Andaluſia, part of new Caſtile, and Eſtremadura. Cadiz, called by the antients Gades and Gadira, is a town ſituated in a ſmall iſland of the ſame name, on the weſtern coaſt of Andaluſia, about nine leagues from Gibraltar. (*h*) 'Tis well known that Hercules extending his conqueſts to this place, halted, from the ſuppoſition that he was come to the extremity of the world. He here erected two pillars, as monuments of his victories, purſuant to the cuſtom of that age. The place has always retained the name, tho' time has quite deſtroyed theſe pillars. Authors are divided in opinion, with regard to the place where

(*f*) Cluver. l. 2. c. 2.
(*h*) Strabo, l. 3. p. 171.
(*g*) Guadalquivir.

theſe iſlands from two Phœnician words Baal-jare, or maſter in the art of ſlinging. This ſtrengthens the authority of Strabo, viz. that the inhabitants learnt their art from the Phœnicians, who were once their maſters. Σφενδονῆται ἄριστοι λέγονται —— ἐξότου Φοίνικες κατέχον τὰς νήσους. *And this is ſtill more probable, when we conſider that both the Hebrews and Phœnicians excelled in this art. The Balearian ſlings would annoy an enemy either near at hand, or at a diſtance. Every ſlinger carried three of them in war. One hung from the neck, a ſecond from the waiſt, and a third was carried in the hand. To this give me leave to add two more obſervations (foreign indeed to the preſent purpoſe, but relating to theſe iſlands) which I hope will not be unentertaining to the reader. The firſt is, that theſe iſlands were once ſo infeſted with rabbits, that the inhabitants of it applied to Rome, either for aid againſt them, or otherwiſe deſired new habitations,* σκεδάννυσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ζώων τούτων, *thoſe creatures having ejected them out of their old ones.* Vide Strab. Plin. l. 8. c. 55. *The ſecond obſervation is, that theſe iſlanders were not only expert ſlingers, but likewiſe excellent ſwimmers; which they are to this day, by the teſtimony of our countryman* Biddulph, *who, in his travels, informs us, that being becalmed near theſe iſlands, a woman ſwam to him out of one of them, with a baſket of fruit to ſell.*

theſe pillars were erected. (*i*) Bœtica was the moſt fruitful, the wealthieſt and moſt populous part of Spain. It contained two hundred cities, and was inhabited by the Turdetani, or Turduli. On the banks of the Bœtis ſtood three large cities, Caſtulo towards the ſource, Corduba lower down, the native place of Lucan and the two Seneca's; laſtly Hiſpalis (*k*).

Luſitania is bounded on the weſt by the Ocean, on the north by the river Durius (*l*), and on the ſouth by the river Anas (*m*). Between theſe two rivers is the Tagus. Luſitania was what is nōw called Portugal, with part of old and new Caſtile.

Tarraconia comprehended the reſt of Spain, that is, the kingdoms of Murcia and Valentia, Catalonia, Arragon, Navarre, Biſcay, the Aſturias, Gallicia, the kingdom of Leon, and the greateſt part of the two Caſtiles. Tarraco (*n*), a very conſiderable city, gave its name to that part of Spain. Pretty near it lay Barcino (*o*). Its name makes it conjectured that it was built by Barcha, father of the great Hannibal. The moſt renowned nations of Tarraconia, were the Celtiberi, beyond the river Iberus (*p*); the Cantabri, where Biſcay now lies; the Carpetani, whoſe capital was Toledo; the Ovitani, &c.

Spain, abounding with mines of gold and ſilver, and peopled with a martial race of men, had ſufficient to excite both the avarice and ambition of the Carthaginians, who were more of a mercantile than of a warlike diſpoſition, even from the genius and conſtitution of their republic. They doubtleſs knew that their Phœnician anceſtors, (as (*q*) Diodorus relates) taking advantage of the happy ignorance of the Spaniards, with regard to the immenſe riches which were hid in the bowels of their lands, firſt took from them theſe precious treaſures, in exchange for commodities of the loweſt value. They likewiſe foreſaw, that if they

(*i*) Ibid. p. 139—142. (*k*) Seville. (*l*) Duero. (*m*) Guadiana. (*n*) Tarragona. (*o*) Barcelona. (*p*) Ebro. (*q*) L. 5. p. 312.

could

could once ſubdue this country, it would furniſh them abundantly with well-diſciplined troops for the conqueſt of other nations, as actually happened.

(*r*) The occaſion of the Carthaginians firſt landing in Spain, was to aſſiſt the inhabitants of Cadiz, who were invaded by the Spaniards. That city, as well as Utica and Carthage, was a colony of Tyre, and even more antient than either of them. The Tyrians having built it, eſtabliſhed there the worſhip of Hercules; and erected in his honour, a magnificent temple, which became famous in after-ages. The ſucceſs of this firſt expedition of the Carthaginians, made them deſirous of carrying their arms into Spain.

It is not exactly known, in what period they entered Spain, nor how far they extended their firſt conqueſts. It is probable that theſe were ſlow in the beginning, as the Carthaginians had to do with very warlike nations, who defended themſelves with great reſolution and courage. Nor could they ever have accompliſhed their deſign, as (*s*) Strabo obſerves, had the Spaniards (united in a body,) formed but one ſtate, and mutually aſſiſted one another. But as every canton, every people were entirely detached from their neighbours, and had not the leaſt correſpondence with them, the Carthaginians were forced to ſubdue them one after another. This circumſtance occaſioned, on one hand their ruin; and on the other, protracted the war, and made the conqueſts of the country much more difficult *; accordingly it has been obſerved, that tho' Spain was the firſt province which the Romans invaded on the continent, it was the laſt they ſubdued †; and was not entirely ſubjected to their power, till after having made a vigorous oppoſition for upwards of two hundred years.

(*r*) Juſtin. l. 44. c. 5. Diod. l. 5. p. 300. (*s*) L. 3. p. 158.

* *Such a diviſion of Britain retarded, and at the ſame time facilitated the conqueſt of it to the Romans.* Dum ſinguli pugnant univerſi vincuntur. *Tacit.*

† Hiſpania prima Romanis initæ Provinciarum quæ quidem continentis ſint, poſtrema omnium perdomita eſt. *Liv.* l. 28. n. 12.

It appears from the accounts given by Polybius and Livy, of the wars of Hamilcar, Asdrubal and Hannibal in Spain, which will soon be mentioned; that the arms of the Carthaginians had not made any considerable progress in that country, till this period, and that the greatest part of Spain was then unconquered. But in twenty years time they compleated the conquest of almost the whole country.

(t) At the time that Hannibal set out for Italy, all the coast of Africa, from the Philænorum Aræ, (by the greater Syrtis,) to the pillars of Hercules, was subject to the Carthaginians. Passing thro' the straits, they had conquered all the western coast of Spain, along the ocean, as far as the Pyrenean hills. The coast which lies on the Mediterranean, had been almost wholly subdued by them; and 'twas there they had built Carthagena; and they were masters of all the country, as far as the river Iberus, which bounded their dominions. Such was at that time, the extent of their empire. In the center of the country, some nations had indeed held out against all their efforts, and could not be subdued by them.

Conquests of the Carthaginians in Sicily.

The wars which the Carthaginians carried on in Sicily are more known. I shall here relate those which were waged from the reign of Xerxes, who first prompted the Carthaginians to carry their arms into Sicily, till the first Punic war. This takes up near two hundred and twenty years, viz. from the year of the world 3520 to 3738. At the breaking out of these wars, Syracuse, the most considerable as well as most powerful city of Sicily, had invested Gelon, Hiero, and Thrasybulus (three brothers who succeeded one another) with a sovereign power. After their deaths, a democracy or popular government was established in that city, and subsisted above sixty years. From this time, the two Dionysius's, Timoleon and Agathocles, bore the sway in Syracuse. Pyrrhus was

(t) Polyb. l. 3. p. 192. l. 1. p. 9.

after-

afterwards invited into Sicily, but he kept poſſeſſion of it only a few years. Such was the government of Sicily during the wars, of which I am going to treat. They will give us great light with regard to the power of the Carthaginians, at the time that they began to be engaged in war with the Romans.

Sicily is the largeſt and moſt conſiderable iſland in the Mediterranean. It is of a triangular form, and for that reaſon was called Trinacria and Triquetra. The eaſtern ſide, which faces the Ionian or Grecian ſea, extends from cape Pachinum (*u*) to Pelorum (*x*). The moſt celebrated cities on this coaſt are Syracuſe, Tauromenium and Meſſana. The northern coaſt, which looks towards Italy, reaches from cape Pelorum to cape Lilybæum (*y*). The moſt noted cities on this coaſt are Mylæ, Hymera, Panormus, Eryx, Motya, Lilybæum. The ſouthern coaſt, which lies oppoſite to Africa, extends from cape Lilybæum to Pachynum. The moſt remarkable cities on this coaſt are Selinus, Agrigentum, Gela and Camarina. This iſland is ſeparated from Italy by a ſtrait, which is about a mile and a half over, and called the Faro or ſtrait of Meſſina. (*z*) The paſſage from Lilybæum to Africa is but 1500 furlongs, that is, about ſeventy-five leagues.

(*a*) The period in which the Carthaginians firſt carried their arms into Sicily is not exactly known. All we are certain of is, that they were already poſſeſſed of ſome part of it, at the time that they entred into a treaty with the Romans; the ſame year that the kings were expelled, and conſuls appointed in their room, viz. twenty-eight years before Xerxes invaded Greece. This treaty, which is the firſt we find mentioned to have been made between theſe two nations, ſpeaks of Africa and Sardinia as poſſeſſed by the Carthaginians; whereas the conventions, with regard to Sicily, relate only to thoſe parts of the iſland which were ſubject to

(*u*) Paſſaro. (*x*) Il Faro. (*y*) Capo Boéo. (*z*) Strabo, l. 6. p. 267. (*a*) A. M. 3501. Carthage, 343. Rome, 245. Ant. J. C. 503. Polyb. l. 3. p. 245. & ſeq. Edit. Gronov.

them. By this treaty it is expreſsly ſtipulated, that neither the Romans nor their allies ſhall ſail beyond the fair Promontory *, which was very near Carthage; and that ſuch merchants, as ſhall reſort to this city for traffick, ſhall pay only certain duties as are ſettled in it (*b*).

It appears by the ſame treaty, that the Carthaginians were particularly careful to exclude the Romans from all the countries ſubject to them; as well as from the knowledge of what was tranſacting in them: as tho' the Carthaginians, even at that time, took umbrage at the riſing power of the Romans; and already harboured in their breaſts the ſecret ſeeds of the jealouſy and diffidence, that were one day to burſt out in long and cruel wars, and which nothing could extinguiſh but the ruin of one of the contending powers; ſo fierce were their mutual hatred and animoſity.

(*c*) Some years after the concluſion of this firſt treaty, the Carthaginians made an alliance with Xerxes king of Perſia. This prince, who aimed at nothing leſs than the total extirpation of the Greeks, whom he conſidered as his irreconcileable enemies, thought it would be impoſſible for him to ſucceed in his enterprize, without the aſſiſtance of Carthage, whoſe power made it formidable even at that time. The Carthaginians, who always kept in view the deſign they entertained of ſeizing upon the remainder of Sicily, greedily ſnatched the favourable opportunity which now preſented itſelf for their compleating the reduction of it. A treaty was therefore concluded; whereby the Carthaginians were to invade, with all their forces, thoſe Greeks who were ſettled in Sicily and Italy, du-

(*b*) Idem, p. 246.

(*c*) Diod. l. 11. p. 1, 16 & 22.

A. M. 3520. Ant. J. C. 484.

* *The reaſon of this reſtraint, according to Polybius, was, the unwillingneſs of the Carthaginians to let the Romans have any knowledge of the countries which lay more to the ſouth, in order that this enterprizing people might not hear of their fertility.* Polyb. l. 3. p. 247. Edit. Gronov.

ring

ring which Xerxes ſhould march in perſon againſt Greece itſelf.

The preparations for this war laſted three years. The land-army amounted to no leſs than three hundred thouſand men. The fleet conſiſted of two thouſand ſhips of war, and upwards of three thouſand ſmall veſſels of burden. Hamilcar, the moſt experienced captain of his age, ſailed from Carthage with this formidable army. He landed at Palermo *, and, after refreſhing his troops, he marched againſt Hymera, a city not far diſtant from Palermo, and laid ſiege to it. Theron who commanded in it, ſeeing himſelf very much ſtraitned, ſent to Gelon, who had poſſeſſed himſelf of Syracuſe. He flew immediately to his relief, with fifty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe. His arrival infuſed new courage into the beſieged, who, from that time, made a very vigorous defence.

Gelon was an able warrior, and excelled in ſtratagems. A courier was brought to him, who had been diſpatched from Selinuntum with a letter for Hamilcar, to inform him of the day when he might expect the cavalry, which he had demanded of them. Gelon drew out an equal number of his own, and ſent them from his camp about the time agreed on. Theſe being admitted into the enemies camp, as coming from Selinuntum, ruſhed upon Hamilcar, killed him, and ſet fire to his ſhips. In this critical conjuncture, Gelon attacked, with all his forces, the Carthaginians, who at firſt made a gallant reſiſtance. But when the news of their general's death was brought them, and they ſaw all their fleet in a blaze, their courage failed them, and they fled. And now a dreadful ſlaughter enſued; upwards of an hundred and fifty thouſand being ſlain. The reſt of the army, having retired to a place where they were in want of every thing, could not make a long defence, and ſo were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. This battle was fought the very day of the famous action of Thermopylæ, in

* *This city is called in Latin* Panormus.

which three hundred Spartans *, with the ſacrifice of their lives, diſputed Xerxes's entrance into Greece.

When the ſad news was brought to Carthage, of the entire defeat of the army; conſternation, grief and deſpair, threw the whole city into ſuch a confuſion and alarm as are not to be expreſſed. 'Twas imagined that the enemy was already at the gates. The Carthaginians, in great reverſes of fortune, always loſt their courage, and ſunk into the oppoſite extreme. Immediately they ſent a deputation to Gelon, by which they deſired peace upon any terms. He heard their envoys with great humanity. The compleat victory he had gained, ſo far from making him haughty and untractable, had only increaſed his modeſty and clemency even towards the enemy. He therefore granted them a peace, upon no other condition, than their paying two thouſand † talents towards the expence of the war. He likewiſe required them to build two temples, where the treaty of this peace ſhould be depoſited, and expoſed at all times to publick view. The Carthaginians did not think this a dear purchaſe of a peace, that was ſo abſolutely neceſſary to their affairs, and which they hardly durſt hope for. Giſgo, the ſon of Hamilcar, purſuant to the unjuſt cuſtom of the Carthaginians, of aſcribing to the general the ill ſucceſs of a war, and making him ſuffer for it, was puniſhed for his father's misfortune, and ſent into baniſhment. He paſſed the remainder of his days at Selinuntum, a city of Sicily.

Gelon, on his return to Syracuſe, convened the people, and invited all the citizens to appear under arms. He himſelf entered the aſſembly, unarmed and without his guards, and there gave an account of the whole conduct of his life. His ſpeech met with no other interruption, but the publick teſtimonies which

* *Beſides the* 300 *Spartans, the Theſſians, a people of Bœotia, to the number of* 700, *fought and died with Leonidas, in this memorable battle.* Herod. l. 7. c. 202—222.

† *An* Attick *ſilver talent, according to Dr. Bernard, is* 206 l. 5 s. *conſequently* 2000 *talents is* 412500 l.

were

were given him of gratitude and admiration. So far from being treated as a tyrant and the oppreſſor of his country's liberty, he was conſidered as its benefactor and deliverer; all, with an unanimous voice, proclaimed him king; and the crown was beſtowed after his death, on his two brothers.

(*e*) After the memorable defeat of the Athenians before Syracuſe, where Nicias periſhed with his whole fleet; the Segeſtans, who had declared in favour of the Athenians againſt the Syracuſans, fearing the reſentment of their enemies, and being attacked by the inhabitants of Selinuntum, implored the aid of the Carthaginians, and put themſelves and city under their protection. The laſt mentioned people debated ſome time, what courſe it would be proper for them to take, the affair meeting with great difficulties. On one hand, the Carthaginians were very deſirous to poſſeſs themſelves of a city which lay ſo convenient for them; on the other, they dreaded the power and forces of Syracuſe, which had ſo lately cut to pieces a numerous army of the Athenians; and become, by ſo ſhining a victory, more formidable than ever. At laſt, the luſt of empire prevailed, and the Segeſtans were promiſed ſuccours.

The conduct of this war was committed to Hannibal, who had been inveſted with the higheſt dignity of the ſtate, being one of the Suffetes. He was grandſon to Hamilcar, who had been defeated by Gelon, and killed before Himera; and ſon to Giſgo, who had been condemned to exile. He left Carthage, fired with a deſire of revenging his family and country, and of wiping away the diſgrace of the laſt defeat. He had a very great army as well as fleet under his command. He landed at a place called called the *Well of Lilybæum*, which gave its name to a city, afterwards built on the ſame ſpot. His firſt enterprize was the ſiege of Selinuntum. The attack and defence were

(*e*) Diod. l. 13. p. 169—171, 179—186. A. M. 3592. Carthage, 434. Rome 336. Ant. J. C. 412.

equally

equally vigorous, the very women ſhewing a reſolution and bravery above their ſex. The city, after making a long reſiſtance, was taken by ſtorm, and the plunder of it abandoned to the ſoldiers. The victor exerciſed the moſt horrid cruelties, without ſhewing the leaſt regard either to age or ſex. He permitted ſuch inhabitants as had fled, to continue in the city after it had been diſmantled; and to till the lands, on condition of their paying a tribute to the Carthaginians. This city had been built two hundred and forty-two years.

Hymera, which was next beſieged by Hannibal, and likewiſe taken by ſtorm, and more cruelly treated than Selinuntum, was entirely razed, two hundred and forty years from its foundation. He forced three thouſand priſoners to undergo all kinds of ignominy and puniſhments, and at laſt murdered them on the very ſpot where his grandfather had been killed by Gelon's cavalry; to appeaſe and ſatisfy his manes, by the blood of theſe unhappy victims.

Theſe expeditions being ended, Hannibal returned to Carthage, on which occaſion the whole city came out to meet him, and received him amidſt the moſt joyful acclamations.

(*f*) Theſe ſucceſſes reinflamed the deſire and revived the deſign which the Carthaginians had ever entertained, of getting poſſeſſion of all Sicily. Three years after, they appointed Hannibal their general a ſecond time; and on his pleading his great age, and refuſing the command of this war, they gave him for lieutenant, Imilcon, ſon of Hanno, of the ſame family. The preparations for this war were equal to the great deſign which the Carthaginians had formed. The fleet and army were ſoon ready, and ſet out for Sicily. The number of their forces, according to Timæus, amounted to above ſix-ſcore thouſand; and, according to Ephorus, to three hundred thouſand men. The enemy, on their ſide, had put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and were prepared to give the Carthagi-

(*f*) Diod. l. 13. p. 201—203—206—211—226—231.

nians

nians a warm reception. The Syracuſans had ſent to all their allies, in order to levy forces among them; and to all the cities of Sicily, to exhort them to exert themſelves vigorouſly, in defence of their liberties.

Agrigentum expected to feel the firſt fury of the enemy. This city was prodigiouſly rich *, and ſtrongly fortified. It was ſituated, as were Hymera and Selinuntum, on that coaſt of Sicily, which faces Africa. Accordingly, Hannibal opened the campaign with the ſiege of this city. Imagining that it was impregnable except on one ſide, he turned his whole force that way. He threw up banks and terraſſes as high as the walls; and made uſe, on this occaſion, of the rubbiſh and fragments of the tombs ſtanding round the city, which he had demoliſhed for that purpoſe. Soon after, the plague infected the army, and ſwept away a great number of the ſoldiers, and the general himſelf. The Carthaginians interpreted this diſaſter as a puniſhment inflicted by the gods, who revenged in this manner the injuries done to the dead, whoſe ghoſts many fancied they had ſeen ſtalking before them in the night. No more tombs were therefore demoliſhed, prayers were ordered to be made according to the practice of Carthage; a child was ſacrificed to Saturn, in compliance with a moſt inhumanly-ſuperſtitious

* *The very ſepulchral monuments ſhewed the magnificence and luxury of this city, they being adorned with ſtatues of birds and horſes. But the wealth and boundleſs generoſity of Gelliar, one of its inhabitants, is almoſt incredible. He entertained the people with ſpectacles and feaſts, and during a famine, prevented the citizens from dying with hunger: He gave portions to poor maidens, and reſcued the unfortunate from want and deſpair: He had built houſes in the city and the country, purpoſely for the accommodation of ſtrangers, whom he uſually diſmiſſed with handſome preſents. Five hundred ſhipwrecked citizens of Gela, applying to him, were bountifully relieved; and every man ſupplyed with a cloak and a coat out of his wardrobe.* Diod. l. 13. Valer. Max. l. 4. c. ult. *Empedocles the philoſopher, born in Agrigentum, has a memorable ſaying concerning his fellow citizens*; That the Agrigentines ſquandered their money ſo exceſſively every day, as if they expected it could never be exhauſted; and built with ſuch ſolidity and magnificence, as if they thought they ſhould live for ever.

cuſtom; and many victims were thrown into the ſea in honour of Neptune.

The beſieged, who at firſt had gained ſeveral advantages, were at laſt ſo preſſed by famine, that all hopes of relief ſeeming deſperate, they reſolved to abandon the city. The following night was fixed on for this purpoſe. The reader will naturally image to himſelf the grief with which theſe miſerable people muſt be ſeized, on their being forced to leave their houſes, rich poſſeſſions, and their country; but life was ſtill dearer to them than all theſe. Never was a more melancholy ſpectacle ſeen. To omit the reſt, a crowd of women, bathed in tears, were ſeen dragging after them their helpleſs infants, in order to ſecure them from the brutal fury of the victor. But the moſt grievous circumſtance was the neceſſity they were under of leaving behind them the aged and ſick, who were unable either to fly or to make the leaſt reſiſtance. The unhappy exiles arrived at Gela, which was the neareſt city in their way, and there received all the comforts they could expect in the deplorable condition to which they were reduced.

In the mean time Imilcon entered the city, and murdered all who were found in it. The plunder was immenſely rich, and ſuch as might be expected from one of the moſt opulent cities of Sicily, which contained two hundred thouſand inhabitants, and had never been beſieged, nor conſequently plundered before. A numberleſs multitude of pictures, vaſes, and ſtatues of all kinds were found here, the citizens having an exquiſite taſte for the polite arts. Among other curioſities was the famous bull * of Phalaris, which was ſent to Carthage.

The ſiege of Agrigentum had laſted eight months. Imilcon made his forces take up their winter quarters in it, to give them the neceſſary refreſhment; and left

* *This bull, with other ſpoils here taken, was afterwards reſtored to the Agrigentines by Scipio, when he took Carthage in the third Punic war.* Cic. l. 4. in Verrem, c. 33.

this city (after laying it entirely in ruins) in the beginning of the ſpring. He afterwards beſieged Gela, and took it, notwithſtanding the ſuccours which were brought by Dionyſius the tyrant, who had ſeized upon the government of Syracuſe. Imilcon ended the war by a treaty with Dionyſius. The articles of it were, that the Carthaginians, beſides their antient acquiſitions in Sicily, ſhould ſtill poſſeſs the country of the Sicanians *, Selinuntum, Agrigentum, and Hymera; as likewiſe of that of Gela and Camarina, with leave for the inhabitants to reſide in their reſpective diſmantled cities, on condition of their paying a tribute to Carthage: That the Leontines, the Meſſenians, and all the Sicilians ſhould retain their own laws, and preſerve their liberty and independence: Laſtly, that the Syracuſans ſhould ſtill continue ſubject to Dionyſius. After this treaty was concluded, Imilcon returned to Carthage, where the plague ſtill made dreadful havock.

(g) Dionyſius had concluded the late peace with the Carthaginians, in no other view but to get time to eſtabliſh his new authority, and make the neceſſary preparations for the war, which he meditated againſt them. As he was very ſenſible how formidable thoſe people were, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to enable himſelf to invade them with ſucceſs; and his deſign was wonderfully well ſeconded by the zeal of his ſubjects. The fame of this prince, the ſtrong deſire he had to diſtinguiſh himſelf, the charms of gain, and the proſpect of the rewards which he promiſed thoſe who ſhould ſhow the greateſt induſtry; invited, from all quarters, into Sicily, the moſt able artiſts and workmen at that time in the world. All Syracuſe now became in a manner a common work-ſhop, in every part of which men were ſeen making ſwords, helmets, ſhields, and military engines; and in preparing all things neceſſary

(g) Dion. l. 14. p. 268—278. A. M. 3600. Carth. 442. Rome 344. Ant. J. C. 404.

* *The Sicanians and Sicilians were antiently two diſtinct people.*

for

for building ſhips and fitting out fleets. The invention of five benches of oars, (or *Quinqueremes*) was at that time very recent, for, till then, only three (*b*) had been uſed. Dionyſius animated the workmen by his preſence, and by the applauſes he gave, and the bounty which he beſtowed ſeaſonably; but chiefly by his popular and engaging behaviour, which excited more ſtrongly than any other conduct, the induſtry and ardor of the workmen, (*i*) the moſt excellent of whom in every art, had frequently the honour to dine with him.

When all things were ready, and a great number of forces had been levied in different countries, he called the Syracuſans together, laid his deſign before them, and repreſented the Carthaginians as the profeſſed enemies to the Greeks; that they had no leſs in view than the invaſion of all Sicily; the ſubjecting all the Grecian cities; and that, in caſe their progreſs was not checked, the Syracuſans themſelves would ſoon be attacked; that the reaſon why the Carthaginians did not attempt any enterprize and continued unactive, was owing entirely to the dreadful havock made by the plague among them; which (he obſerved) was a favourable opportunity for the Syracuſans. Tho' the tyrannny and the tyrant were equally odious to Syracuſe, yet the hatred the people in queſtion bore to the Carthaginians, prevailed over all other conſiderations; and every one, guided more by the views of an intereſted policy than by the dictates of juſtice, received the ſpeech with applauſe. Upon this, without the leaſt complaint made of treaties violated, or making a declaration of war, Dionyſius gave up to the fury of the populace, the perſons and poſſeſſions of the Carthaginians. Great numbers of them reſided at that time in Syracuſe, and traded there on the faith of treaties. But now the common people ran to their houſes, plundered their effects, and pretended they were ſufficiently authorized to exerciſe every ignominy, and

(*b*) *Triremes*, (*i*) Honos alit artes.

inflict

inflict every kind of punishment on them; for the cruelties they had exercised against the natives of the country. And this horrid example of perfidy and inhumanity, was followed throughout the whole island of Sicily. This was the bloody signal of the war which was declared against them. Dionysius having thus begun to do himself justice (in his way,) sent deputies to Carthage, to require them to restore all the Sicilian cities to their liberties; and that otherwise, all the Carthaginians found in them should be treated as enemies. This news spread a general alarm in Carthage, especially when they reflected on the sad condition to which they were reduced.

Dionysius opened the campaign with the siege of Motya, which was the magazine of the Carthaginians in Sicily; and he besieged the town with so much vigour, that it was impossible for Imilcon, the Carthaginian admiral, to relieve it. He brought forward his engines, battered the place with his battering-rams, advanced towers six stories high to the wall (rolled upon wheels) and of an equal height with their houses; from these towers, he greatly annoyed the besieged, with furious discharges of volleys of arrows and stones, sent from his Catapulta's *, an engine at that time of late invention. At last, the city, after having made a long and vigorous defence, was taken by storm, and all the inhabitants of it put to the sword, those excepted, who took sanctuary in the temples. The plunder of it was abandoned to the soldiers; and Dionysius, leaving a strong garrison and a trusty governor in it, returned to Syracuse.

(*l*) The following year Imilcon being appointed one of the Suffetes, returned to Sicily with a far greater army than before. He landed at Palermo †, took several cities, and recovered Motya by force of arms.

(*l*) Diod. l. 14. p. 279—295. Justin. l. 19. c. 2, 3.

* *The curious reader will find a very particular account of it in the second part of the eleventh Volume of this work.*

† Panormus.

Animated

Animated by theſe ſucceſſes, he advanced towards Syracuſe, with deſign to beſiege it; marching his infantry by land; whilſt his fleet, under the command of Mago, ſailed along the coaſt.

The arrival of Imilcon threw the Syracuſans into great conſternation. Above two hundred ſhips laden with the ſpoils of the enemy, and advancing in good order, entered in a kind of triumph, the great harbour, being followed by five hundred barks. At the ſame time the land-army, conſiſting, according to ſome authors, of three hundred thouſand foot *, and three thouſand horſe, was ſeen marching forward on the other ſide of the city. Imilcon pitched his tent in the very temple of Jupiter; and the reſt of the army encamped at twelve furlongs or about a mile and a half from the city. Marching up to it, Imilcon offered battle to the inhabitants, who did not care to accept the challenge. Imilcon ſatisfied at his having extorted, as it were, from the Syracuſans, this confeſſion of their own weakneſs and his ſuperiority, returned to his camp; not doubting but he ſhould ſoon be maſter of the city; conſidering it already as a certain prey, which could not poſſibly eſcape him. For thirty days together, he laid waſte the neighbourhood about Syracuſe, and ruined the whole country. He poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſuburb of Acradina, aud plundered the temples of Ceres and Proſerpine. To fortify his camp, he beat down the tombs which ſtood round the city; and among others, that of Gelon and his wife Demarata, which was prodigiouſly magnificent.

But theſe ſucceſſes were not laſting. All the ſplendor of this anticipated triumph vaniſhed in a moment, and taught mankind, ſays the hiſtorian (*m*), that the proudeſt mortal, blaſted ſooner or later by a ſuperior

(*m*) Diodorus.

* *Some authors ſay but thirty thouſand foot, which is the more probable account, as the fleet which blocked up the town by ſea, was ſo formidable.*

power,

power, ſhall be forced to confeſs his own weakneſs. Whilſt Imilcon, now maſter of almoſt all the cities of Sicily, expected to finiſh his conqueſts, by the reduction of Syracuſe, a contagious diſtemper ſeized his army, and made dreadful havock in it. It was now the midſt of ſummer, and the heat that year was exceſſive. The infection began among the Africans, multitudes of whom died, without any poſſibility of their being relieved. Care was taken at firſt to inter the dead; but the number increaſing daily, and the infection ſpreading very faſt, the dead lay unburied, and the ſick could have no aſſiſtance. This plague had very uncommon ſymptoms, ſuch as violent dyſenteries, raging fevers, burning entrails, acute pains in every part of the body. The infected were even ſeized with madneſs and fury, ſo that they would fall upon any perſons that came in their way, and tear them to pieces.

Dionyſius did not loſe this favourable opportunity for attacking the enemy. Imilcon's army being more than half conquered by the plague, could make but a feeble reſiſtance. The Carthaginian ſhips were almoſt all either taken or burnt. The inhabitants in general of Syracuſe, their old men, women, and children, came pouring out of the city, to behold an event which to them appeared miraculous. With hands lifted up to heaven, they thanked the tutelar gods of their city, for having revenged the ſanctity of temples and tombs, which had been ſo brutally violated by theſe Barbarians. Night coming on, both parties retired; when Imilcon, taking the opportunity of this ſhort ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, ſent to Dionyſius, for leave to carry back with him the ſmall remains of his ſhattered army, with an offer of three hundred talents *, which was all the ſpecie he had then left. Permiſſion could only be obtained for the Carthaginians, with whom Imilcon ſtole away in the night, and left the reſt to the mercy of the conqueror.

* *About* 61800 l. *Engliſh money.*

In

In ſuch unhappy circumſtances did the Carthaginian general, who a few days before had been ſo proud and haughty, retire from Syracuſe. Bitterly bewailing his own fate, but moſt of all that of his country, he, with the moſt inſolent fury, accuſed the gods as the ſole authors of his misfortunes. "The enemy, con-
"tinued he, may indeed rejoice at our miſery, but
"have no reaſon to glory in it. We return victori-
"ous over the Syracuſans, and are only defeated by
"the plague. No part, added he, of the diſaſter
"touches me ſo much as my ſurviving ſo many gallant
"men, and my being reſerved, not for the comforts
"of life, but to be the ſport of ſo dire a calamity:
"However, ſince I have brought back the miſerable
"remains of an army, which had been committed
"to my care; I now have nothing to do, but to
"follow the brave ſoldiers who lie dead before Syra-
"cuſe; and to ſhew my country, that I did not ſur-
"vive them out of a fondneſs of life; but merely to
"preſerve the troops which had eſcaped the plague,
"from the fury of the enemy, to which my more
"early death would have abandoned them."

Being now arrived in Carthage, which he found overwhelmed with grief and deſpair, he entered his houſe, ſhut his doors againſt the citizens, and even his own children; and then gave himſelf the fatal ſtroke, in compliance with a practice to which the heathens falſely gave the name of courage, though, it was, in reality, no other than a cowardly deſpair.

But the calamities of this unhappy city did not ſtop here: for the Africans, who from time immemorial had bore an implacable hatred to the Carthaginians, being now exaſperated to fury, becauſe their countrymen had been left behind, and expoſed to the murthering ſword of the Syracuſans; aſſemble in the moſt frantic manner, ſound the alarm, take up arms; and after ſeizing upon Tunis, march directly to Carthage, to the number of more than two hundred thouſand men. The citizens now gave themſelves up for loſt.

This

This new incide[illegible]nſidered by them as the ſad effect of the wrath of the gods, which purſued the guilty wretches even to Carthage. As its inhabitants, eſpecially in all publick calamities, carried their ſuperſtition to the greateſt exceſs, their firſt care was to appeaſe the offended gods. Ceres and Proſerpine were deities, who, till that time, had never been heard of in Africa. But now, to atone for the outrage which had been done them, in the plundering of their temples, magnificent ſtatues were erected in their honour; prieſts were ſelected from among the moſt diſtinguiſhed families of the city; ſacrifices and victims, according to the Greek ritual, (if I may uſe that expreſſion) were offered up to them; in a word, nothing was omitted which could be thought conducive in any manner, to appeaſe the angry goddeſſes, and to merit their favour. After this, the defence of the city was the next object of their care. Happily for the Carthaginians, this numerous army had no leader, but was like a body uninformed with a ſoul; no proviſions or military engines; no diſcipline, or ſubordination were ſeen among them: every man ſetting himſelf up for a general, or claiming an independence from the reſt. Diviſions therefore ariſing in this rabble of an army, and the famine increaſing daily, the individuals of it withdrew to their reſpective homes, and delivered Carthage from a dreadful alarm.

The Carthaginians were not diſcouraged by their late diſaſter, but continued their enterprizes on Sicily. Mago their general, and one of the Suffetes, loſt a great battle, and his life. And now the Carthaginian chiefs demanded a peace, which accordingly was granted, on condition of their evacuating all Sicily, and defraying the expences of the war. They pretended to accept the peace on the terms it was offered; but repreſenting, that it was not in their power to deliver up the cities, without firſt obtaining an order from their republick; they obtained ſo long a truce, as gave them time ſufficient for ſending to Carthage. During this interval,

interval, they raiſed and diſciplined new troops, over which Mago, ſon of him who had been lately killed, was appointed general. He was very young, but of great abilities and reputation. Mago arrived in Sicily, and at the expiration of the truce, he gave Dionyſius battle; in which Leptinus *, one of the generals of the latter, was killed, and upwards of fourteen thouſand Syracuſans left dead in the field. By this victory the Carthaginians obtained an honourable peace, which left them in the poſſeſſion of all they had in Sicily, with even the addition of ſome ſtrong-holds; beſides a thouſand talents †, which were for defraying the expences of the war.

(o) About this time a law was enacted at Carthage, by which its inhabitants were forbid to learn to write or ſpeak the Greek language; in order to deprive them of the means of correſponding with the enemy, either by word of mouth, or in writing. This was occaſioned by the treachery of a Carthaginian, who had writ in Greek to Dionyſius, to give him advice of the departure of the army from Carthage.

(p) Carthage had, ſoon after, another calamity to ſtruggle with. The plague got into the city, and made terrible havock. Panic terrors, and violent fits of frenzy, ſeized on a ſudden, the heads of the diſtempered; who ſallying, ſword in hand, out of their houſes, as if the enemy had taken the city, killed or wounded all who unhappily came in their way. The Africans and Sardinians would very willingly have taken this opportunity to ſhake off a yoke which was ſo hateful to them; but both were ſubjected, and reduced to their allegiance. Dionyſius formed at this time, an enterprize, in Sicily, in the ſame views, which was equally unſucceſsful. He died ‖ ſometime after, and was ſucceeded by his ſon of the ſame name.

We

(o) Juſtin. l. 20. c. 5.

(p) Diod. l. 15. p. 344.

* *This Leptinus was brother to Dionyſius.*

† *About* 206000 l.

‖ *This is the Dionyſius who invited*

We have already taken notice of the first treaty which the Carthaginians concluded with the Romans. There was another which, according to Orosius, was concluded in the 402d year of the foundation of Rome, and consequently about the time we are now speaking of. This second treaty was very near the same with the first, except that the inhabitants of Tyre and Utica were expressly comprehended in it, and joined with the Carthaginians.

(q) After the death of the elder Dionysius, Syracuse was involved in great troubles. Dionysius the younger, who had been expelled, restored himself by force of arms, and exercised great cruelties there. One part of the citizens implored the aid of Icetes, tyrant of the Leontines, and by descent a Syracusan. This seemed a very favourable opportunity for the Carthaginians to seize upon all Sicily, and accordingly they sent a mighty fleet thither. In this extremity, such of the Syracusans as loved their country best, had recourse to the Corinthians, who had often assisted them in their dangers; and were, of all the Grecian nations, the most professed enemies to tyranny, and the most avowed and most generous assertors of liberty. Accordingly the Corinthians sent over Timoleon, a man of great merit, and who had signalized his zeal for the publick welfare, by freeing his country from tyranny, at the

(q) Diod. l. 16. p. 252. Polyb. l. 3. p. 178. Plut. in Timol. A. M. 3656. Carthage, 498. Rome, 400. Ant. J. C. 348.

vited Plato to his court; and who, being afterwards offended with his freedom, sold him for a slave. Some philosophers came from Greece to Syracuse in order to redeem their brother, which having done, they sent him home with this useful lesson; That philosophers ought very rarely, or very obligingly, to converse with tyrants. This prince had learning, and affected to pass for a poet; but could not gain that name at the Olympic games, whither he had sent his verses, to be repeated by his brother Thearides. It had been happy for Dionysius, had the Athenians entertained no better an opinion of his poetry; for on their pronouncing him victor, when his poems were repeated in their city, he was raised to such a transport of joy and intemperance, that both together killed him; and thus, perhaps, was verify'd the prediction of the oracle, viz. that he should die when he had overcome his betters.

expence

expence of his own family. He ſet ſail with only ten ſhips, and arriving at Rhegium, he eluded, by a happy ſtratagem, the vigilance of the Carthaginians; who, having been informed, by Icetes, of his voyage and deſign, wanted to intercept his paſſage to Sicily.

Timoleon had ſcarce above a thouſand ſoldiers under his command; and yet, with this handful of men, he advanced boldly to the relief of Syracuſe. His ſmall army increaſed perpetually as he marched. The Syracuſans were now in a deſperate condition, and quite hopeleſs. They ſaw the Carthaginians maſters of the port; Icetes of the city; and Dionyſius of the citadel. Happily, on Timoleon's arrival, Dionyſius having now no refuge left, put the citadel into his hands, with all the forces, arms, and ammunition in it; and eſcaped, by his aſſiſtance, to Corinth *. Timoleon had, by his emiſſaries, repreſented artfully to the foreign forces in Mago's army, which (by an error in the conſtitution of Carthage before taken notice of) was chiefly compoſed of ſuch, and even the greateſt part of theſe were Greeks; that it was aſtoniſhing, to ſee Greeks uſing their endeavour to make Barbarians maſters of Sicily, from whence they, in a very little time, would paſs over into Greece. For could they imagine, that the Carthaginians were come ſo far, in no other view but to eſtabliſh Icetes tyrant of Syracuſe? Such diſcourſes being ſpread among Mago's ſoldiers, gave this general very great uneaſineſs; and, as he wanted only a pretence to retire, he was glad to have it believed, that his forces were going to betray and

* *Here he preſerved ſome reſemblance of his former tyranny, by turning ſchoolmaſter; and exerciſing a diſcipline over boys, when he could no longer tyrannize over men. He had learning, and was once a ſcholar to Plato, whom he cauſed to come again into Sicily, notwithſtanding the unworthy treatment he had met with from Dionyſius's father. Philip king of Macedon meeting him in the ſtreets at Corinth, and aſking him how he came to loſe ſo conſiderable a principality, as had been left him by his father; he anſwered, That his father had indeed left him the inheritance, but not the fortune which had preſerved both himſelf and that.—However, fortune did him no great injury, in replacing him on the dunghill, from which ſhe had raiſed his father.*

deſert him; and upon this, he ſailed with his fleet out of the harbour, and ſteered for Carthage. Icetes, after his departure, could not hold out long againſt the Corinthians; ſo that they now got entire poſſeſſion of the whole city.

Mago, on his arrival at Carthage, was impeached, but he prevented the execution of the ſentence paſſed upon him, by a voluntary death. His body was hung upon a gallows, and expoſed as a public ſpectacle to the people. (r) New forces were levied at Carthage, and a greater and more powerful fleet than the former was ſent to Sicily. It conſiſted of two hundred ſhips of war, beſides a thouſand tranſports; and the army amounted to upwards of ſeventy thouſand men. They landed at Lilybæum under the command of Hamilcar and Hannibal, and reſolved to attack the Corinthians firſt. Timoleon did not wait for, but marched out to meet them. And now, ſuch was the conſternation of Syracuſe, that, of all the forces which were in that city, only three thouſand Syracuſans, and four thouſand Mercenaries followed him; and a thouſand of the latter deſerted upon the march, out of fear of the danger they were going to encounter. Timoleon, however, was not diſcouraged, but exhorting the remainder of his forces to exert themſelves couragiouſly for the ſafety and liberties of their allies, he led them againſt the enemy, whoſe rendezvous he had been informed was on the banks of the little river Crimiſa. It appeared at the firſt reflexion an inexcuſable folly to attack an army ſo numerous as that of the enemy, with only four or five thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe: But Timoleon, who knew that bravery, conducted by prudence, is ſuperior to number, relied on the courage of his ſoldiers, who ſeemed reſolved to die rather than yield, and with ardour demanded to be led againſt the enemy. The event juſtified his views and hopes. A battle was fought; the Carthaginians were routed, and upwards of ten thouſand of

(r) Plut. p. 248—250.

them ſlain, full three thouſand of whom were Carthaginian citizens, which filled their city with mourning and the greateſt conſternation. Their camp was taken, and with it immenſe riches, and a great number of priſoners.

(s) Timoleon, at the ſame time that he diſpatched the news of this victory to Corinth, ſent thither the fineſt arms found among the plunder. For he was paſſionately deſirous of having his city applauded and admired by all men, when they ſhould ſee that Corinth only, among all the Grecian cities, adorned its fineſt temples, not with the ſpoils of Greece, and offerings dyed in the blood of its citizens, and thereby fit only to preſerve the ſad remembrance of their loſſes, but with thoſe of Barbarians, which, by fine inſcriptions, diſplayed at once the courage and religious gratitude of thoſe who had won them. For theſe inſcriptions imported, *That the Corinthians, and Timoleon their general, after having freed the Greeks ſettled in Sicily from the Carthaginian yoke, had hung up theſe arms in their temples, as an eternal acknowledgment of the favour and goodneſs of the gods.*

After this Timoleon leaving the mercenary troops in the Carthaginian territories, to waſte and deſtroy them, returned to Syracuſe. On his arrival there, he baniſhed the thouſand ſoldiers who had deſerted him; and took no other revenge, than the commanding them to leave Syracuſe before ſun-ſet.

After this victory gained by the Corinthians, they took a great many cities, which obliged the Carthaginians to ſue for peace.

As all appearances of ſucceſs made the Carthaginians vigorouſly exert themſelves, to raiſe powerful armies both by land and ſea, and behave with inſolence and cruelty in proſperity; in like manner their courage would ſink in unforeſeen adverſities, their hopes of new reſſources vaniſh, and their groveling ſouls condeſcend to aſk quarter of the moſt inconſiderable

(s) Plut. ibid.

enemy,

enemy, and ſhamefully accept the hardeſt and moſt mortifying conditions. Thoſe now impoſed were, that they ſhould poſſeſs only the lands lying beyond the river Halycus *; that they ſhould give all the natives free liberty to retire to Syracuſe with their families and effects; and that they ſhould neither continue in the alliance, nor hold any correſpondence with the tyrants of that city.

About this time, in all probability, there happened at Carthage a memorable incident, related by (*t*) Juſtin. Hanno, one of its moſt powerful citizens, formed a deſign of ſeizing upon the republic, by deſtroying the whole ſenate. He choſe for the execution of this bloody ſcene, the day on which his daughter was to be married, on which occaſion he deſigned to invite the ſenators to an entertainment, and there poiſon them all. The conſpiracy was diſcovered; but Hanno had ſuch prodigious credit, that the government did not dare to puniſh ſo execrable a crime: The magiſtrates contented themſelves with only preventing it, by an order which forbid, in general, too great a magnificence at weddings, and ſettled the expence on thoſe occaſions. Hanno ſeeing his ſtratagem defeated, reſolved to employ open force, and for that purpoſe armed all the ſlaves. However, he was again diſcovered; and, to eſcape from puniſhment, retired with twenty thouſand armed ſlaves, to a caſtle that was very ſtrongly fortified; and there endeavoured, but without ſucceſs, to engage in his rebellion the Africans, and the king of Mauritania. He afterwards was taken priſoner and carried to Carthage, where, after being whipped, his eyes were put out, his arms and thighs broke, his life taken away in preſence of the people; and his body, all torn with ſtripes, hung on a gibbet. His children and all his relations, though they had not joined in his guilt, ſhared in his puniſhment. They were all ſen-

(*t*) Juſtin. l. 21. c. 4.

* *This river is not far from Agrigentum. It is called* Lycus *by Diodorus and Plutarch, but this is thought a miſtake.*

tenced to die, in order that not a ſingle perſon of his family might be left, either to imitate his crime or revenge his death. Such was the genius and caſt of mind of the Carthaginians; ever ſevere and violent in their puniſhments, they carried them to the extremes of rigour, and made them extend even to the innocent, without ſhowing the leaſt regard to equity, moderation, or gratitude.

(*u*) I come now to the wars ſuſtained by the Carthaginians, in Africa itſelf as well as in Sicily, againſt Agathocles, which exerciſed their arms during ſeveral years.

This Agathocles was a Sicilian, of obſcure birth, and low fortune *. Supported at firſt by the power of the Carthaginians, he invaded the ſovereignty of Syracuſe, and made himſelf tyrant over it. In the infancy of his power, the Carthaginians kept him within bounds, and Hamilcar their chief forced him to agree to a peace which reſtored tranquillity to Sicily. But he ſoon infringed the articles of it, and declared war againſt the Carthaginians themſelves, who, under the conduct of Hamilcar, obtained a ſignal victory over him †, and forced him to ſhut himſelf up in Syracuſe. The Carthaginians purſued him thither, and laid ſiege to that important city, which, if they could have taken, would have given them poſſeſſion of all Sicily.

Agathocles, whoſe forces were greatly inferior to

(*u*) Diod. l. 19. p. 651—656—710—712—73—7743—760. Juſtin. l. 2. c. 1—6. A. M. 3685. Carthage, 527. Rome, 429. Ant. J. C. 319.

* *He was, according to moſt hiſtorians, the ſon of a potter, but all allow him to have work'd at the trade. From the obſcurity of his birth and condition, Polybius raiſes an argument to prove his capacity and talents, in oppoſition to the ſlanders of Timæus. But his greateſt elogium was the praiſe of Scipio. That illuſtrious Roman being aſked, who, in his opinion, were the moſt prudent in the conduct of their affairs, and moſt judiciouſly bold in the execution of their deſigns; anſwered, Agathocles and Dionyſius.* Polyb. l. 15. p. 1003. Edit. Gronov. *However, let his capacity have been ever ſo great, it was exceeded by his cruelties.*

† *The battle was fought near the river and city of Hymera.*

theirs, and who ſaw himſelf deſerted by all his allies, from their abhorrence of his horrid cruelties, meditated a deſign of ſo daring, and, to all appearance, ſo impracticable a nature, that even ſucceſs could hardly gain it belief. This deſign was no leſs than to make Africa the ſeat of war, and to beſiege Carthage, at a time when he could neither defend himſelf in Sicily, nor ſuſtain the ſiege of Syracuſe. His profound ſecrecy in the execution is as aſtoniſhing as the deſign itſelf. He communicated his thoughts on this affair to no perſon whatſoever, but contented himſelf with declaring, that he had found out an infallible way to free the Syracuſans from the dangers that ſurrounded them. That they would be but a little incommoded with a ſhort ſiege; but that thoſe who could not bring themſelves to this reſolution, might freely depart the city. Only ſixteen hundred perſons quitted it. He left his brother Antander there with forces and proviſions ſufficient for him to make a ſtout defence. He ſet at liberty all ſlaves who were of age to bear arms, and, after obliging them to take an oath, joined them to his forces. He carried with him only fifty talents † to ſupply his preſent wants, well aſſured that he ſhould find in the enemy's country whatever was neceſſary to his ſubſiſtence. He therefore ſet ſail with two of his ſons, Archagathus and Heraclides, without letting one perſon know whither he intended his courſe. All who were on board his fleet, believed that they were to be conducted either to Italy or Sardinia in order to plunder thoſe countries, or to lay waſte thoſe coaſts of Sicily which belonged to Carthage. The Carthaginians, ſurprized at ſo unexpected a departure of the fleet, endeavoured to prevent it; but Agathocles eluded their purſuit, and made for the main ocean.

He did not diſcover his deſign till he was got into Africa. There, aſſembling his troops, he told them, in few words, the motives which had prompted him to this expedition. He repreſented, that the only way

† 50000 *French crowns, or* 11250 l. *ſterling.*

to free their country, was to carry the war among their enemies: That he led them who were inured to war, and of intrepid diſpoſitions, againſt a parcel of enemies who were ſoftned and enervated by eaſe and luxury: That the natives of the country, oppreſſed with the equally cruel and ignominious yoke of ſervitude, would run in crouds to join them on the firſt news of their arrival: That the boldneſs of their attempt would entirely diſconcert the Carthaginians, who were altogether unprepared to repel an enemy at their gates: In fine, that no enterprize could poſſibly be more advantageous or honourable than this; ſince the whole wealth of Carthage would become the prey of the victors, whoſe courage would be praiſed and admired by lateſt poſterity. The ſoldiers fancied themſelves already maſters of Carthage, and received his ſpeech with applauſe and acclamations. One circumſtance only gave them uneaſineſs, and that was, an eclipſe of the ſun happening juſt as they were ſetting ſail. In theſe ages even the moſt civilized and learned nations underſtood very little the reaſon of theſe extraordinary phænomena of nature; and uſed to draw from them (by their ſoothſayers) ſuperſtitious and arbitrary conjectures, which frequently would either ſuſpend or haſten the moſt important enterprizes. However, Agathocles revived the drooping courage of his ſoldiers, by aſſuring them that theſe eclipſes always foretold ſome inſtant change: That therefore, happineſs was taking its leave of Carthage, and coming over to them.

Finding his ſoldiers in the good diſpoſition he wiſhed them, he executed, almoſt at the ſame time, a ſecond enterprize which was more daring and hazardous than even his firſt, *viz.* his carrying them over into Africa, and this was the burning every ſhip in his fleet. Many reaſons determined him to ſo deſperate an action. He had not one good harbour in Africa where his ſhips could lye in ſafety. As the Carthaginians were maſters of the ſea, they would not have failed to poſſeſs themſelves immediately of his fleet, which was incapable of making

making the leaſt reſiſtance. In caſe he had left as many hands as were neceſſary to defend it, he would have weakned his army, (which was inconſiderable at the beſt) and put it out of his power to make any advantage from this unexpected diverſion, the ſucceſs of which depended entirely on the ſwiftneſs and vigour of the execution. Laſtly, he was deſirous of putting his ſoldiers under a neceſſity of conquering, by leaving them no other refuge but victory. A prodigious courage was neceſſary, to work up his army to ſuch a reſolution. He had already prepared all his officers, who were entirely devoted to his ſervice, and received every impreſſion he gave them. He then came ſuddenly into the aſſembly with a crown upon his head, dreſſed in a magnificent habit, and with the air and behaviour of a man who was going to perform ſome religious ceremony, and addreſſing himſelf to the aſſembly, "When we, ſays he, left Syracuſe, and were "warmly purſued by the enemy; in this fatal neceſ-"ſity I applied my ſelf to Ceres and Proſerpine, the "tutelar divinities of Sicily; and promiſed, that if "they would free us from this imminent danger, I "would burn all our ſhips in their honour, at our "firſt landing here. Aid me therefore, O ſoldiers, to "diſcharge my vow; for the goddeſſes can eaſily "make us amends for this ſacrifice." At the ſame time, taking a flambeau in his hand, he haſtily led the way, and flying on board his own ſhip, ſet it on fire. All the officers did the like, and were chearfully followed by the ſoldiers. The trumpets ſounded from every quarter, and the whole army echoed with joyful ſhouts and acclamations. The fleet was ſoon conſumed. The ſoldiers had not been allowed time to reflect on the propoſal made to them. They all had been hurried on by a blind and impetuous ardour; but when they had a little recovered their reaſon, and ſurveying in their minds the vaſt ocean which ſeparated them from their own country, ſaw themſelves in that of the enemy without the leaſt reſſource, or any means of eſcap-

ing out of it; a ſad and melancholy ſilence ſucceeded the tranſport of joy and acclamations, which, but a moment before, had been ſo general in the army.

Here again Agathocles left no time for reflection. He marched his army towards a place called the Great City, which was part of the domain of Carthage. The country, through which they marched to this place, afforded the moſt delicious and agreeable proſpect in the world. On either ſide were ſeen large meads watered by beautiful ſtreams, and covered with innumerable flocks of all kinds of cattle; country-ſeats built with extraordinary magnificence; delightful avenues planted with olive and all ſorts of fruit-trees; gardens of a prodigious extent, and kept with a care and elegance which gave the eye a ſenſible pleaſure. This proſpect re-animated the ſoldiers. They marched full of courage to the Great City, which they took ſword in hand, and enriched themſelves with the plunder of it, which was entirely abandoned to them. Tunis, which was not far diſtant from Carthage, made as little reſiſtance.

The Carthaginians were in prodigious alarm, when it was known that the enemy was in the country, advancing by haſty marches. This arrival of Agathocles made the Carthaginians conclude, that their army before Syracuſe had been defeated, and their fleet loſt. The people ran in diſorder to the great ſquare of the city, whilſt the ſenate aſſembled in haſte and in a tumultuous manner. Immediately they deliberated on the means for preſerving the city. They had no army in readineſs to oppoſe the enemy; and their imminent danger did not permit them to wait the arrival of thoſe forces which might be raiſed in the country, and among the allies. It was therefore reſolved, after ſeveral different opinions had been heard, to arm the citizens. The number of the forces thus levied, amounted to forty thouſand foot, a thouſand horſe, and two thouſand armed chariots. Hanno and Bomilcar, though divided betwixt themſelves by ſome family

quarrels,

quarrels, were however joined in the command of theſe troops. They marched immediately to meet the enemy, and, on ſight of them, drew up their forces in order of battle. * Agathocles had, at moſt, but thirteen or fourteen thouſand men. The ſignal was given, and an obſtinate fight enſued. Hanno, with his ſacred cohort (the flower of the Carthaginian forces) long ſuſtained the fury of the Greeks, and ſometimes broke their ranks; but at laſt, overwhelmed with a ſhower of ſtones, and covered with wounds, he fell ſword in hand. Bomilcar might have changed the face of things; but he had private and perſonal reaſons not to obtain a victory for his country. He therefore thought proper to retire with the forces under his command, and was followed by the whole army, which, by that means, was forced to leave the field to Agathocles. After purſuing the enemy ſome time, he returned, and plundered the Carthaginian camp. Twenty thouſand pair of manacles were found in it, with which the Carthaginians had furniſhed themſelves, in the firm perſuaſion of their taking many priſoners, By this victory, they had an opportunity of taking a great number of ſtrong-holds, and many Africans joined the victor.

(*y*) This deſcent of Agathocles into Africa, doubtleſs hinted to Scipio the deſign of making a like attempt upon the ſame republic, and from the ſame place. Wherefore in his anſwer to Fabius, who aſcribed to temerity his deſign of making Africa the ſeat of the war, he forgot not to mention Agathocles, as an inſtance in favour of his enterprize; and to ſhew, that frequently there is no other way to get rid of an enemy, who preſſes too cloſely upon us, than by carrying

(*y*) Liv. l. 28. n. 43.

* *Agathocles wanting arms for many of his ſoldiers, provided them with ſuch as were counterfeit, which looked well at a diſtance. And perceiving the diſcouragement his forces were under, on ſight of the enemy's horſe, he let fly a great many owls (privately procured for that purpoſe) which his ſoldiers interpreted as an omen and aſſurance of victory.* Diod. ad Ann. 3. Olymp. 117.

the war into his own country; and that men are much more courageous, when they act upon the offensive, than when they stand only upon the defensive.

(z) While the Carthaginians were thus warmly attacked by their enemies, embassadors came to them from Tyre. They came to implore their succour against Alexander the Great, who was upon the point of taking their city, which he had long besieged. The extremity, to which their countrymen (for so they called them) were reduced, touched the Carthaginians as sensibly as their own danger. Though they were unable to relieve, they at least thought it their duty to comfort them; and sending thirty of their principal citizens, by those deputies they expressed their grief, that they could not spare them any troops, because of the present melancholy situation of their own affairs. The Tyrians, though disappointed of the only hope they had left, did not however despond. They committed their wives, children †, and old men to the care of these deputies; when, being delivered from all inquietude, with regard to persons who were dearer to them than any thing in the world, they had no thoughts but of making a resolute defence, prepared for the worst that might happen. Carthage received this afflicted company with all possible marks of amity, and paid to guests who were so dear and worthy of compassion, all the services which they could have expected from the most affectionate and tender parents.

Quintus Curtius places this embassy from Tyre to the Carthaginians at the same time that the Syracusans ravaged Africa, and were before Carthage. But the expedition of Agathocles against Africa cannot agree in time with the siege of Tyre, which was twenty years before it.

At the same time this city was sollicitous how to extricate itself from the difficulties with which it was surrounded. The present unhappy state of the republic

(z) Diod. l. 17. p. 519. Quint. Curt. l. 4. c. 3.

† Τῶν τέκνων & γυναικῶν μέρος, *some of their wives and children.* Diod. l. 17—41.

was conſidered as the effect of the wrath of the gods: And it was acknowledged to be juſtly deſerved, particularly with regard to two deities, to whom the Carthaginians had been wanting with reſpect to duties preſcribed by their religion, and which had once been obſerved with great exactneſs. It was a cuſtom, (coeval with the city itſelf,) in Carthage, to ſend annually to Tyre, (the mother-city) the tenth of all the revenues of the republic, as an offering to Hercules, the patron and protector of both Tyre and Carthage. The domain, and conſequently the revenues of Carthage, having increaſed conſiderably, the portion or ſhare, on the contrary, of the god had been leſſened; and they were far from remitting the whole tenth to him. They were ſeized with a ſcruple in this reſpect: They made an open and publick confeſſion of their inſincerity, and ſacrilegious avarice: and, to expiate their guilt, they ſent to Tyre a great number of preſents, and ſmall ſhrines of their deities all of gold, which amounted to a prodigious value.

Another violation of religion, which to their inhuman ſuperſtition ſeemed as flagrant as the former, gave them no leſs uneaſineſs. Antiently, children of the beſt families in Carthage uſed to be ſacrificed to Saturn. Here they reproached themſelves with a failure of paying to the god the honours which they thought were due to him; and of fraud and diſhoneſt dealing with regard to him, by their having ſubſtituted, in their ſacrifices, children of ſlaves or beggars, bought for that purpoſe, in the room of thoſe nobly born. To expiate the guilt of ſo horrid an impiety, a ſacrifice was made, to the bloody god, of two hundred children of the firſt rank; and upwards of three hundred perſons, in a ſenſe of this terrible neglect, offered themſelves voluntarily as victims, to pacify, by the effuſion of their blood, the wrath of the gods.

After theſe expiations, expreſſes were diſpatched to Hamilcar in Sicily, with the news of what had happened in Africa, and at the ſame time, to requeſt immediate

mediate ſuccours. The deputies were commanded not to mention the victory of Agathocles; but ſpread a contrary report, that he had been entirely defeated, his forces all cut off, and his whole fleet taken by the Carthaginians: and, in confirmation of this report, he ſhewed the irons of the veſſels pretended to be taken, which had been carefully ſent to him. The truth of this report was not at all doubted in Syracuſe: the majority were for capitulating *; when a galley of thirty oars, built in haſte by Agathocles, arrived in the port, and thro' great difficulties and dangers forced its way to the beſieged. The news of Agathocles's victory immediately flew through the city, and reſtored life and reſolution to the inhabitants. Hamilcar made a laſt effort to ſtorm the city, but was beat off with loſs. He then raiſed the ſiege, and ſent five thouſand men to the relief of his diſtreſſed country. (*a*) Some time after, being returned to the ſiege, and hoping to ſurprize the Syracuſans, by attacking them in the night, his deſign was diſcovered; and, falling alive into the enemy's hands, was put to death †. Hamilcar's head was ſent immediately to Agathocles, who, advancing to the enemy's camp, threw it into a general conſternation by ſhewing the head of this general, which manifeſted the melancholy ſituation of their affairs in Sicily.

(*b*) To theſe foreign enemies was joined a domeſtic one, which was more to be feared, as being more

(*a*) Diod. p. 767—769. (*b*) Diod. p. 779—781. Juſtin. l 22. c. 7.

* *And the moſt forward of all the reſt, was Antander the brother of Agathocles, left commander in his abſence; who was ſo terrify'd with the report, that he was eager for having the city ſurrendered; and expelled out of it eight thouſand inhabitants, who were of a contrary opinion.*

† *He was cruelly tortured till he died, and ſo met with the fate which his fellow-citizens, offended at his conduct in Sicily, had probably allotted for him at home. He was too formidable to be attacked at the head of his army, and therefore the votes of the ſenate (whatever they were) being, according to cuſtom, caſt into a veſſel, it was immediately cloſed, with an order not to uncover it, till he was returned, and had thrown up his commiſſion.* Juſtin. l. 22. c. 3.

dangerous

dangerous than the others: this was Bomilcar their general, who was then in poſſeſſion of the firſt employment in Carthage. He had long meditated how to make himſelf tyrant, and attain the ſovereignty of Carthage; and imagined, that the preſent troubles offered him the wiſhed-for opportunity. He therefore entred the city with this ambitious view; when, being ſeconded by a ſmall number of citizens, who were the accomplices of his rebellion, and a body of foreign ſoldiers, he proclaimed himſelf tyrant; and made himſelf literally ſuch, by cutting the throats of all the citizens, whom he met with in the ſtreets. A tumult ariſing immediately in the city, it was at firſt thought that the enemy had taken it by ſome treachery; but when it was known that Bomilcar cauſed all this diſturbance, the young men took up arms to repel the tyrant, and from the tops of the houſes diſcharged whole volleys of darts and ſtones upon the heads of his ſoldiers. When he ſaw an army marching in order againſt him, he retired with his troops to an eminence, with deſign to make a vigorous defence, and to ſell his life as dear as poſſible. To ſpare the blood of the citizens, a general pardon was proclaimed for all who would lay down their arms. They ſurrendered upon this proclamation, and all enjoyed the benefit of it, Bomilcar their chief excepted; for he, notwithſtanding the general indemnity promiſed by oath, was condemned to die, and fixed to a croſs, where he ſuffered the moſt exquiſite torments. From the croſs, as from a roſtrum, he harangued the people; and thought himſelf juſtly impowered to reproach them for their injuſtice, their ingratitude, and perfidy, which he did in a hiſtorical deduction of many illuſtrious generals, whoſe ſervices they had rewarded with an ignominious death. He expired on the croſs amidſt theſe reproaches †.

Agatho-

† *It would ſeem incredible, that any man could ſo far triumph over the pains of the croſs, as to talk with any coherence in his diſcourſe; had not Seneca aſſured us, that ſome have ſo far deſpiſed and inſulted its tortures,*

(c) Agathocles had won over to his intereſt a powerful king of Cyrene, named Ophellas, whoſe ambition he had flattered with the moſt ſplendid hopes, and artful inſinuations, *viz.* by ſaying, that, contenting himſelf with Sicily, he would leave to Ophellas the empire of Africa. But as Agathocles did not ſcruple to commit the moſt horrid crimes, to promote his ambition and intereſt; the credulous prince had no ſooner put himſelf and his army in his power, than, by the blackeſt perfidy, he was murdered by him, in order that Ophellas's army might be entirely at his devotion. Many nations were now joined in alliance with Agathocles, and ſeveral ſtrong-holds had admitted his garriſons. He ſaw the affairs of Africa in a flouriſhing condition, and therefore thought it proper to look after thoſe of Sicily: accordingly he ſailed back thither, and left his African army to the care of his ſon Archagathus. His renown and the report of his victories flew before him. On the news of his arrival in Sicily, many towns revolted to him; but bad news ſoon recalled him to Africa. His abſence had quite changed the face of things; and all his arts and endeavours were incapable of reſtoring them to their former condition. All his ſtrong-holds had ſurrendered to the enemy: the Africans had deſerted him: ſome of his troops were loſt, and the remainder unable to make head againſt the Carthaginians: a circumſtance that was ſtill worſe, he had no way to tranſport them into Sicily, the enemy being maſters at ſea, and himſelf unprovided of ſhips: he could not hope for either peace or treaty with the Barbarians, ſince he had inſulted them in ſo outrageous a manner, by his being the firſt who had dared to make a deſcent in their country. In this extremity, he thought only of providing for his own ſafety. After meeting with a variety of adventures, this baſe deſerter of his army, and perfidious betrayer of his own

(c) Diod. p. 777—779—791—802. Juſtin. l. 22. c. 7, 8.

tortures, that they ſpit contemptuouſly upon the ſpectators. Quidam ex patibulo ſuos ſpectatores conſpuerunt. *De vita beata*, c. 19.

children,

shildren, who were left by him to the wild fury of his disappointed soldiers, stole away from the dangers which hung over him, and arrived at Syracuse with very few persons. His soldiers seeing themselves thus betrayed, murdered his sons, and surrendred to the enemy. Himself died miserably soon after, and ended, by a cruel death †, a life that had been polluted with the blackest crimes.

(*d*) In this period may be placed another incident related by Justin. The fame of Alexander's conquests made the Carthaginians fear, that he, very probably, might think of turning his arms towards Africa. The disastrous fate of Tyre, whence they drew their origin, and which he had so lately destroyed; the building of Alexandria upon the confines of Africa and Egypt, as if he intended it as a rival city to Carthage; the uninterrupted successes of that prince, whose ambition and good fortune were boundless; all this justly alarmed the Carthaginians. To sound his inclinations, Hamilcar, surnamed Rhodanus, pretending to have been drove from his country by the cabals of his enemies, went over to the camp of Alexander, to whom he was introduced by Parmenio, and offered him his services. The king received him graciously, and had several conferences with him. Hamilcar did not fail to transmit to his country, whatever discoveries he made from time to time, of Alexander's designs. Nevertheless, on his return to Carthage, after Alexander's death, he was considered as a betrayer of his country to that prince, and accordingly was put to death by a

(*d*) Justin. l. 21. c. 6.

† *He was poisoned by one Mænon whom he had unnaturally abused. His teeth were putrified by the violence of the poison, and his body tortured all over with the most racking pains. Mænon was excited to this deed by Archagathus, grandson of Agathocles, whom he designed to defeat of the succession, in favour of his other son Agathocles. Before his death, he restored the democracy to the people. It is observable that Justin (or rather Trogus) and Diodorus, disagree in all the material parts of this tyrant's history.*

sentence,

ſentence, which diſplayed equally the ingratitude and cruelty of his countrymen.

(*e*) I am now to ſpeak of the wars of the Carthaginians in Sicily, in the time of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. The Romans, to whom the deſigns of that ambitious prince were not unknown, to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt any attempts he might make upon Italy, had renewed their treaties with the Carthaginians, who, on their ſide, were no leſs afraid of his croſſing into Sicily. To the articles of the preceding treaties, there was added an engagement of mutual aſſiſtance, in caſe either of the contracting powers ſhould be attacked by Pyrrhus.

(*f*) The foreſight of the Romans was very juſt; for Pyrrhus turned his arms againſt Italy, and gained many victories. The Carthaginians, in conſequence of the laſt treaty, thought themſelves obliged to aſſiſt the Romans; and accordingly ſent them a fleet of ſixſcore ſail under the command of Mago. This general, in an audience before the ſenate, ſignified to them the concern his ſuperiors took in the war, which they heard was carrying on againſt the Romans, and offered them their aſſiſtance. The ſenate returned thanks for the obliging offer of the Carthaginians, but at preſent thought fit to decline it.

(*g*) Mago, ſome days after, repaired to Pyrrhus, upon pretence of offering the mediation of Carthage for terminating his quarrel with the Romans; but in reality to ſound him, and diſcover, if poſſible, his deſigns with regard to Sicily, which common fame reported he was going to invade. They were afraid that either Pyrrhus or the Romans would interfere in the affairs of that iſland, and tranſport forces thither for the conqueſt of it. And, indeed, the Syracuſans, who had been beſieged for ſome time by the Carthaginians, had ſent preſſingly for ſuccour to Pyrrhus.

(*e*) Polyb. l. 3. p. 250. Edit. Gronov. A. M. 3727. Carthage, 569. Rome, 471. Ant. J. C. 277. (*f*) Juſtin. l. 18. c. 2. (*g*) Ibid.

This

This prince had a particular reaſon to eſpouſe their intereſts, having married Lanaſſa, daughter of Agathocles, by whom he had a ſon named Alexander. He at laſt ſailed from Tarentum, paſſed the Strait, and arrived in Sicily. His conqueſts at firſt were ſo rapid, that he left the Carthaginians, in the whole iſland, only the ſingle town of Lilybæum. He then laid ſiege to it, but meeting with a vigorous reſiſtance, was obliged to break up; not to mention that the urgent neceſſity of his affairs called him back to Italy, where his preſence was abſolutely neceſſary. Nor was it leſs ſo in Sicily, which, on his departure, returned to the obedience of its former maſters. Thus he loſt this iſland with the ſame rapidity that he had won it. As he was embarking, turning his eyes back to Sicily; (*b*) *What a fine field of battle* †, ſaid he to thoſe about him, *do we leave the Carthaginians and Romans!* His prediction was ſoon verified.

After his departure, the chief publick employment of Syracuſe was conferred on Hiero, who afterwards obtained the name and dignity of king, by the united ſuffrages of the citizens, ſo greatly had his government pleaſed. He was appointed to carry on the war againſt the Carthaginians, and obtained ſeveral advantages over them. But now a common intereſt re-united them againſt a new enemy, who began to appear in Sicily, and juſtly alarmed both: Theſe were the Romans, who, having cruſhed all the enemies which had hitherto exerciſed their arms in Italy itſelf, were now powerful enough to carry them out of it; and to lay the foundation of that vaſt power there, to which they afterwards attained, and of which it was probable they had even then formed the deſign. Sicily lay too com-

(*b*) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 398.

† Οἵαν ἀπολείπομεν, ὦ φίλοι, Καρχηδονίοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις παλαίστραν. *The Greek word is beautiful. Indeed Sicily was a kind of Palæſtra, where the Carthaginians and Romans exerciſed themſelves in war; and for many years ſeemed to play the part of wreſtlers with each other.* The Engliſh language, as well as the French, has no word to expreſs the Greek term.

modious for them, not to form a reſolution of eſtabliſhing themſelves in it. They therefore eagerly ſnatched this opportunity for croſſing into it, which cauſed the rupture between them and the Carthaginians, and gave riſe to the firſt Punic war. This I ſhall treat of more at large, by relating the cauſes of that war.

CHAP. II.

The hiſtory of Carthage, from the firſt Punic war to its deſtruction.

THE plan laid down by me for the proſecution of this hiſtory, does not allow me to enter into an exact detail of the wars between Rome and Carthage; ſince that relates rather to the Roman hiſtory, which I ſhall only tranſiently and occaſionally touch upon. My buſineſs is to relate ſuch facts only, as may give the reader a juſt idea of the republic, whoſe hiſtory lies before me; and this I may do, by confining my ſelf to thoſe particulars which relate chiefly to the Carthaginians, ſuch as their tranſactions in Sicily, Spain, and Africa, which are ſufficiently extenſive.

I have already obſerved, that from the firſt Punic war, to the ruin of Carthage, there were an hundred and eighteen years. This whole time may be divided into five parts or intervals.

I. The firſt Punic war laſted twenty-four years.	24
II. The interval betwixt the firſt and ſecond Punic war, is alſo twenty-four years.	24
III. The ſecond Punic war took up ſeventeen years.	17
IV. The interval between the ſecond and third, is forty-nine years.	49
V. The third Punic war, terminated by the deſtruction of Carthage, continued but four years, and ſome months.	4
	118

ARTI-

ARTICLE I.

The first Punic war.

(*i*) THE first Punic war arose from the following cause. Some Campanian soldiers, in the service of Agathocles, the Sicilian tyrant, having entred as friends into Messina, they soon after murthered part of the townsmen, drove out the rest, married their wives, seized their effects, and remained sole masters of that important city. They then assumed the name of Mamertines. In imitation of them, and by their assistance, a Roman legion treated in the same cruel manner the city of Rhegium, lying directly opposite to Messina, on the other side of the strait. These two perfidious cities, supporting one another, became at last formidable to their neighbours; and especially Messina, which being very powerful, gave great umbrage and uneasiness both to the Syracusans and Carthaginians, who possessed one part of Sicily. After the Romans had got rid of the enemies they had so long contended with, and particularly of Pyrrhus, they began to think it time to call their citizens to account, who had settled themselves, near two years, at Rhegium in so cruel and treacherous a manner. Accordingly, they took the city, and killed, in the attack, the greatest part of the inhabitants, who armed with despair, had fought to the last gasp: three hundred only were left, who were carried to Rome, whipped, and then publickly beheaded in the Forum. The view which the Romans had in making this bloody execution, was, to prove to their allies their own sincerity and innocence. Rhegium was immediately restored to its lawful possessors. The Mamertines, who were considerably weakned, as well by the ruin of their confederate city, as by the losses sustained from the Syracusans, who had lately placed Hiero at their head,

(*i*) Polyb. l. 1. p. 8. Edit. Gronov. A. M. 3724. Rome, 468. Ant. J. C. 280.

thought

thought it time to provide for their own ſafety. But diviſions ariſing among them, one part ſurrendered the citadel to the Carthaginians, whilſt the other called in the Romans to their aſſiſtance, and reſolved to put them in poſſeſſion of their city.

(*k*) The affair was debated in the Roman ſenate, where, being conſidered in all its lights, it appeared to have ſome difficulties. On one hand, it was thought baſe, and altogether unworthy of the Roman virtue, for them to undertake openly the defence of traitors, whoſe perfidy was exactly the ſame with that of the Rhegians, whom the Romans had puniſhed with ſo exemplary a ſeverity. On the other hand, it was of the utmoſt conſequence to ſtop the progreſs of the Carthaginians, who, not ſatisfied with their conqueſts in Africa and Spain, had alſo made themſelves maſters of almoſt all the iſlands of the Sardinian and Hetrurian ſeas; and would certainly get all Sicily into their hands, if they ſhould be ſuffered to poſſeſs themſelves of Meſſina. From thence, into Italy, the paſſage was very ſhort; and it was in ſome manner to invite an enemy to come over, to leave him that entrance open. Theſe reaſons, though ſo ſtrong, could not prevail with the ſenate to declare in favour of the Mamertines; and accordingly, motives of honour and juſtice prevailed over thoſe of intereſt and policy. (*l*) But the people were not ſo ſcrupulous: for, in an aſſembly held on this ſubject, it was reſolved that the Mamertines ſhould be aſſiſted. The conſul Appius Claudius immediately ſet forward with his army, and boldly croſſed the ſtrait, after he had, by an ingenious ſtratagem, eluded the vigilance of the Carthaginian general. The Carthaginians, partly by art and partly by force, were driven out of the citadel; and the city was by this means ſurrendred immediately to the conſul. The Carthaginians hanged their general, for having given up the citadel in ſo cowardly a manner, and prepared

(*k*) Polyb. l. 1. p. 12, 13, 14, 15. Edit. Gronov. (*l*) A. M. 3741. Carthage, 583. Rome, 485. Ant. J. C. 623. Frontin.

to

to beſiege the town with all their forces. Hiero joined them with his own. But the conſul having defeated them ſeparately, raiſed the ſiege, and laid waſte at pleaſure the neighbouring country, the enemy not daring to face him. This was the firſt expedition which the Romans made out of Italy.

It is doubted †, whether the motives which prompted the Romans to undertake this expedition, were very upright, and exactly conformable to the rules of ſtrict juſtice. However this be, their paſſage into Sicily, and the ſuccour they gave to the inhabitants of Meſſina, may be ſaid to have been the firſt ſteps by which they aſcended to that height of glory and grandeur they afterwards attained.

(*m*) Hiero, having reconciled himſelf to the Romans, and entered into an alliance with them, the Carthaginians bent all their thoughts on Sicily, and ſent numerous armies into that iſland. (*n*) Agrigentum was their place of arms, which, being attacked by the Romans, was won by them, after they had beſieged it ſeven months, and gained one battle.

(*o*) Notwithſtanding the advantage of this victory, and the conqueſts of ſo important a city, the Romans ſtill were not ſatisfied. They were ſenſible, that whilſt the Carthaginians ſhould continue maſters at ſea, the maritime places in the iſland would always ſide with them, and put it out of their power ever to drive them out of Sicily. Beſides, they could not with any patience, ſee Africa enjoy a profound tranquillity, at a time that Italy was infeſted by ſo many incurſions of its enemies. They now firſt formed the deſign of having a fleet, and of diſputing the empire of the ſea with the Carthaginians. The undertaking was bold, and in outward appearance raſh; but argued the courage and grandeur of the Roman genius. The Romans

(*m*) Polyb. l. 1. p. 15—19. (*n*) A. M. 3743. Rome, 487. (*o*) Id. pag. 20.

† *The chevalier Folard examines this queſtion in his remarks upon Polybius*, l. 1. p. 16.

were

were not then poſſeſſed of a ſingle veſſel, which they could call their own; and the ſhips which had tranſported their forces into Sicily had been borrowed of their neighbours. They were unexperienced in ſea affairs, had no carpenters for the building of ſhips, and knew nothing of the Quinqueremes or five-oar'd gallies, in which the chief ſtrength of fleets at that time conſiſted. But happily, the year before, one had been taken upon the coaſts of Italy, which ſerved as a model to build others by. The Romans now applied themſelves with ardour and incredible induſtry to the building of ſhips in the ſame form; and in the mean time they got together a ſett of rowers, who were taught an exerciſe and diſcipline utterly unknown to them before, in the following manner. Benches were made, on the ſhore, in the ſame order and faſhion with thoſe of gallies. The rowers were ſeated on theſe benches, and taught, as if they had been furniſhed with oars, to throw themſelves backwards with their arms drawn to their breaſts; and then to throw their bodies and arms forward in one regular motion, the inſtant their commanding officer gave the ſignal. In two months, one hundred five-oar'd, and twenty three-oar'd gallies were built; and after ſome time had been ſpent in exerciſing the rowers on ſhipboard, the fleet put to ſea, and went in queſt of the enemy. The conſul Duillius had the command of it.

(*o*) The Romans coming up with the Carthaginians near the coaſt of Myle, they prepared for an engagement. As the Roman gallies, by their being clumſily and haſtily built, were neither very nimble, nor eaſy to work; this inconvenience was ſupplied by a machine †, invented for this occaſion, and afterwards known by the name of the (*p*) Corvus (*Crow* or *Crane*) by the help of which they grappled the enemy's ſhips, boarded

(*o*) Polyb. l. 1. p. 22. A. M. 3745. Rome, 489. (*p*) Id. p. 31.

† *See the ſeveral ſpecies of this machine in the explanations of the plates of the ſecond part of Vol. XI. of this work, after the Chevalier Folard.*

them,

them, and immediately came to close engagement. The signal for fighting was given. The Carthaginian fleet consisted of an hundred and thirty sail under the command of Hannibal *. He himself was on board a galley of seven benches of oars, which had once belonged to Pyrrhus. The Carthaginians highly despising enemies who were utterly unacquainted with sea-affairs, imagined that their very appearance would put them to flight, and therefore came forward boldly, with little expectation of fighting; but firmly imagining they should reap the spoils, which they had already devoured with their eyes. They were nevertheless a little surprized at the sight of the abovementioned engines, raised on the prow of every one of the enemy's ships, and which was entirely new to them. But their astonishment increased, when they saw these engines drop down at once; and being thrown forcibly into their vessels, grapple them in spite of all resistance. This changed the form of the engagement, and obliged the Carthaginians to come to close engagement with their enemies, as though they had fought them on land. They soon were unable to sustain the attack of the Roman vessels, upon which a horrible slaughter ensued; and the Carthaginians lost fourscore vessels, among which was the admiral's galley, he himself escaping with difficulty in a small boat.

So considerable and unexpected a victory, raised the courage of the Romans, and seemed to redouble their vigour for the continuance of the war. Extraordinary honours were bestowed on Duillius, who was the first Roman that had a naval triumph decreed him. Besides which, a rostral pillar was erected in his honour, with a noble inscription; which pillar is now standing in Rome †.

(*p*) During the two following years, the Romans

(*p*) Id. pag. 24.

* *A different person from the great Hannibal.*

† *These pillars are called* Rostra- tæ, *from the beaks of ships with which they were adorned,* Rostra.

grew

grew insensibly stronger at sea, by their gaining several naval victories. But these were considered by them only as essays preparatory to the great design they meditated of carrying the war into Africa, and of combating the Carthaginians in their own country. There was nothing the latter dreaded more; and to divert so dangerous a blow, they resolved to fight the enemy whatever might be the consequence.

(q) The Romans had elected M. Atilius Regulus, and L. Manlius consuls for this year. Their fleet consisted of three hundred and thirty vessels, on board of which were one hundred and forty thousand men, each vessel having three hundred rowers, and an hundred and twenty soldiers. That of the Carthaginians, commanded by Hanno and Hamilcar, had twenty vessels more than the Romans, and a greater number of men in proportion. The two fleets came in sight of each other near Ecnomus in Sicily. No man could behold two such formidable navies, or be a spectator of the extraordinary preparations they made for fighting, without being under some concern, on seeing the danger which menaced two of the most powerful states in the world. As the courage on both sides was equal, and no great disparity in the forces, the fight was obstinate, and the victory long doubtful; but at last the Carthaginians were overcome. More than sixty of their ships were taken by the enemy, and thirty sunk. The Romans lost twenty-four, not one of which was taken by the Carthaginians.

(r) The fruit of this victory, as the Romans had designed it, was their sailing to Africa, after having refitted their ships, and provided them with all necessaries for carrying on a long war in a foreign country. They landed happily in Africa, and begun the war by taking a town called Clypea, which had a commodious haven. From thence, after having sent an express to Rome, to give advice of their landing, and to

(q) Id. pag. 25. A. M. 3749. Rome 493. (r) Ibid. p. 30.

receive

receive orders from the ſenate, they over-ran the open country, in which they made terrible havock; bringing away whole flocks of cattle, and twenty thouſand priſoners.

(*s*) The expreſs returned in the mean time with the orders of the ſenate, which were, that Regulus ſhould continue to command the armies in Africa, with the title of Proconſul; and that his collegue ſhould return with a great part of the fleet and the forces; leaving Regulus only forty veſſels, fifteen thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe. Their leaving the latter with ſo few ſhips and troops, was a viſible renunciation of the advantages which might have been expected from this deſcent upon Africa.

The people at Rome depended greatly on the courage and abilities of Regulus; and the city was in univerſal joy, when it was known that the was continued in the command in Africa; (*t*) but he himſelf was afflicted on that account. When news was brought him of it, he wrote to Rome, and deſired, in the ſtrongeſt terms, that he might be appointed a ſucceſſor. His chief reaſon was, that the death of the farmer who rented his grounds, having given one of his hirelings an opportunity of carrying off all the implements of tillage; his preſence was neceſſary for taking care of his little ſpot of ground (it being but ſeven acres) which was all his family ſubſiſted upon. But the ſenate undertook to have his lands cultivated at the public expence; to maintain his wife and children; and to indemnify him for the loſs he had ſuſtained by the robbery of his hireling. Thrice happy age! in which poverty was thus had in honour, and was united with the moſt rare and uncommon merit, and the higheſt employments of the ſtate! Regulus, thus freed from his domeſtic cares, bent his whole thoughts on diſcharging the duty of a general.

(*u*) After taking ſeveral caſtles, he laid ſiege to Adis,

(*s*) A. M. 3750. Rome 494.
(*t*) Val. Max. l. 4. c. 4.
(*u*) Polyb. l. 1. p. 31—36.

one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes of the country. The Carthaginians, exaſperated at ſeeing their enemies thus laying waſte their lands at pleaſure, at laſt took the field, and marched againſt them, to force them to raiſe the ſiege. With this view, they poſted themſelves on a hill, which overlooked the Roman camp, and was convenient for annoying the enemy; but at the ſame time, by its ſituation, uſeleſs to one part of their army. For the ſtrength of the Carthaginians lay chiefly in their horſes and elephants, which are of no ſervice but in plains. Regulus did not give them an opportunity of deſcending from the hill; but taking advantage of this eſſential miſtake of the Carthaginian generals, he fell upon them in this poſt; and, after meeting with a feeble reſiſtance, put the enemy to flight, plundered their camp, and laid waſte the adjacent countries. Then, having taken Tunis *, an important city, and which brought him near Carthage, he made his army encamp there.

The enemy were in the utmoſt alarm. All things had ſucceeded ill with them, their forces had been defeated by ſea and land, and upwards of two hundred towns had ſurrendered to the conqueror. Beſides, the Numidians made greater havock in their territories

* *In the interval betwixt the departure of Manlius and the taking of Tunis, we are to place the memorable combat of Regulus and his whole army, with a ſerpent of ſo prodigious a ſize, that the fabulous one of Cadmus is hardly comparable to it. The ſtory of this ſerpent was elegantly writ by Livy, but it is now loſt. Valerius Maximus however partly repairs that loſs; and in the laſt chapter of his firſt book, gives us this account of his monſter from Livy himſelf—— He [Livy] ſays, that on the banks of Bagrada, (an African river) lay a ſerpent of ſo enormous a ſize, that it kept the whole Roman army from coming to the river. Several ſoldiers had been buried in the wide cavierns of its belly, and many preſſed to death in the ſpiral volumes of its tail. Its ſkin was impenetrable to darts; and it was with repeated endeavours that ſtones, flung from military engines, at laſt killed it. The ſerpent then exhibited a ſight that was more terrible to the Roman coherts and legions, than even Carthage itſelf. The ſtreams of the river were dyed with its blood, and the ſtench of its putrified carcaſe infecting the adjacent country, the Roman army was forced to decamp. Its ſkin, one hundred and twenty foot long, was ſent to Rome; and, if Pliny may be credited, was to be ſeen, (together with the jaw-bone of the ſame monſter, in the temple where they were firſt depoſited) as low as the Numantine war.*

than

than even the Romans. They expected every moment to see their capital besieged. And their affliction was increased by the concourse of peasants with their wives and children, who flocked from all parts to Carthage for safety; which gave them melancholy apprehensions of a famine in case of a siege. Regulus, afraid of having the glory of his victories torn from him by a successor, made some proposal of an accommodation to the vanquished enemy; but the conditions appeared so hard, that they could not listen to them. As he did not doubt his being soon master of Carthage, he would not abate any thing in his demands; but, by an infatuation, which is almost inseparable from great and unexpected success, he treated them with haughtiness; and pretended, that every thing he suffered them to possess, ought to be esteemed a favour, with this farther insult, *That they ought either to overcome like brave men, or learn to submit to the victor* *. So harsh and disdainful a treatment only fired their resentment, and made them resolve rather to die sword in hand, than to do any thing which might derogate from the dignity of Carthage.

Reduced to this fatal extremity, they received, in the happiest juncture, a reinforcement of auxiliary troops out of Greece, with Xanthippus the Lacedæmonian at their head, who had been educated in the discipline of Sparta, and learnt the art of war in that renowned and excellent school. When he had heard the circumstances of the last battle, which were told him at his request; clearly discerned the occasion of its loss; and perfectly informed himself in the strength of Carthage; he declared publickly, and repeated it often, in the hearing of the rest of the officers, that the misfortunes of the Carthaginians were owing entirely to the incapacity of their generals. These discourses came at last to the ear of the publick council; the members of it were struck with them, and they requested the

* Δεῖ τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἢ νικᾶν, ἢ εἶκειν τοῖς ὑπερέχουσιν. Diod. Eclog. l. 23. c. 10.

favour of seeing and talking with him. He then corroborated his opinion with such strong and convincing reasons, that the oversights committed by the generals were visible to every one; and he proved as clearly to the council, that, by a conduct opposite to the former, they would not only secure their dominions, but drive the enemy out of them. This speech revived the courage and hopes of the Carthaginians; and Xanthippus was intreated, and, in some measure, forced to accept the command of the army. When the Carthaginians saw, in his exercising of their forces near the city, the manner in which he drew them up in order of battle, made them advance or retreat on the first signal, file off with order and expedition; in a word, form all the evolutions and movements of the military art: they were struck with astonishment, and owned, that the ablest generals which Carthage had hitherto produced, knew nothing in comparison of Xanthippus.

The officers, soldiers, and every one were lost in admiration; and, what is very uncommon, jealousy gave no allay to it; the fear of the present danger, and the love of their country stifling without doubt all other sentiments. The gloomy consternation, which had before seized the whole army, was succeeded by joy and alacrity. The soldiers were urgent to be led against the enemy, in the firm assurance, (as they said) of being victorious under their new leader, and of obliterating the disgrace of former defeats. Xanthippus did not suffer their ardour to cool; and the sight of the enemy only inflamed it. When he was got within little more than twelve hundred paces of them, he thought proper to call a council of war, in order to shew a respect to the Carthaginian generals, by consulting them. All unanimously joined in opinion with him; upon which they resolved to give the enemy battle the following day.

The Carthaginian army was composed of twelve thousand foot, four thousand horse, and about an hundred elephants. That of the Romans, as near as may

be

be gueſſed from what goes before, (for Polybius gives no determinate number) conſiſted of fifteen thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe.

It muſt be a noble ſight to ſee two armies, not overcharged with numbers, but compoſed of brave ſoldiers, and commanded by very able generals, engaged in battle. In thoſe tumultuous fights, where two or three hundred thouſand are engaged on both ſides, confuſion is inevitable; and it is difficult, amidſt a thouſand events, where chance generally ſeems to have the advantage over counſel, to diſcover the true merit of commanders, and the real cauſes of victory. But in ſuch engagements as this before us, nothing eſcapes the curioſity of the reader; for he clearly ſees the diſpoſition of the two armies; imagines he almoſt hears the orders given out by the generals; follows all the movements of the army; diſcovers palpably by that means the faults on both ſides; and is thereby qualified to determine, with certainty, the cauſe to which the victory or defeat are owing. The ſucceſs of this battle, however inconſiderable it may appear, from the ſmall number of the combatants, was nevertheleſs to decide the fate of Carthage.

The diſpoſition of both armies was as follows. Xanthippus drew up all his elephants in front. Behind theſe, at ſome diſtance, he placed the Carthaginian infantry in one body or phalanx. The foreign troops in the Carthaginian ſervice were poſted, one part of them on the right, between the phalanx and the horſe; and the other, compoſed of light-armed ſoldiers, in platoons, at the head of the two wings of the cavalry.

On the ſide of the Romans, as they apprehended the elephants moſt, Regulus, to provide againſt them, poſted his light-armed ſoldiers, on a line, in the front of the legions. In the rear of theſe, he placed the cohorts one behind another, and the horſe on the wings. In thus ſtraitening the front of his main battle, to give it more depth, he indeed took a juſt precaution, ſays Polybius, againſt the elephants; but

he did not provide for the inequality of his cavalry, which was much inferior in numbers to that of the enemy.

The two armies being thus drawn up, waited only for the ſignal. Xanthippus ordered the elephants to advance, to break the ranks of the enemy; and commands the two wings of the cavalry to charge the Romans in flank. At the ſame time, the latter, claſhing their arms, and ſhouting after the manner of their country, advance againſt the enemy. Their cavalry did not ſtand the onſet long, it being ſo much inferior to that of the Carthaginians. The infantry in the left wing, to avoid the attack of the elephants, and ſhew how little they feared the mercenaries who formed the enemy's right wing, attacks it, puts it to flight, and purſues it to the camp. Thoſe in the firſt ranks, who were oppoſed to the elephants, were broke and trod under foot, after fighting valiantly; and the reſt of the main body ſtood firm for ſome time, by reaſon of its great depth. But the rear being attacked in flank by the enemy's cavalry, and obliged to face about and receive it; and thoſe who had broke through the elephants, coming to the phalanx of the Carthaginians, which had not yet engaged, and which received them in good order, the Romans were routed on all ſides, and entirely defeated. The greateſt part of them were cruſhed to death by the enormous weight of the elephants: and the remainder, ſtanding in their ranks, were ſhot through and through with arrows from the enemy's horſe. Only a ſmall number fled; and as they were in an open country, the horſe and elephants killed a great part of them. Five hundred, or thereabouts, who went off with Regulus, were taken priſoners with him. The Carthaginians loſt, in this battle, eight hundred mercenaries, who were oppoſed to the left wing of the Romans; and of the latter only two thouſand eſcaped, who, by their purſuing the enemy's right wing, had drawn themſelves out of the engagement. All the reſt, Regulus and thoſe taken with

him

him excepted, were left dead in the field. The two thouſand, who had eſcaped the ſlaughter, retired to Clypea, and were ſaved in an almoſt miraculous manner.

The Carthaginians, after having ſtripped the dead, entered Carthage in triumph, dragging after them the unfortunate Regulus, and five hundred priſoners. Their joy was ſo much the greater, as, but a very few days before, they had ſeen themſelves upon the brink of ruin. The men and women, old and young people crouded the temples, to return thanks to the immortal gods; and ſeveral days were devoted wholly to feſtivities and rejoicings.

Xanthippus, who had contributed ſo much to this happy change, had the wiſdom to withdraw ſhortly after, from the apprehenſion leſt his glory, which had hitherto been unſullied, might, after this firſt glare of it, inſenſibly fade away, and leave him expoſed to the darts of envy and calumny, which are very dangerous, but moſt in a foreign country, when a man ſtands alone, unſupported by friends, relations, or any other ſuccour.

Polybius tells us, that Xanthippus's departure was related in a different manner, and he promiſes to take notice of it in another place: but that part of his hiſtory has not come down to us. We read in (x) Appian, the Carthaginians, excited by a mean and deteſtable jealouſy of Xanthippus's glory, and unable to bear the thoughts that they ſhould ſtand indebted to Sparta for their ſafety; upon pretence of conducting him, and his attendants, back with honour to his own country, with a numerous convoy of ſhips; they gave private orders to have them all put to death in their paſſage; as if with him they could have buried in the waves for ever the memory of his ſervices, and their horrid ingratitude to him *. This

(x) De Bell. Pun. p. 30.

* *This perfidious action, as it is related by Appian, may poſſibly be true, when we conſider the character of the Carthaginians, who were certainly*

This battle, says (*y*) Polybius, though not so considerable as many others, may yet furnish very salutary instructions; which, adds that author, is the greatest benefit that can be reaped from the study of history.

First, should any man put a great confidence in present happiness, after he has considered the fate of Regulus? That general, insolent with victory, inexorable to the conquered, and deaf to all their remonstrances, saw himself a few days after vanquished by them, and made their prisoner. Hannibal offered the same reflection to Scipio, when he exhorted him not to be dazzled with the success of his arms. Regulus, said he, would have been recorded amongst the few instances of valour and felicity, had he, after the victory obtained in this very country, granted our fathers the peace which they sued for. But putting no bounds to his ambition and the insolence of success, the greater his prosperity the more ignominious was his fall *.

In the second place, the truth of the saying of Euripides is here seen in its full extent, *That one wise head is worth a great many hands* †. A single man here

(*y*) Lib. 1. p. 36, 37.

certainly a cruel and treacherous people. But, if it be fact, one would wonder why Polybius should reserve for another occasion, the relation of an incident, which comes in most properly here, as it finishes at once the character and life of Xanthippus. His silence therefore in this place makes me think, that he intended to bring Xanthippus again upon the stage; and to exhibit him to the reader in a different light from that in which he is placed by Appian. To this let me add, that it shewed no great depth of policy in the Carthaginians, to take this method of dispatching him, when so many others offered, which were less liable to censure. In this scheme form'd for his destruction, not only himself, but all his followers were to be murdered, without the pretence of even a storm, or loss of one single Carthaginian to cover or excuse the perpetration of so horrid a crime.

* Inter pauca felicitatis virtutisque exempla M. Atilius quondam in hac eadem terra fuisset, si victor pacem petentibus dedisset patribus nostris. Sed non statuendo tandem felicitati modum, nec cohibendo efferentem se fortunam, quanto altius elatus erat, eo fœdius corruit. *Liv.* l. 30. n. 30.

† Ὡς ἓν σοφὸν βούλευμα τὰς πόλλας χεῖρας νικᾷ. *It may not be improper to take notice in this place (as it was forgot before) of a mistake of the learned Casaubon, in his translation of a passage of Polybius concerning Xanthippus.*

The

here changes the whole face of affairs. On one hand, he defeats troops which were thought invincible; on the other, he revives the courage of a city and an army, that was seized with astonishment and despair.

Such, as Polybius observes, is the use which ought to be made of the study of history. For there being two ways of acquiring improvement and instruction, first by one's own experience, and secondly by that of other men, it is much more wise and useful to improve by other mens miscarriages than by our own.

I return to Regulus, that I may here finish what relates to him; Polybius, to our great disappointment, taking no farther notice of that general †.

After

The passage is this, Ἐν οἷς καὶ Ξάνθιππον τίνα Λακεδαιμόνιον ἄνδρα τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἀγωγῆς μετεχηκότα, καὶ τριῶν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔχοντα σύμμετρον. *Which is thus rendred by Casaubon.* In queis [militibus sc. Græcia allatis] Xanthippus quidam fuit Lacedæmonius vir disciplina Laconica imbutus, & qui rei militaris usum mediocrem habebat. *Whereas, agreeably with the whole character and conduct of Xanthippus, I take the sense of this passage to be,* a man form'd by the Spartan discipline, and proportionably [*not moderately*] skilful in military affairs.

† *This silence of Polybius, has prejudiced a great many learned men against many of the stories told of Regulus's barbarous treatment, after he was taken by the Carthaginians. Mr. Rollin speaks no farther of this matter, and therefore I shall give my reader the substance of what is brought against the general belief of the Roman writers (as well historians as poets) and of Appian on this subject. First, it is urged that Polybius was very sensible that the story of these cruelties was false; and therefore, that he might not disoblige the Romans, by contradicting so general a belief, he chose rather to be silent on Regulus after he was taken prisoner, than to violate the truth of history, of which he was so strict an observer. This opinion is farther strengthned (say the adversaries of this belief) by a fragment of Diodorus, which says, that the wife of Regulus, exasperated at the death of her husband in Carthage, occasioned, as she imagined, by barbarous usage, persuaded her sons to revenge the fate of their father by the cruel treatment of two Carthaginian captives (thought to be Bostar and Hamilcar taken in the sea-fight against Sicily, after the misfortune of Regulus, and) put into her hands for the redemption of her husband. One of these died by the severity of his imprisonment; and the other, by the care of the senate, who detested the cruelty, survived and was recovered to health. This treatment of the captives, and the resentment of the senate on that account, found a third argument or presumption against the truth of this story of Regulus, which is thus urged. Regulus dying in his captivity by the usual course of nature, his wife,*

(z) After being kept ſome years in priſon, he was ſent to Rome to propoſe an exchange of priſoners. He had been obliged to take an oath that he would return in caſe he proved unſucceſsful. He then acquainted the ſenate with the ſubject of his voyage; and, being invited by them to give his opinion freely, he anſwered, that he could no longer do it as a ſenator, having loſt both this quality, and that of a Roman citizen, from the time that he had fallen into the hands of his enemies: but he did not refuſe to offer his thoughts as a private perſon. This was a very delicate affair. Every one was touched with the misfortunes of ſo great a man. He needed only, ſays Cicero, have ſpoke one word, and it would have reſtored him to his liberty, his eſtate, his dignity, his wife, his children, and his country: but that word appeared to him contrary to the honour and welfare of the ſtate. He therefore plainly declared, that an exchange of priſoners ought not to be ſo much as thought of: that ſuch an example would be of fatal conſequence to the republic: that citizens, who had ſo baſely ſurrendered their arms and perſons to the enemy, were unworthy of the leaſt compaſſion, and rendred incapable of ſerving their country: that with regard to himſelf, as he was ſo far advanced in years, his death ought to be conſidered as nothing; whereas they had in their hands ſeveral Carthaginian generals, in the flower of their age, and capable of doing their country great ſervices for many years. It

(z) Appian. de Bello Pun. p. 2, 3. Cic. de Off. l. 3. n. 99, 100. Aul. Gel. l. 6. c. 4. Senec. Ep. 99. A. M. 3755. Rome, 499.

thus fruſtrated of her hopes of the redeeming him by exchange of her captives, treated them with the utmoſt barbarity, in conſequence of her belief of the ill uſage which Regulus had received. The ſenate being angry with her for it, to give ſome colour to her cruelties, ſhe gave out among her acquaintance and kindred, that her huſband died in the way generally related. This, like all other reports, increaſed gradually: and, from the national hatred betwixt the Carthaginians and Romans, was eaſily and generally believed by the latter. How far this is concluſive againſt the teſtimonies of two ſuch weighty authors as Cicero and Seneca (to ſay nothing of the poets) is left to the judgment of the reader.

was

was with difficulty that the ſenate comply'd with ſo generous and unexampled a counſel. (*a*) The illuſtrious exile therefore left Rome, in order to return to Carthage; unmoved either with the deep affliction of his friends, or the tears of his wife and children, although he knew but too well the grievous torments which were prepared for him. And indeed, the moment his enemies ſaw him returned, without having obtained the exchange of priſoners, they put him to every kind of torture their barbarous cruelty could invent. They impriſoned him for a long time in a diſmal dungeon, whence (after cutting off his eye-lids) they drew him at once into the ſun, when its beams darted the ſtrongeſt heat. They next put him into a kind of cheſt ſtuck full of nails, whoſe points wounding him, did not allow him a moment's eaſe either day or night. Laſtly, after having been long tormented by being kept for ever awake in this dreadful torture, his mercileſs enemies nailed him to a croſs, their uſual puniſhment, and left him to expire on it. Such was the end of this great man. His enemies, by depriving him of ſome days, perhaps years of life, brought eternal infamy on themſelves.

(*b*) The blow which the Romans had received in Africa did not diſcourage them. They made greater preparations than before, to recover their loſs; and put to ſea, the following campaign, three hundred and ſixty veſſels. The Carthaginians ſailed out to meet them with two hundred; but were beat in an engagement fought on the coaſts of Sicily, and an hundred and fourteen of their ſhips were taken by the Romans. Theſe ſailed into Africa to take in the few ſoldiers who had eſcaped the purſuit of the enemy, after the defeat of Regulus; and had defended themſelves vigorouſly in † Clupea, where they had been unſucceſsfully beſieged.

Here we are again aſtoniſhed that the Romans, after

(*a*) Horat. l. 3. Od. 3.

(*b*) Polyb. l. 8. p. 37.

† *Or Clypea.*

ſo

ſo conſiderable a victory, and with ſo large a fleet, ſhould ſail into Africa, only to bring from thence a ſmall garriſon; whereas, they might have attempted the conqueſt of it, ſince Regulus, with much fewer forces, had almoſt compleated it.

(*c*) The Romans were overtaken by a ſtorm in their return, which almoſt deſtroyed their whole fleet. (*d*) The like misfortune befell them alſo the following year. However, they conſol'd themſelves for this double loſs, by a victory which they gained over Aſdrubal, from whom they took near an hundred and forty elephants. This news being brought to Rome, it filled the whole city with joy, not only becauſe the ſtrength of the enemy's army was conſiderably diminiſhed by the loſs of their elephants; but chiefly becauſe this victory had inſpired the land forces with freſh courage; which from the defeat of Regulus, had not dared to venture upon an engagement; ſo great was the terror with which thoſe formidable animals had filled the minds of all the ſoldiers. It was therefore judged proper to make a greater effort than ever, in order to finiſh, if poſſible, a war which had continued fourteen years. The two conſuls ſet ſail with a fleet of two hundred ſhips, and arriving in Sicily, formed the bold deſign of beſieging Lilybæum. This was the ſtrongeſt town which the Carthaginians poſſeſſed in that iſland; and the loſs of it would be attended with that of every part of it, and open to the Romans a free paſſage into Africa.

(*e*) The reader will ſuppoſe, that the utmoſt ardour was ſhown, both in the aſſault and defence of the place. Imilcon was governor there, with ten thouſand regular forces, excluſive of the inhabitants; and Hannibal, the ſon of Hamilcar, ſoon brought him as many more from Carthage; he having, with the moſt intrepid courage, forced his way through the enemy's fleet, and arrived happily in the port. The Romans

(*c*) Pag. 38—40. (*d*) Pag. 41, 42. (*e*) Polyb. l. 1. p. 44—50.

had

had not loſt any time. Having brought forward their engines, they beat down ſeveral towers with their battering rams; and gaining ground daily, they made ſuch progreſs, as gave the beſieged, who now were cloſely preſſed, ſome fears. The governor ſaw plainly that there was no other way left to ſave the city, but by firing the engines of the beſiegers. Having therefore prepared his forces for this enterprize, he ſent them out at day-break with torches in their hands, tow, and all kinds of combuſtible matters; and at the ſame time attacked all the engines. The Romans ſtrove with unparallelled bravery, to repel them, and the engagement was very bloody. Every man, aſſailant as well as defendant, ſtood to his poſt, and choſe to die, rather than quit it. At laſt, after a long reſiſtance, and dreadful ſlaughter, the beſieged ſounded a retreat, and left the Romans in poſſeſſion of their works. This ſcene being over, Hannibal, embarking in the night, and concealing his departure from the enemy, ſailed for Drepanum, where Adherbal commanded for the Carthaginians. Drepanum was advantageouſly ſituated; having a commodious port, and lying about an hundred and twenty furlongs from Lilybæum; and was of ſo much conſequence to the Carthaginians, that they had been always very deſirous of preſerving it.

The Romans, animated by their late ſucceſs, renewed the attack with greater vigour than ever; the beſieged not daring to venture a ſecond time to burn their machines, becauſe of the ill ſucceſs they had met in their firſt attempt. But a furious wind riſing ſuddenly, ſome mercenary ſoldiers repreſented to the governor, that now was the favourable opportunity for them to fire the engines of the beſiegers, eſpecially as the wind blew full againſt them; and they offered themſelves for the enterprize. The offer was accepted, and accordingly they were furniſhed with every thing neceſſary. In a moment the fire catched all the engines; and the Romans could not poſſibly extinguiſh it, becauſe the flames being inſtantly ſpread every

where, the wind carried the ſparks and ſmoke full in their eyes, ſo that they could not ſee where to apply relief; whereas their enemies ſaw clearly where to aim their ſtrokes, and throw their fire. This accident made the Romans loſe all hopes of being ever able to carry the place by force. They therefore turned the ſiege into a blockade; raiſed a line of contravallation round the town; and diſperſing their army in every part of the neighbourhood, reſolved to effect, by time, what they found themſelves abſolutely unable to perform any other way.

(*f*) When the tranſactions of the ſiege of Lilybæum, and the loſs of part of the forces were known at Rome, the citizens, ſo far from deſponding at this ill news, ſeemed to be fired with new vigour. Every man ſtrove to be foremoſt in the muſter-roll; ſo that in a very little time, an army of ten thouſand men was raiſed, who croſſing the ſtrait, marched by land to join the beſiegers.

(*g*) At the ſame time, P. Claudius Pulcher the conſul, formed a deſign of attacking Adherbal in Drepanum. He thought himſelf ſure of ſurprizing him, becauſe, after the loſs lately ſuſtained by the Romans at Lilybæum, the enemy could not imagine that they would venture out again at ſea. Fluſhed with theſe hopes, he ſailed out with his fleet in the night, the better to conceal his deſign. But he had to do with an active general, whoſe vigilance he could not elude, and who did not even give him time to draw up his ſhips in line of battle, but fell vigorouſly upon him whilſt his fleet was in diſorder and confuſion. The Carthaginians gained a compleat victory. Of the Roman fleet, only thirty veſſels got off, which being in company with the conſul, fled with him, and got away in the beſt manner they could along the coaſt. All the reſt, amounting to fourſcore and thirteen, with the men on board them, were taken by the Carthaginians; a few ſoldiers excepted, who had eſcaped from

(*f*) Pag. 50. (g) Pag. 51. A. M. 3756. Rome, 500.

the

the ſhipwreck of their veſſels. This victory diſplayed as much the prudence and valour of Adherbal, as it reflected ſhame and ignominy on the Roman conſul.

(*h*) Junius, his collegue, was neither more prudent nor more fortunate than himſelf, but loſt almoſt his whole fleet by his ill conduct. Endeavouring to atone for his misfortune by ſome conſiderable action, he held a ſecret intelligence with the inhabitants of Eryx †, and by that means got the city ſurrendred to him. On the ſummit of the mountain ſtood the temple of Venus Erycina, which was certainly the moſt beautiful as well as the richeſt of all the Sicilian temples. The city ſtood a little below the ſummit of this mountain, and the road that led to it was very long, and of difficult acceſs. Junius poſted one part of his troops upon the top, and the remainder at the foot of the mountain, imagining that he now had nothing to fear; but Hamilcar, ſurnamed Barcha, father of the famous Hannibal, found means to get into the city, which lay between the two camps of the enemy, and there fortified himſelf. From this advantageous poſt, he harraſſed the Romans inceſſantly for two years. One can ſcarce conceive how it was poſſible for the Carthaginians to defend themſelves, when thus attacked from both the ſummit and foot of the mountain; and unable to get proviſions, but from a little port, which was the only one open to them. By ſuch enterprizes as theſe, the abilities and prudent courage of a general, are as well, or perhaps better diſcovered, than by the winning of a battle.

(*i*) For five years, nothing memorable was performed on either ſide. The Romans were once of opinion, that their land-forces would alone be capable of finiſhing the ſiege of Lilybæum: but the war being protracted beyond their expectation, they returned to their firſt plan, and made extraordinary efforts to fit out a new fleet. The publick treaſury was at a low

(*h*) Polyb. l. 1. p. 54—59. (*i*) Id. p. 59—62.

† *A city and mountain of Sicily.*

ebb;

ebb; but this want was ſupplied by private purſes; ſo ardent was the love which the Romans bore their country. Every man, according to his circumſtances, contributed to the common expence; and, upon publick ſecurity, advanced money, without the leaſt ſcruple, for an expedition on which the glory and ſafety of Rome depended. One man fitted out a ſhip at his own charge; another was equipped by the contributions of two or three; ſo that, in a very little time, two hundred were ready for ſailing. (*k*) The command was given to Lutatius the conſul, who immediately put to ſea. The enemy's fleet had retired into Africa, by which means the conſul eaſily ſeized upon all the advantageous poſts in the neighbourhood of Lilybæum, and, foreſeeing that he ſhould ſoon be forced to fight, he did all that lay in his power, to aſſure himſelf of ſucceſs; and employed the interval of exerciſing his ſoldiers and ſeamen at ſea.

He was ſoon informed that the Carthaginian fleet drew near, under the command of Hanno, who landed in a ſmall iſland called Hiera, oppoſite to Depranum. His deſign was to reach Eryx undiſcovered by the Romans, in order to ſupply the army there; and to reinforce his troops, and take Barcha on board to aſſiſt him in the expected engagement. But the conſul, ſuſpecting his intention, was beforehand with him; and having aſſembled all his beſt forces, ſailed for the ſmall iſland * Æguſa, which lay near the other. He acquainted his officers with the deſign he had of attacking the enemy on the morrow. Accordingly, at daybreak, he put all things in readineſs, when unfortunately the wind was favourable to the enemy, which made him heſitate whether he ſhould give them battle. But conſidering that the Carthaginian fleet, when unloaded of its proviſions, would become lighter and more fit for action; and, beſides, would be conſiderably ſtrengthned by the forces and preſence of Bar-

(*k*) A. M. 3763. Rome, 507.

* *They are now called Ægates.*

cha,

cha, he came to a reſolution at once; and, notwithſtanding the foul weather, made directly to the enemy. The conſul had choice forces, able ſeamen, and excellent ſhips, built after the model of a galley that had been lately taken from the enemy; and which was the compleateſt in its kind, that had ever been ſeen. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, were deſtitute of all theſe advantages. As they had been the entire maſters at ſea for ſome years, and the Romans did not once dare to face them, they had them in the higheſt contempt, and looked upon themſelves as invincible. On the firſt report of the motion of the enemy, the Carthaginians had put to ſea a fleet fitted out in haſte, as appeared from every circumſtance of it: the ſoldiers and ſeamen being all mercenaries, newly levied, without the leaſt experience, reſolution, or zeal, ſince it was not for their own country they were going to fight. This ſoon appeared in the engagement. They could not ſuſtain the firſt attack. Fifty of their veſſels were ſunk, and ſeventy taken with their whole crews. The reſt, favoured by a wind which roſe very ſeaſonably for them, made the beſt of their way to the little iſland from whence they had ſailed. There were upwards of ten thouſand taken priſoners. The conſul ſailed immediately for Lilybæum, and joined his forces to thoſe of the beſiegers.

When the news of this defeat arrived at Carthage, it occaſioned ſo much the greater ſurprize and terror, as it was leſs expected. The ſenate however did not loſe their courage, though they ſaw themſelves quite unable to continue the war. As the Romans were now maſters of the ſea, it was not poſſible for the Carthaginians to ſend either proviſions, or reinforcements to the armies in Sicily. An expreſs was therefore immediately diſpatched to Barcha the general there, impowering him to act as he ſhould think proper. Barcha, ſo long as he had room to entertain the leaſt hopes, had done every thing that could be expected from the moſt intrepid courage and the moſt con-

conſummate wiſdom. But having now no reſſource left, he ſent a deputation to the conſul, in order to treat about a peace. Prudence, ſays Polybius, conſiſts in knowing how to reſiſt and yield at a ſeaſonable juncture. Lutatius was not inſenſible how tired the Romans were grown of a war, which had exhauſted them both of men and money; and the dreadful conſequences which had attended on Regulus's inexorable and imprudent obſtinacy, were freſh in their memories. He therefore complied without difficulty, and dictated the following treaty.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE BETWEEN ROME AND CARTHAGE, (IN CASE THE ROMAN PEOPLE APPROVE OF IT) ON THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS: THE CARTHAGINIANS SHALL EVACUATE ENTIRELY ALL SICILY; SHALL NO LONGER MAKE WAR UPON HIERO, THE SYRACUSANS, OR THEIR ALLIES: THEY SHALL RESTORE TO THE ROMANS, WITHOUT RANSOM, ALL THE PRISONERS WHICH THEY HAVE TAKEN FROM THEM; AND PAY THEM, WITHIN TWENTY YEARS, * TWO THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED EUBOIC TALENTS OF SILVER †. It is worth the reader's remarking by the way, the exact and clear terms in which this treaty is expreſſed; that in ſo ſhort a compaſs, adjuſts the intereſts both by ſea and land, of two powerful republics and their allies.

When theſe conditions were brought to Rome, the people, not approving of them, ſent ten commiſſioners to Sicily, to terminate the affair. (*l*) Theſe made no alteration as to the ſubſtance of the treaty; only ſhortning the time appointed for the payment, reducing it to ten years: A thouſand talents were added to the ſum that has been ſtipulated, which was to be paid immediately; and the Carthaginians were required to depart out of all the iſlands, ſituated between Italy

(*l*) Polyb. l. 3. p. 182.

* *This ſum amounts to near ſix millions, one hundred and eighty thouſand French livres.*

† 515,000 *l. Engliſh money.*

and

and Sicily. Sardinia was not comprehended in this treaty, but they gave it up, ſome years after, by a treaty.

(*m*) Such was the concluſion of this war, the longeſt mentioned in hiſtory, ſince it continued twenty-four years without intermiſſion. The obſtinacy, in diſputing for empire, was equal on either ſide: The ſame reſolution, the ſame greatneſs of ſoul, in forming as well as in executing of projects, being conſpicuous on both ſides. The Carthaginians had the ſuperiority over them with regard to experience in naval affairs; in the ſtrength and ſwiftneſs of their veſſels; the working of them; the ſkill and capacity of their pilots; the knowledge of coaſts, ſhallows, roads and winds; and in the inexhauſtible fund of wealth, which furniſhed all the expences of ſo long and obſtinate a war. The Romans had none of theſe advantages; but their courage, zeal for the publick good, love of their country, and a noble emulation of glory, ſupplied all of them. We are aſtoniſhed to ſee a nation, ſo raw and inexperienced in naval affairs, not only diſputing the ſea with a people, who were beſt ſkilled in them, and more powerful than any that had ever been before; but even gaining ſeveral victories over them at ſea. No difficulties or calamities could diſcourage them. They certainly would not have thought of peace, in the circumſtances in which the Carthaginians demanded it. One unfortunate campaign diſpirits the latter; whereas the Romans are not ſhaken by a ſucceſſion of them.

As to ſoldiers, though there was no compariſon between thoſe of Rome and Carthage, the former being infinitely ſuperior in point of courage; among the generals who commanded in this war, Hamilcar, ſurnamed Barcha, was doubtleſs the moſt conſpicuous for his bravery and prudence.

(*m*) A. M. 3763. Carthage 605. Rome 507. Ant. J. C. 241.

The

The Libyan war; or againſt the Mercenaries.

(*n*) The war which the Carthaginians waged againſt the Romans, was * ſucceeded immediately by another the very ſame year, which, though of much ſhorter continuance, was infinitely more dangerous; as it was carried on in the very heart of the republic, and attended with ſuch cruelty and barbarity, as is ſcarce to be parallelled in hiſtory; I mean the war which the Carthaginians were obliged to ſuſtain againſt their mercenary troops, who had ſerved under them in Sicily, and commonly called the African or Libyan war †. It continued only three years and a half, but was a very bloody one. The occaſion of it was this:

(*o*) As ſoon as the treaty was concluded with the Romans, Hamilcar, having carried to Lilybæum the forces which were in Eryx, reſigned his commiſſion; and left to Giſgo, governour of the place, the care of tranſporting theſe forces into Africa. Giſgo, as tho' he had foreſeen what would happen, did not ſhip them all off at once, but in ſmall and ſeparate parties; in order that thoſe who came firſt might be paid off, and ſent home, before the arrival of the reſt. This conduct ſhowed great forecaſt and wiſdom, but was not ſeconded equally at Carthage. As the republic was drained by the expence of a long war, and the paying near three millions to the Romans on ſigning the peace, the forces were not paid off in proportion as they arrived; but it was thought proper to wait for the reſt, in the hopes of obtaining from them (when they ſhould be altogether) a remiſſion of ſome part of their arrears. This was the firſt overſight.

Here the genius of a ſtate compoſed of merchants diſcovers itſelf, who know the full value of money, but not the merit of ſoldiers; who make a traffick of their blood, as though they were goods, and always go to the cheapeſt market. In ſuch a republic, when an

(*n*) Polyb. l. 1. p. 65—89.

* *The ſame year that the firſt Punic war ended.*

(*o*) Polyb. l. 1. p. 66.

† *And ſometimes* ξενικὸν, *or the war with the Mercenaries.*

exigency

exigency is once anſwered, the merit of ſervices is no longer remembred.

Theſe ſoldiers, moſt of whom came to Carthage, being long accuſtomed to a licentious life, cauſed great diſturbances in the city; to remedy which, it was propoſed to their officers, to march them all to a little neighbouring town called Sicca, and there ſupply them with whatever was neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, till the arrival of the reſt of their companions; and that then they ſhould all be paid off, and ſent home. This was a ſecond overſight.

A third was, the refuſing to let them leave their baggage, their wives and children in Carthage, as they deſired; and the forcing them to remove theſe to Sicca; whereas, had they ſtaid in Carthage, they would have been in a manner ſo many hoſtages.

Being all met together at Sicca, they began (having little elſe to do) to compute the arrears of their pay, which they made much more than was really due to them. To this computation, they added the mighty promiſes which had been made them, at different times, as an encouragement for them to do their duty; and pretended that theſe likewiſe ought to be placed to account. Hanno, who was then governour of Africa, and had been ſent to them from the magiſtrates of Carthage, propoſed to theſe ſoldiers ſome remiſſion of their arrears; and deſired that they would content themſelves with receiving a part, becauſe of the great diſtreſs to which the commonwealth was reduced, and its preſent unhappy circumſtances. The reader will eaſily gueſs how ſuch a propoſal was received. Complaints, murmurs, ſeditious and inſolent clamours were every where heard. Theſe troops being compoſed of different nations, who were ſtrangers to one another's language, were incapable of hearing reaſon, when they once mutinied. Spaniards, Gauls, Ligurians; inhabitants of the Balearian iſles; Greeks, the greateſt part of them ſlaves or deſerters, and a very great number

ber of Africans, compoſed theſe mercenary forces. But now, tranſported with rage, they immediately break up, march towards Carthage, (being upwards of twenty thouſand) and encamp at Tunis, not far from that metropolis.

The Carthaginians diſcovered too late their error. There was no compliance, how groveling ſoever, to which they did not ſtoop, to ſooth theſe exaſperated ſoldiers; who, on their ſide, practiſed every knaviſh art which could be thought of, in order to extort money from them. When one point was gained, they immediately had recourſe to a new artifice, on which to ground ſome new demand. Was their pay ſettled beyond the agreement made with them, they ſtill would be reimburſed for the loſſes which they pretended to have ſuſtained either by the death of horſes; by the exceſſive price which at certain times they had paid for bread-corn; and ſtill inſiſted on the recompence which had been promiſed them. As nothing could be fixed, the Carthaginians, with great difficulty, prevailed on them to refer themſelves to the opinion of ſome general who had commanded in Sicily. Accordingly they pitched upon Giſgo, who had always been very acceptable to them. This general harangued them in a mild and inſinuating manner; recalled to their memories the long time they had been in the Carthaginian ſervice; the conſiderable ſums they had received from the republic; and granted almoſt all their demands.

The treaty was upon the point of being concluded, when two mutineers occaſioned a tumult in every part of the camp. One of theſe was Spendius a Capuan, who had been a ſlave at Rome, and fled to the Carthaginians. He was a tall, luſty, and extremely bold fellow. The fear he was under, of falling into the hands of his old maſter, by whom he was ſure to be hanged, (as was the cuſtom) prompted him to break off the accommodation. He was ſeconded by one Matho,

tho *, who had been very active in forming the conſpiracy. Theſe two repreſented to the Africans, that the inſtant after their companions ſhould be diſcharged and ſent home, they, being thus left alone in their own country, would fall a ſacrifice to the rage of the Carthaginians, who would take vengeance upon them for the common rebellion. This was ſufficient to raiſe them to fury. They immediately made choice of Spendius and Matho for their chiefs. No remonſtrances were heard; and whoever offered to make any was immediately put to death. They ran to Giſgo's tent, plundered it of the money deſigned for the payment of the forces; dragged even that general himſelf to priſon, with all his attendants; after having treated them with the utmoſt indignities. All the cities of Africa, to whom they had ſent deputies, to exhort them to recover their liberty, came over to them, Utica and Hippacra excepted, which they therefore beſieged.

Carthage had never been before expoſed to ſuch imminent danger. The citizens of it, to a man, drew their particular ſubſiſtence from the rents or revenues of their lands, and the publick expences from the tribute paid from Africa. But all this was ſtopped at once; and, (a much worſe circumſtance) was turned againſt them. They found themſelves deſtitute of arms and forces either for ſea or land; of all neceſſary preparations either for the ſuſtaining of a ſiege, or the equipping of a fleet; and, to compleat their misfortunes, without any hopes of foreign aſſiſtance, either from their friends or allies.

They might in ſome ſenſe accuſe themſelves for the diſtreſs to which they were reduced. During the laſt

* *Matho was an African, and free born; but as he had been active in raiſing the rebellion, an accommodation would have ruined him. He therefore, deſpairing of a pardon, embraced the intereſts of Spendius with more zeal than any of the rebels; and firſt inſinuated to the Africans, the danger of concluding a peace, as this would leave them alone and expoſed to the rage of their old maſters.* Polyb. p. 98. Edit. Gronov.

war,

war, they had treated the African nations with the utmoſt rigour, by impoſing exceſſive tributes on them, in the exaction of which, no allowance was made for poverty or extreme miſery: and governours, ſuch as Hanno, were treated with the greater reſpect, the more ſevere they had been in levying thoſe tributes. So that theſe Africans were eaſily prevailed upon to engage in this rebellion. At the very firſt ſignal that was made, it broke out, and in a moment became general. The women, who had often, with the deepeſt affliction, ſeen their huſbands and fathers dragged to priſon for non-payment, were more exaſperated than the men; and with pleaſure gave up all their ornaments towards the expences of the war; ſo that the chiefs of the rebels, after paying all they had promiſed the ſoldiers, found themſelves ſtill in the midſt of plenty. An inſtructive leſſon, ſays Polybius, to miniſters; as it teaches them to look, not only to the preſent occaſion, but to extend their views to futurity.

The Carthaginians, notwithſtanding their preſent diſtreſs, did not deſpond, but made the moſt extraordinary efforts for their defence. The command of the army was given to Hanno. Troops were levied by land and ſea; horſe as well as foot. All citizens, capable of bearing arms, were muſtered: Mercenaries were invited from all parts; and all the ſhips which the republic had left were refitted.

The rebels diſcovered no leſs ardor. We related before, that they had beſieged two cities which refuſed to join them. Their army was now increaſed to ſeventy thouſand men. After detachments had been drawn from it to carry on thoſe ſieges, they pitched their camp at Tunis, and thereby held Carthage in a kind of blockade; filling it with perpetual alarms, and advancing up to its very walls by day as well as by night.

Hanno had marched to the relief of Utica, and gained a conſiderable advantage, which, had he made a proper uſe of, might have proved deciſive: But entring

tring the city, and only diverting himself there, the mercenaries, who were posted on a neighbouring hill covered with trees, hearing how careless the enemy were, poured down upon them; found the soldiers every where off their duty; took and plundered the camp, and seized upon all the provisions, &c. brought from Carthage to succour the besieged. Nor was this the only error committed by Hanno; and errors, on such occasions, are much the most fatal. Hamilcar, surnamed Barcha, was therefore appointed to succeed him. This general answered the idea which had been entertained of him; and his first success was the obliging the rebels to raise the siege of Utica. He then marched against their army which was incamped near Carthage; defeated part of it, and seized almost all their advantageous posts. These successes revived the courage of the Carthaginians.

The arrival of a young Numidian nobleman, Naravasus by name, who, out of his esteem for the person and merit of Barcha, joined him with two thousand Numidians, was of great service to that general. Animated by this reinforcement, he fell upon the rebels, who had inclosed him in a valley; killed ten thousand of them, and took four thousand prisoners. The young Numidian distinguished himself greatly in this battle. Barcha took into his troops, as many of the prisoners as were desirous of being inlisted, and gave the rest free liberty to go wherever they pleased, on condition that they should never take up arms any more against the Carthaginians; otherwise, that every man of them who was taken, should be put to death. This conduct proves the wisdom of that general. He thought this a better expedient than extreme severity. And indeed where a multitude of mutineers are concerned, the greatest part of whom were drawn in by the persuasions of the most hot-headed, or through fear of the most furious, clemency seldom fails of being successful.

Spendius, the chief of the rebels, fearing that this

affected lenity of Barcha might occasion a defection among his troops, thought the only expedient left him to prevent it, would be, to put them upon some signal action, in order to deprive them of all hopes of being ever reconciled to the enemy. With this view, after having read to them some fictitious letters, by which advice was given him, of a secret design concerted betwixt some of their comrades and Gisgo, for the rescuing him out of prison, where he had been so long detained; he brought them to the barbarous resolution, of murdering him and all the rest of the prisoners; and any man, who durst offer any milder counsel, was immediately sacrificed to their fury. Accordingly, this unfortunate general, and seven hundred prisoners, who were confined with him, were brought out to the head of the camp, where Gisgo fell the first sacrifice, and afterwards all the rest. Their hands were cut off, their thighs broke, and their bodies, still breathing, were thrown into a hole. The Carthaginians sent a herald to demand their remains, in order to pay them the last sad office, but were refused; and the herald was further told, that whoever presumed to come upon the like errand, should meet with Gisgo's fate. And indeed, the rebels immediately came to this unanimous resolution, *viz.* to treat all such Carthaginians as should fall into their hands in the same barbarous manner; and decreed farther, that if any of their allies were taken, they should, after their hands were cut off, be sent back to Carthage. This bloody resolution was but too punctually executed.

The Carthaginians were now just beginning to breathe, as it were, and recover their spirits, when a number of unlucky accidents plunged them again into fresh dangers. A division arose among their generals; and the provisions, of which they were in extreme necessity, coming to them by sea, were all cast away in a storm. But their most grievous misfortune was, the sudden defection of the two only cities, which till then had preserved their allegiance, and in all times adhered

hered inviolably to the commonwealth. Theſe were Utica and Hippacra. Theſe cities, without the leaſt reaſon, or even ſo much as a pretence, went over at once to the rebels; and, tranſported with the like rage and fury, murdered the governour, with the garriſon ſent to their relief; and carried their inhumanity ſo far, as to refuſe their dead bodies to the Carthaginians, who demanded them back in order for burial.

The rebels, animated by ſo much ſucceſs, laid ſiege to Carthage, but were obliged immediately to raiſe it. They nevertheleſs continued the war. Having drawn together, into one body, all their own troops and thoſe of the allies, (making upwards of fifty thouſand men in all) they watched the motions of Hamilcar's army, but carefully kept their own on the hills; and avoided coming down into the plains, becauſe the enemy would there have been ſo much ſuperior to them, on account of their elephants and horſes. Hamilcar, more ſkilful in the art of war than they, never expoſed himſelf to any of their attacks; but taking advantage of their overſights, often diſpoſſeſſed them of their poſts, if their ſoldiers ſtraggled but ever ſo little; and harraſſed them a thouſand ways. Such of them as fell into his hands, were thrown to wild beaſts. At laſt, he ſurprized them at a time when they leaſt expected it, and ſhut them up in a poſt which was ſo ſituated, that it was impoſſible for them to get out of it. Not daring to venture a battle, and being unable to get off, they began to fortify their camp, and ſurround it with ditches and intrenchments. But an enemy within themſelves, and which was much more formidable, had reduced them to the greateſt extremity: This was hunger, which was ſo raging, that they at laſt eat one another; divine providence, ſays Polybius, thus revenging upon themſelves the barbarous cruelty they had exerciſed on others. They now had no reſſource left, and knew but too well the puniſhments which would be inflicted on them, in caſe they ſhould fall alive into the hands of the enemy. After

ſuch bloody ſcenes as had been acted by them, they did not ſo much as think of peace, or of coming to an accommodation. They had ſent to their forces encamped at Tunis for aſſiſtance, but with no ſucceſs. In the mean time the famine increaſed daily. They had firſt eat their priſoners, then their ſlaves; and now their fellow-citizens only were left to be devoured. Their chiefs, now no longer able to reſiſt the complaints and cries of the multitude, who threatned to cut all their throats, if they did not ſurrender, went themſelves to Hamilcar, after having obtained a ſafe-conduct from him. The conditions of the treaty were, that the Carthaginians ſhould ſelect any ten of the rebels, to treat them as they ſhould think fit, and that the reſt ſhould be diſmiſſed with only one ſuit of clothes for each. When the treaty was ſigned, the chiefs themſelves were arreſted, and detained by the Carthaginians, who, plainly ſhowed, on this occaſion, that they were not over ſcrupulous in point of honeſty. The rebels, hearing that their chiefs were ſeized, and knowing nothing of the convention, ſuſpected that they were betrayed, and thereupon immediately took up arms. But Hamilcar, having ſurrounded them, brought forward his elephants; and either trod them all under foot, or cut them to pieces, they being upwards of forty thouſand.

The conſequence of this victory was, the reduction of almoſt all the cities of Africa, which immediately returned to their allegiance. Hamilcar, without loſs of time, marched againſt Tunis, which, ever ſince the beginning of the war had been the aſylum of the rebels, and their place of arms. He inveſted it on one ſide, whilſt Hannibal, who was joined in the command with him, beſieged it on the other. Then advancing near the walls, and ordering croſſes to be ſet up, he hung Spendius on one of them, and his companions who had been ſeized with him on the reſt, where they all expired. Matho, the other chief, who commanded in the city, ſaw plainly by this what he himſelf

ſelf might expect; and for that reaſon was much more attentive to his own defence. Perceiving that Hannibal, as being confident of ſucceſs, was very negligent in all things, he made a ſally, attacked his quarters, killed many of his men, took ſeveral priſoners, among whom was Hannibal himſelf, and plundered his camp. Then taking Spendius from the croſs, he put Hannibal in his place, after having made him ſuffer inexpreſſible torments; and ſacrificed round the body of Spendius, thirty citizens of the firſt quality in Carthage, as ſo many victims of his vengeance. One would conclude, that there had been a mutual emulation betwixt the contending parties, which of them ſhould out-do the other, in acts of the moſt barbarous cruelty.

Barcha being at ſuch a diſtance from his collegue, it was ſome time before his misfortune reached him; and beſides, the road lying betwixt the two camps being impracticable, it was impoſſible for him to advance haſtily to his aſſiſtance. This unlucky accident cauſed a great conſternation in Carthage. The reader may have obſerved, in the courſe of this war, a continual viciſſitude of proſperity and adverſity, of ſecurity and fear, of joy and grief; ſo various and inconſtant were the events on either ſide.

In Carthage it was thought adviſeable to make one bold puſh for all. Accordingly all the youth capable of bearing arms, were preſſed into the ſervice. Hanno was ſent to join Hamilcar; and thirty ſenators were deputed to conjure thoſe generals, in the name of the republic, to forget paſt quarrels, and ſacrifice their reſentments to their country's welfare. This was immediately complied with; they mutually embraced, and were reconciled ſincerely to one another.

From this time, the Carthaginians were ſucceſsful in all things; and Matho, who, in every attempt after this came off with diſadvantage, at laſt thought himſelf obliged to hazard a battle; and this was juſt what the Carthaginians wanted. The leaders on both ſides animated their troops, as going to fight a battle, which

would for ever decide their fate. An engagement immediately enſued. Victory was not long in ſuſpence; for the rebels every where giving ground, the Africans were almoſt all ſlain, and the reſt ſurrendered. Matho was taken alive, and carried to Carthage. All Africa returned immediately to its allegiance, except the two perfidious cities which had lately revolted; however, they were ſoon forced to ſurrender at diſcretion.

And now the victorious army returned to Carthage, and was there received with ſhouts of joy, and the congratulations of the whole city. Matho and his ſoldiers, after having adorned the publick triumph, were led to execution; and finiſhed by a painful and ignominious death, a life that had been polluted with the blackeſt treaſons, and unparallelled barbarities. Such was the concluſion of the war againſt the mercenaries, after having laſted three years and four months. It furniſhed, ſays Polybius, an ever-memorable leſſon to all nations, not to employ, in their armies, a greater number of mercenaries than citizens; nor to rely, for the defence of their ſtate, on a body of men who are not attached to it, either by intereſt or affection.

I hitherto purpoſely deferred taking notice of ſuch tranſactions of Sardinia, as paſſed at the time I have been ſpeaking of, and which were, in ſome meaſure, dependent on, and conſequential of the war waged in Africa againſt the mercenaries. They exhibit the ſame violent methods to promote rebellion, the ſame exceſſes of cruelty; as if the wind had carried the ſame ſpirit of diſcord and fury from Africa into Sardinia.

When the news was brought there, of what Spendius and Matho were doing in Africa, the mercenaries in that iſland alſo ſhook off the yoke, in imitation of thoſe incendiaries. They began by the murder of Boſtar their general, and of all the Carthaginians under him. A ſucceſſor was ſent; but all the forces which he carried with him, went over to the rebels; hung the general on a croſs; and, throughout the whole iſland, put all the Carthaginians to the ſword, after having

ving made them ſuffer inexpreſſible torments. They then beſieged all the cities one after another, and ſoon got poſſeſſion of the whole country. But feuds ariſing between them and the natives, the mercenaries were drove entirely out of the iſland, and took ſanctuary in Italy. Thus the Carthaginians loſt Sardinia, an iſland of great importance to them, on account of its extent, its fertility, and the great number of its inhabitants.

The Romans, ever ſince their treaty with the Carthaginians, had behaved towards them with great juſtice and moderation. A ſlight quarrel on account of ſome Roman merchants who were ſeized at Carthage, for their having ſupplied the enemy with proviſions, had embroiled them a little. But their merchants being reſtored on the firſt complaint made to the ſenate of Carthage; the Romans, who loved to diſplay their juſtice and generoſity on all occaſions, made the Carthaginians a return for their antient friendſhip; ſerved them to the utmoſt of their power; forbid their merchants to furniſh any other nation with proviſions; and even refuſed to liſten to the propoſals made by the Sardinian rebels, when invited by them to take poſſeſſion of the iſland.

But theſe ſcruples and delicacy wore off by degrees; and Cæſar's advantageous teſtimony (in Salluſt) of their honeſty and plain-dealing, could not, with any propriety, be applied here: * "Altho', ſays he, in all "the Punic wars, the Carthaginians, both in peace "and during truces, had committed a number of de-"teſtable actions, the Romans could never, (how in-"viting ſoever the opportunity might be) be prevail-"ed upon to retaliate ſuch uſage: They being more "attentive to their own glory, than to the revenge "they might have juſtly taken on ſuch perfidious ene-"mies."

* Bellis Punicis omnibus, cùm ſæpe Carthaginienſes & in pace & per inducias multa nefanda facinora feciſſent, numquam ipſi per occaſionem talia fecere: magis quod ſe dignum fieret, quàm quid in illos jure fieri poſſet, quærebant.

(*p*) The mercenaries, who, as was obſerved, had retired into Italy, brought the Romans at laſt to the reſolution of ſailing over into Sardinia, to render themſelves maſters of it. The Carthaginians were deeply affected at the news; upon pretence that they had a more juſt title to Sardinia than the Romans; they therefore put themſelves in a poſture, to take a ſpeedy and juſt reverge on thoſe who had excited the people of that iſland to take up arms againſt them. But the Romans, pretending that theſe preparations were made, not againſt Sardinia but their ſtate, declared war againſt the Carthaginians. The latter, quite exhauſted in every reſpect, and ſcarce beginning to breathe, were in no condition to ſuſtain a war. The neceſſity of the times was therefore to be complied with, and they were forced to yield to a more powerful rival. A freſh treaty was thereupon made, by which they gave up Sardinia to the Romans; and obliged themſelves to a new payment of twelve hundred talents, to keep off the war with which they were menaced. This injuſtice of the Romans was the true cauſe of the ſecond Punic war, as will appear in the ſequel.

The ſecond Punic war.

(*q*) The ſecond Punic war, which I am now going to relate, is one of the moſt memorable recorded in hiſtory, and moſt worthy the attention of an inquiſitive reader; whether we conſider the boldneſs of the enterprizes; the wiſdom employed in the execution; the obſtinate efforts of two rival nations, and the ready reſſources they found in their loweſt ebb of fortune; the variety of uncommon events, and the uncertain iſſue of ſo long and bloody a war; or laſtly, the aſſemblage of the moſt perfect models in every kind of merit; and the moſt inſtructive leſſons that occur in hiſtory, either with regard to war, policy, or government. Never did two more powerful, or at leaſt more warlike ſtates or nations make war againſt each other, and never

(*p*) A. M. 3767. Carth. 609. Rom. 511. Ant. J. C. 237.
(*q*) Liv. l. 21. n. 1.

had

had theſe in queſtion ſeen themſelves raiſed to a more exalted pitch of power and glory. Rome and Carthage were, doubtleſs the two firſt ſtates of the world. Having already tried their ſtrength in the firſt Punic war, and thereby made an eſſay of each other's power, they knew perfectly well what either could do. In this ſecond war, the fate of arms was ſo equally ballanced, and the ſucceſs ſo intermixed with viciſſitudes and varieties, that that party triumphed which had been moſt expoſed to ruin. Great as the forces of theſe two nations were, it may almoſt be ſaid, that their mutual hatred was ſtill greater. The Romans, on one ſide, could not with any patience ſee the vanquiſhed preſuming to attack them; and the Carthaginians, on the other, were exaſperated at the equally rapacious and mean treatment, which they pretended to have received from the victor.

The plan which I have laid down, does not permit me to enter into an exact detail of this war, whereof Italy, Sicily, Spain and Africa, were the ſeveral ſeats; and which has a ſtill cloſer connection with the Roman hiſtory than with that I am now writing. I ſhall confine myſelf therefore, principally, to ſuch tranſactions as relate to the Carthaginians; and endeavour, as far as I am able, to give my reader an idea of the genius and character of Hannibal, who perhaps was the greateſt warrior that antiquity has to boaſt of.

The remote and more immediate cauſes of the ſecond Punic war.

Before I come to ſpeak of the declaration of war betwixt the Romans and Carthaginians, I think it neceſſary to lay down the true cauſes of it; and to point out by what ſteps this rupture, betwixt theſe two nations, was ſo long preparing, before it broke out into an open flame.

That man would be groſsly miſtaken, ſays Polybius, (*r*) who ſhould look upon the taking of Saguntum by Hannibal as the true cauſe of the ſecond Punic

(*r*) Lib. 3. p. 162—168.

war. The regret of the Carthaginians, for their having ſo tamely given up Sicily, by the treaty which terminated the firſt Punic war; the injuſtice and violence of the Romans, who took advantage, from the troubles excited in Africa, to diſpoſſeſs the Carthaginians of Sardinia, and to impoſe a new tribute on them; and the ſucceſs and conqueſts of the latter in Spain: Theſe were the true cauſes of the violation of the treaty, as Livy *, (agreeing here with Polybius) inſinuates in few words, in the beginning of his hiſtory of the ſecond Punic war.

(*s*) And indeed Hamilcar, ſirnamed Barcha, was highly exaſperated on account of the laſt treaty which the neceſſity of the times had compelled the Carthaginians to ſubmit to; and he therefore meditated the deſign of taking juſt, tho' diſtant meaſures, for breaking it the firſt favourable opportunity that ſhould offer.

When the troubles of Africa were appeaſed, he was ſent upon an expedition againſt the Numidians; in which, giving freſh proofs of his courage and abilities, his merit raiſed him to the command of the army which was to act in Spain. (*t*) Hannibal his ſon, at that time but nine years of age, begged with the utmoſt importunity to attend him on this occaſion; and for that purpoſe employed all the ſoothing arts ſo common to children of his age, and which have ſo much power over a tender father. Hamilcar could not refuſe him; and after having made him ſwear upon the altars, that he would declare himſelf an enemy to the Romans as ſoon as his age would allow him to do it, he took his ſon with him.

Hamilcar poſſeſſed all the qualities which conſtitute the great general. To an invincible courage, and the moſt conſummate prudence, he added a moſt popular

(*s*) Polyb. l. 2. p. 90. (*t*) Polyb. l. 3. p. 127. Liv. l. 21. n. 1.

* Angebant ingentis ſpiritûs viros Siciliæ Sardiniaque amiſſæ: Nam & Siciliam nimis celeri deſperatione rerum conceſſam; & Sardiniam inter motum Africæ fraude Romanorum, ſtipendio etiam ſuperimpoſito, interceptam. *Liv. l.* 21. *n.* 1.

and

and inſinuating behaviour. He ſubdued, in a very ſhort time, the greateſt part of the nations of Spain, either by the terror of his arms, or his engaging conduct; and after enjoying the command there nine years, came to an end worthy his exalted character, dying glorioufly in arms for the cauſe of his country.

(*u*) The Carthaginians appointed Aſdrubal, his ſon-in-law, to ſucceed him. This general, to ſecure the country, built a city, which by the advantage of its ſituation, the commodiouſneſs of its harbours, its fortifications, and flow of wealth through its great commerce, became one of the moſt conſiderable cities in the world. It was called New Carthage, and to this day is known by the name of Carthagena.

From the ſeveral ſteps of theſe two great generals, it was eaſy to perceive that they were meditating ſome mighty deſign, which they had always in view, and laid their ſchemes at a great diſtance for the putting it in execution. The Romans were ſenſible of this, and reproached themſelves for their indolence and ſloth, which had thrown them into a kind of lethargy; at a time that the enemy were rapidly purſuing their victories in Spain, which might one day be turned againſt them. They would have been very well pleaſed to attack them by open force, and to wreſt their conqueſts out of their hands. But the fear of another (not leſs formidable) enemy, the Gauls, kept them from ſhewing their reſentments. They therefore had recourſe to negotiations; and concluded a treaty with Aſdrubal, in which, without taking any notice of the reſt of Spain, they contented themſelves with introducing an article, by which the Carthaginians were not allowed to make any conqueſts beyond the Iberus.

(*x*) Aſdrubal, in the mean time, ſtill puſhed on his conqueſts, but took care not to paſs beyond the limits ſtipulated by the treaty; and ſparing no endeavours to

(*u*) Polyb. l. 2. p. 101. A. M. 3776. Rome, 520. (*x*) Il. p. 123. Liv. l. 21. n. 2.

win the chiefs of the feveral nations, by a courteous and engaging behaviour, he brought them over to the intereſt of Carthage, more by perſuaſive methods than force of arms. But unhappily, after having governed Spain eight years, he was treacherouſly murdered by a Gaul, who took ſo barbarous revenge for a private grudge he bore him *.

(y) Three years before his death, he had writ to Carthage, to deſire that Hannibal, then twenty-two years of age, might be ſent to him. The propoſal met with ſome difficulty, as the ſenate was divided betwixt two powerful factions, which, from Hamilcar's time, had began to follow oppoſite views, in the adminiſtration and affairs of the ſtate. One faction was headed by Hanno, whoſe birth, merit, and zeal for the publick welfare, gave him great influence in the publick deliberations. This faction propoſed, on every occaſion, the concluding of a ſafe peace, and the preſerving the conqueſts in Spain, as being preferable to the uncertain events of an expenſive war, which the members of it foreſaw would one day occaſion the ruin of Carthage. The other, called the Barcinian faction, becauſe it ſupported the intereſt of Barcha and his family, had, to its antient merit and credit in the city, added the reputation which the ſignal exploits of Hamilcar and Aſdrubal had given it; and declared openly for war. When therefore Aſdrubal's demand came to be debated in the ſenate, Hanno repreſented the danger of ſending ſo early into the field, a young man, who had all the haughtineſs and imperious temper of his father; and who ought there-

(y) Liv. l. 21. n. 3, 4. A. M. 3783. Rome, 530.

* *The murder was an effect of the extraordinary fidelity of this Gaul, whoſe maſter had fallen by the hand of Aſdrubal. It was perpetrated in publick; and the murderer being ſeized by the guards, and put to the torture, expreſſed ſo ſtrong a ſatisfaction in the thoughts of his having executed his revenge ſo ſucceſsfully, that he ſeemed to inſult all the terror of his torments.* Eo fuit habitu oris, ut ſuperante lætitia dolores, ridentis etiam ſpeciem præbuerit. *Liv.* l. 21. n. 1.

fore, rather to be kept a long time, and very carefully, under the eye of the magiſtrates, and the power of the laws, that he might learn obedience, and a modeſty which ſhould teach him not to think himſelf ſuperior to all other men. He concluded with ſaying, that he feared, this ſpark which was then kindling, would one day riſe to a conflagration. His remonſtrances were not heard, ſo that the Barcinian faction had the ſuperiority, and Hannibal ſet out for Spain.

The moment of his arrival there, he drew upon himſelf the eyes of the whole army, who fancied they ſaw Hamilcar his father ſurvive in him. He ſeemed to dart the ſame fire from his eyes; the ſame martial vigour diſplayed itſelf in the air of his countenance, with the ſame features and engaging carriage. But his perſonal qualities endeared him ſtill more. He poſſeſſed almoſt every talent that conſtitutes the great man. His patience in labour was invincible, his temperance was ſurprizing, his courage in the greateſt dangers intrepid, and his preſence of mind in the heat of battle admirable; and, a ſtill more wonderful circumſtance, his diſpoſition and caſt of mind were ſo flexible, that nature had formed him equally for commanding or obeying; ſo that it was doubtful, whether he was deareſt to the ſoldiers or the generals. He ſerved three campaigns under Aſdrubal.

(z) The ſuffrages of both the army and people concurred to raiſe him to the ſupreme command, upon the death of Aſdrubal. I know not whether it was not even then, or about that time, that the republic, to heighten his credit and authority, advanced him to the firſt dignity of the ſtate, that of one of its Suffetes, which was ſometimes conferred upon generals. It is from Cornelius Nepos that we have borrowed this circumſtance of his life, who, ſpeaking of the prætorſhip beſtowed on Hannibal, upon his return to Carthage and the concluſion of the peace, ſays, that this

(z) Polyb. l. 3. p. 178, 179. Liv. l. 21. n. 3—5. A. M. 3784. Carthage, 626. Rome, 528. In vit. Annib. c. 7.

was

was twenty-two years after he had been nominated king *.

The moment he was created general, Hannibal, as if Italy had been allotted to him, and he was even then appointed to make war upon the Romans, turned ſecretly his whole views on that ſide; and loſt no time, for fear of being prevented by death, as his father and brother-in-law had been. In Spain he took ſeveral ſtrong towns, and conquered many nations. Though the Spaniards had ſo much advantage over him with regard to the number of forces (their army amounting to upwards of an hundred thouſand men) yet he choſe his time and poſts ſo happily, that he entirely defeated them. After this victory every thing ſubmitted to his arms. But he ſtill forbore laying ſiege to Saguntum †, carefully avoiding every occaſion of a rupture with the Romans, till he ſhould be furniſhed with all things neceſſary for ſo important an enterprize, purſuant to the advice given him by his father. He applied himſelf particularly to engage the affections of the citizens and allies, and to gain their confidence, by generouſly allotting them a large ſhare of the plunder taken by the enemy, and by paying them all their arrears ‖: A wiſe ſtep, which never fails of producing its advantage at a proper ſeaſon.

(*a*) The Saguntins, on their ſide, ſenſible of the danger with which they were threatned, from the continued ſucceſſes of Hannibal, adverti ſed the Romans of them. Upon this, deputies were nominated by the latter, and ordered to go and take a perſonal information upon the ſpot; they commanded them alſo to lay

(*a*) Polyb. l. 3. p. 170, 171. Liv. l. 21. n. 6—15.

* Hic ut rediit Prætor factus eſt, poſtquam rex fuerat anno ſecundo & vigeſimo.

† *This city lay on the Carthaginian ſide of the Iberus, very near the mouth of that river, and in a country where the Carthaginians were allowed to make war; but Saguntum, as an ally of the Romans, was excepted from all hoſtilities, by virtue of the late treaty.*

‖ Ibi large partiendo prædam, ſtipendia præterita cum fide exolvendo, cunctos civium ſociorumque animos in ſe firmavit. *Liv.* l. 21. n. 5.

their

their complaints before Hannibal, if it ſhould be thought proper ; and in caſe he ſhould refuſe to do juſtice, that then they ſhould go directly to Carthage, and make the ſame complaints.

In the mean time Hannibal laid ſiege to Saguntum, promiſing himſelf great advantages from the taking of this city. He was perſuaded, that this would deprive the Romans of all hopes of carrying the war into Spain ; that this new conqueſt would ſecure the old ones ; that no enemy would be left behind him, a circumſtance which would render his march more ſecure and unmoleſted ; that he ſhould find money enough in it for the execution of his deſigns ; that the plunder of the city would inſpire his ſoldiers with great ardour, and make them follow him with the greater chearfulneſs ; that laſtly, the ſpoils which he ſhould ſend to Carthage, would gain him the favour of the citizens. Animated by theſe motives, he carried on the ſiege with the utmoſt vigour. He himſelf ſet an example to his troops, was preſent at all the works, and expoſed himſelf to the greateſt dangers.

News was ſoon carried to Rome that Saguntum was beſieged. But the Romans, inſtead of flying to its relief, loſt their time in fruitleſs debates, and equally inſignificant deputations. Hannibal ſent word to the Roman deputies, that he was not at leiſure to hear them. They therefore repaired to Carthage, but with no better ſucceſs ; the Barcinian faction having prevailed over the complaints of the Romans, and all the remonſtrances of Hanno.

During theſe voyages and negotiations, the ſiege was carried on with great vigour. The Saguntins were now reduced to the laſt extremity, and in want of all things. An accommodation was thereupon propoſed ; but the conditions on which it was offered appeared ſo harſh, that the Saguntins could not ſo much as think of accepting them. Before they gave their final anſwer, the principal ſenators, bringing their gold and ſilver, and that of the publick treaſury, into the market-

place,

place, threw both into a fire lighted for that purpoſe, and afterwards themſelves. At the ſame time a tower, which had been long aſſaulted by the battering rams, falling with a dreadful noiſe, the Carthaginians entered the city by the breach, ſoon made themſelves maſters of it, and cut to pieces all the inhabitants who were of age to bear arms. But notwithſtanding the fire, the Carthaginians got a very great booty. Hannibal did not reſerve to himſelf any part of the ſpoils gained by his victories, but applied them ſolely to the carrying on his enterprizes. Accordingly Polybius remarks, that the taking of Saguntum was of ſervice to him, as it awakened the ardour of his ſoldiers, by the ſight of the rich booty which it had afforded, and by the hopes of more; and it reconciled all the principal perſons of Carthage to Hannibal, by the large preſents he made to them out of its ſpoils.

(*b*) Words could never expreſs the grief and conſternation with which the news of the taking, and the cruel fate of Saguntum, was received at Rome. Compaſſion for an unfortunate city, ſhame for their having failed to ſuccour ſuch faithful allies, a juſt indignation againſt the Carthaginians, the authors of all theſe calamities; the ſtrong alarms raiſed by the ſucceſſes of Hannibal, whom the Romans fancied they ſaw already at their gates; all theſe ſentiments were ſo violent, that, during the firſt moments of them, the Romans were unable to come to any reſolution; or do any thing, but give way to the torrent of their paſſion, and ſacrifice floods of tears to the memory of a city, which lay in ruins becauſe of its inviolable fidelity † to the Romans, and had been betrayed by their unaccountable indolence and imprudent delays. When they were a little recovered, an aſſembly of the people was called, and war was decreed unanimouſly againſt the Carthaginians.

(*b*) Polyb. p. 174, 175. Liv. l. 21. n. 16, 17.

† Sanctitate diſciplinæ, qua fidem ſocialem uſque ad perniciem ſuam coluerunt. *Liv.* l. 21. n. 7.

War

War proclaimed.

(*c*) That no ceremony might be wanting, deputies were ſent to Carthage, to enquire whether Saguntum had been beſieged by order of the republic, and if ſo, to declare war; or, in caſe this ſiege had been undertaken ſolely by the authority of Hannibal, to require that he ſhould be delivered up to the Romans. The deputies perceiving, that the ſenate gave no direct anſwer to their demands, one of them, taking up the folded lappet of his robe, *I bring here*, ſays he, in a haughty tone, *either peace or war; the choice is left to yourſelves.* The ſenate anſwering, that they left the choice to him: *I give you war then*, ſays he, unfolding his robe. *And we*, replied the Carthaginians, with the ſame haughtineſs, *as heartily accept it, and are reſolved to proſecute it with the ſame chearfulneſs.* Such was the beginning of the ſecond Punic war.

(*d*) If the cauſe of this war ſhould be aſcribed to the taking of Saguntum, the whole blame, ſays Polybius, lies upon the Carthaginians, who could not, with any colourable pretence, beſiege a city that was in alliance with Rome; and as ſuch comprehended in the treaty, which forbid either party to make war upon the allies of the other. But, ſhould the origin of this war be traced higher, and carried back to the time when the Carthaginians were diſpoſſeſſed of Sardinia by the Romans, and a new tribute was ſo unreaſonably impoſed on them; it muſt be confeſſed, continues Polybius, that the conduct of the Romans is entirely unjuſtifiable on theſe two points, as being founded merely on violence and injuſtice; and that, had the Carthaginians, without having recourſe to ambiguous and frivolous pretences, plainly demanded ſatisfaction upon theſe two grievances, and, upon their being refuſed it, had declared war againſt Rome, in that caſe reaſon and juſtice had been entirely on their ſide.

The interval between the concluſion of the firſt, and

(*c*) Polyb. p. 187. Liv. l. 21. n. 18, 19. (*d*) Polyb. l. 3. p. 184, 185.

the

the beginning of the ſecond Punic war, was twenty-four years.

The beginning of the ſecond Punic war.

(*e*) When war was reſolved upon, and proclaimed on both ſides, Hannibal, who then was twenty-ſix or twenty-ſeven years of age; before he diſcovered his grand deſign, thought it incumbent on him to provide for the ſecurity of Spain and Africa. With this view, he marched the forces out of the one into the other, ſo that the Africans ſerved in Spain, and the Spaniards in Africa. He was prompted to this from a perſuaſion, that theſe ſoldiers, being thus at a diſtance from their reſpective countries, would be fitter for ſervice; and more firmly attached to him, as they would be a kind of hoſtages for each other's fidelity. The forces which he left in Africa amounted to about forty thouſand men, twelve hundred whereof were horſe: Thoſe of Spain were ſomething above fifteen thouſand, of which two thouſand five hundred and fifty were horſe. He left the command of the Spaniſh forces to his brother Aſdrubal, with a fleet of about ſixty ſhips to guard the coaſts; and at the ſame time gave him the wiſeſt counſel for his conduct, whether with regard to the Spaniards or the Romans, in caſe they ſhould attack him.

Livy obſerves that Hannibal, before he ſet forward on this expedition, went to Cadiz to diſcharge his vows made to Hercules; and that he engaged himſelf by new ones, in order to obtain ſucceſs in the war he was entring upon. (*f*) Polybius gives us, in few words, a very clear idea of the diſtance of the ſeveral places through which Hannibal was to march, in his way to Italy. From New Carthage, whence he ſet out, to the Iberus, were computed two thouſand two hundred (*g*) furlongs *. From the Iberus to Emporium,

(*e*) Polyb. l. 3. p. 187. Liv. l. 21. n. 21, 22. A. M. 3787. Carthage, 629. Rome, 531. Ant. J. C. 217. (*f*) Lib. 3. p. 192, 193. (*g*) 275 *miles.*

* *Polybius makes the diſtance from New Carthage to be* 2600 *furlongs;*

um, a ſmall maritime town which ſeparates Spain from the Gauls, according to (*g*) Strabo, were ſixteen hundred furlongs (*b*). From Emporium to the paſs of the Rhone, the like ſpace of ſixteen hundred furlongs (*i*). From the paſs of the Rhone, to the Alps, fourteen hundred furlongs (*k*). From the Alps, to the plains of Italy, twelve hundred furlongs (*l*). Thus from New Carthage, to the plains of Italy, were eight thouſand furlongs (*m*).

(*n*) Hannibal had, long before, taken all the proper meaſures, to diſcover the nature and ſituation of the places through which he was to paſs; to ſound how the Gauls ſtood affected to the Romans*; to win over their chiefs, whom he knew were very greedy of gold, by his bounty to them *; and to ſecure to himſelf the affection and fidelity of one part of the nations, through whoſe country his march lay. He was not ignorant, that the paſſage of the Alps would be attended with great difficulties, but he knew they were not unſurmountable, and that was enough for his purpoſe.

(*o*) Hannibal began his march early in the ſpring, from New Carthage where he had wintered. His army then conſiſted of above an hundred thouſand men, of which twelve thouſand were horſe, and he had near forty elephants. Having croſſed the Iberus, he ſoon ſubdued the ſeveral nations which oppoſed him in his march, and loſt a conſiderable part of his army in this expedition. He left Hanno to command all the country lying between the Iberus and the Pyrenean hills,

(*g*) L. 3. p. 299. (*b*) 200 *miles*. (*i*) 200 *miles*. (*k*) 175 *miles*. (*l*) 150 *miles*. (*m*) 1000 *miles*. (*n*) Polyb. l. 3. p. 188, 189. (*o*) Idem, p. 189, 190. Liv. l. 21. n. 22—24.

furlongs; conſequently the whole number of furlongs will be 8400, *or (allowing* 625 *feet to the furlong)* 994 *Engliſh miles, and almoſt one third. See* Polybius Gronov. Edit. p. 267.

* Audierunt præcccupatos jam ab Annibale Gallorum animos eſſe: ſed ne illi quidem ipſi ſatis mitem gentem fore, ni ſubinde auro, cujus avidiſſima gens eſt, principum animi concilientur. *Liv.* l. 21. n. 20.

with

with eleven thouſand men, who were appointed to guard the baggage of thoſe that were to follow him. He diſmiſſed the like number, ſending them back to their reſpective countries; thus ſecuring to himſelf their affection when he ſhould want recruits, and aſſuring the reſt that they ſhould be allowed to return whenever they ſhould deſire it. He paſſed the Pyrenean hills, and advanced as far as the banks of the Rhone, at the head of fifty thouſand foot, and nine thouſand horſe; a formidable army, but leſs ſo from the number, than from the valour of the troops that compoſed it; troops who had ſerved ſeveral years in Spain, and learnt the art of war, under the ableſt captains that Carthage could ever boaſt.

Paſſage of the Rhone.

(o) Hannibal being arrived within about four days march from the mouth of the Rhone *, attempted to croſs it, becauſe the river, in this place, took up only the breadth of its channel. He bought up all the ſhip-boats and little veſſels he could meet with, of which the inhabitants had a great number becauſe of their commerce. He likewiſe built with great diligence, a prodigious number of boats, little veſſels, and floats of timber. On his arrival, he found the Gauls encamped on the oppoſite bank, and prepared to diſpute the paſſage. There was no poſſibility of his attacking them in front. He therefore ordered a conſiderable detachment of his forces, under the command of Hanno, the ſon of Bomilcar, to paſs the river higher; and, in order to conceal his march, and the deſign he had in view, from the enemy, he obliged them to ſet out in the night. All things ſucceeded as he deſired; and the river was paſſed † the next day without the leaſt oppoſition.

They paſſed the reſt of the day in refreſhing them-

(o) Polyb. l. 3. p. 270, 271, 272, 273, 274. Edit Gronov. Liv. l. 21. n. 26—28.

* *A little above Avignon.*

† *It is thought this was betwixt Roquemaure and Pont St. Eſprit.*

ſelves,

ſelves, and in the night they advanced ſilently towards the enemy. In the morning, when the ſignals agreed upon had been given, Hannibal prepared to attempt the paſſage. Part of his horſes compleatly harneſſed were put into boats, that their riders might, on their landing, immediately charge the enemy. The reſt of the horſes ſwam over on both ſides of the boats, from which, one ſingle man held the bridles of three or four. The infantry croſſed the river, either on floats of timber, or in ſmall boats, and in a kind of gondolas, which were only the trunks of trees they themſelves had made hollow. The great boats were drawn up in a line at the top of the channel, in order to break the force of the waves, and facilitate the paſſage to the reſt of the ſmall fleet. When the Gauls ſaw it advancing on the river, they, according to their cuſtom, broke into dreadful cries and howlings; and claſhing their bucklers over their heads, one againſt the other, let fly a ſhower of darts. But they were prodigiouſly aſtoniſhed, when they heard a great noiſe behind them, ſaw their tents on fire, and themſelves attacked both in front and rear. They now had no way left but to ſave themſelves by flight, and accordingly retreated to their reſpective villages. After this, the reſt of the troops croſſed the river quietly, and without any oppoſition.

The elephants were ſtill behind, and occaſioned a great deal of trouble. They were wafted over the next day in the following manner. From the bank of the river was thrown a float of timber, two hundred foot in length, and fifty in breadth; this was fixed ſtrongly to the banks by large ropes, and quite covered over with earth; ſo that the elephants, deceived by its appearance, thought themſelves upon firm ground. From this firſt float they proceeded to a ſecond, which was built in the ſame form, but only an hundred foot long, and faſtned to the former by chains that were eaſily looſened. The female elephants were put upon the firſt float, and the males followed after; and when they

were got upon the ſecond float, it was looſened from the firſt, and, by the help of ſmall boats, towed to the oppoſite ſhore. After this, it was ſent back to fetch thoſe which were behind. Some fell into the water, but they at laſt got ſafe to ſhore, and not a ſingle elephant was drowned.

The march after the battle of the Rhone.

(*p*) The two Roman conſuls had, in the beginning of the ſpring, ſet out for their reſpective provinces; P. Scipio for Spain with ſixty ſhips, two Roman legions, fourteen thouſand foot, and twelve hundred horſe of the allies; Tiberius Sempronius for Sicily, with an hundred and ſixty ſhips, two legions, ſixteen thouſand foot, and eighteen hundred horſe of the allies. The Roman legion conſiſted, at that time, of four thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe. Sempronius had made extraordinary preparations at Lilybæum, a ſea-port town in Sicily, with the deſign of croſſing over directly into Africa. Scipio was equally confident, that he ſhould find Hannibal ſtill in Spain, and make that country the ſeat of the war. But he was greatly aſtoniſhed, when, on his arrival at Marſeilles, advice was brought him, that Hannibal was upon the banks of the Rhone, and preparing to croſs it. He then detached three hundred horſe, to view the poſture of the enemy; and Hannibal detached five hundred Numidian horſe for the ſame purpoſe; during which, ſome of his ſoldiers were employed in wafting over the elephants.

At the ſame time he gave audience, in preſence of his whole army, to a Gauliſh prince inhabiting near the Po, who aſſured him, by an interpreter, in the name of his ſubjects, that his arrival was impatiently expected; that the Gauls were ready to join him, and march againſt the Romans; that he himſelf would conduct his army through places where they ſhould meet with a plentiful ſupply of proviſions. When the prince was withdrawn, Hannibal, in a ſpeech to his troops, magnified extremely this deputation from the

(*p*) Polyb. l. 3. p. 200—202, &c. Liv. l. 21. n. 31, 32.

Gauls;

Gauls; extolled with juſt praiſes the bravery which his forces had ſhewn hitherto; and exhorted them to ſuſtain, to the laſt, their reputation and glory. The ſoldiers, inſpired with freſh ardour and courage, declared, with lifted hands, their readineſs to follow whitherſoever he ſhould lead the way. Accordingly he appointed the next day for his march; and, after offering up vows, and making ſupplications to the gods for the ſafety of his troops, he diſmiſſed them; deſiring, at the ſame time, that they would take the neceſſary refreſhments.

Whilſt this was doing, the Numidians returned. They had met with, and charged, the Roman detachment; on which occaſion the conflict was very obſtinate, and the ſlaughter great, conſidering the ſmall number of the combatants. An hundred and ſixty of the Romans were left dead upon the ſpot, and more than two hundred of the enemies. But the honour of this ſkirmiſh fell to the Romans; the Numidians having retired, and left them the field of battle. This firſt action was interpreted as an omen * of the fate of the whole war, and ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs to the Romans, but which, at the ſame time, would be dearly bought, and ſtrongly conteſted. On both ſides, thoſe who had ſurvived this engagement, as well as the ſcouts, returned to carry the news to their reſpective generals.

Hannibal, as he had declared, decamped the next day, and croſſed through the midſt of Gaul, advancing northward; not that this was the ſhorteſt way to the Alps, but only, as it led him from the ſea, it prevented his meeting Scipio; and, by that means, favoured the deſign he had, of marching all his forces, without leſſening them by fighting, into Italy.

Though Scipio marched with the utmoſt expedition, he did not reach the place where Hannibal had

* Hoc principium ſimulque omen belli, ut ſummâ rerum proſperum eventum, ita haud ſane incruentam ancipitiſque certaminis victoriam Romanis portendit. *Liv.* l. 21. n. 29.

paſſed

paſſed the Rhone, till three days after he had ſet out from it. Deſpairing therefore to overtake him, he returned to his fleet, and reimbarked, fully reſolved to wait for Hannibal at the foot of the Alps. But, in order that he might not leave Spain defenceleſs, he ſent his brother Cneius thither, with the greateſt part of his army, to make head againſt Aſdrubal; and himſelf ſet forward immediately for Genoa, with intention to oppoſe the army which was in Gaul, near the Po, to that of Hannibal.

The latter, after four days march, arrived at a kind of iſland, formed by the conflux * of two rivers, which unite their ſtreams in this place. Here he was choſen umpire between two brothers, who diſputed their right to the kingdom. He to whom Hannibal decreed it, furniſhed his whole army with proviſions, clothes, and arms. This was the country of the Allobroges, by which name the people were called, who now inhabit the juriſdiction of Geneva, † Vienna, and Grenoble. His march was not much interrupted till he arrived at the Durances, and from thence he reached the foot of the Alps without any oppoſition.

The paſſage over the Alps.

(q) The ſight of theſe mountains, whoſe tops ſeemed to touch the ſkies, and were covered with ſnow, and where nothing appeared to the eye, but a few pitiful cottages, ſcattered here and there, on the ſharp tops of inacceſſible rocks; nothing but meagre flocks, almoſt periſhed with cold, and hairy men of a ſavage and fierce aſpect; this ſpectacle, I ſay, renewed the terror

(q) Polyb. l. 3. p. 203—208. Liv. l. 21. n. 32—37.

* *The text of Polybius, as it has been tranſmitted to us, and that of Livy, place this iſland at the meeting of the Soane and the Rhone, that is, in that part where the city of Lyons ſtands. But this is a manifeſt error. It was* Σκωρας *in the Greek, inſtead of which* ὁ Ἄραρος *has been ſubſtituted. J. Gronovius ſays, that he had read, in a manuſcript of Livy,* Biſarat, *which ſhows, that we are to read* Iſara Rhodanuſque amnes, *inſtead of* Arar Rhodanuſque; *and, that the iſland in queſtion is formed by the conflux of the Iſara and the Rhone. The ſituation of the Allobroges, here ſpoken of, proves this evidently.*

† *In Dauphiné.*

which

which the diſtant proſpect had raiſed, and ſtruck a prodigious damp on the hearts of the ſoldiers. When they began to climb up, they perceived the mountaineers, who had ſeized upon the higheſt cliffs, and prepared to oppoſe their paſſage. They therefore were forced to halt. Had the mountaineers, ſays Polybius, only lain in ambuſcade, and ſuffered Hannibal's troops to ſtrike into ſome narrow paſſage, and had then charged them on a ſudden, the Carthaginian army would have been irrecoverably loſt. Hannibal, being informed that they kept thoſe poſts only in the day-time, and quitted them in the evening, poſſeſſed himſelf of them by night. The Gauls returning early in the morning, were very much ſurprized to find their poſts in the enemy's hands; but ſtill they were not diſheartned. Being uſed to climb up thoſe rocks, they attacked the Carthaginians who were upon their march, and harraſſed them on all ſides. The latter were obliged, at one and the ſame time, to engage with the enemy, and ſtruggle with the ruggedneſs of the paths of the mountains, where they could hardly ſtand. But the greateſt diſorder was cauſed by the horſes and beaſts of burden laden with the baggage, that frighted by the cries and howlings of the Gauls, which ecchoed dreadfully among the mountains; and being ſometimes wounded by the mountaineers, came tumbling on the ſoldiers, and dragged them headlong with them down the precipices, which lay cloſe to the road. Hannibal, being ſenſible that the loſs of his baggage only was enough to deſtroy his army, ran to the aſſiſtance of his troops, who were thus embarraſſed; and having put the enemy to flight, continued his march without moleſtation or danger, and came to a caſtle, which was the moſt important fortreſs in the whole country. He poſſeſſed himſelf of it, and of all the neighbouring villages, in which he found a large quantity of corn, and cattle ſufficient to ſubſiſt his army three days.

After a pretty quiet march, the Carthaginians were to encounter a new danger. The Gauls, feigning to

take advantage of the misfortunes of their neighbours, who had ſuffered for oppoſing the paſſage of Hannibal's troops, came to pay their reſpects to that general; brought him proviſions, offered to be his guides; and left him hoſtages, as pledges of their fidelity. However, Hannibal placed no great confidence in them. The elephants and horſes marched in the front, whilſt himſelf followed with the main body of his foot, keeping a vigilant eye over all things. They came at length to a very ſteep and narrow paſs, which was commanded by an eminence where the Gauls had placed an ambuſcade. Theſe ruſhing out on a ſudden, charged the Carthaginians on every ſide, rolling down ſtones upon them of a prodigious ſize. The army would have been entirely routed, had not Hannibal exerted himſelf in an extraordinary manner, to extricate them out of this difficulty.

At laſt, on the ninth day, they reached the ſummit of the Alps. Here the army halted two days, to reſt and refreſh themſelves after their fatigue, and afterwards continued their march. As it was now autumn, a great quantity of ſnow was lately fallen, and covered all the roads, which cauſed a diſorder among the troops, and diſheartned them very much. Hannibal perceived it, and halting on a hill from whence there was a proſpect of all Italy, he ſhewed them the fruitful plains † watered by the river Po, to which they were almoſt come; and therefore that they had but one effort more to make, before they arrived at them. He repreſented to them, that a battle or two would put a glorious period to their toils, and enrich them for ever, by giving them poſſeſſion of the capital of the Roman empire. This ſpeech, filled with ſuch pleaſing hopes, and enforced by the ſight of Italy, inſpired the dejected ſoldiers with freſh vigor and alacrity. They therefore purſued their march. But ſtill the road was more craggy and troubleſome than ever; and the difficulty and danger increaſed, in proportion as they

† *Of Piedmont.*

came

came lower down the mountain. For the ways were narrow, ſteep, and ſlippery, in moſt places; ſo that the ſoldiers could neither keep upon their feet as they marched, nor recover themſelves when they made a falſe ſtep, but ſtumbled, and beat down one another.

They now were come to a worſe place than any they had yet met with. This was a path naturally very ſteep and craggy, which being made more ſo by the late falling in of the earth, terminated in a frightful precipice above a thouſand foot deep. Here the cavalry ſtopped ſhort. Hannibal, wondring at this ſudden halt, ran to the place, and ſaw that it really would be impoſſible for the troops to advance further. He therefore was for going a round-about way, but this alſo was found impracticable. As, upon the old ſnow, which was grown hard by lying, there was ſome newly fallen that was of no great depth, the feet, by their ſinking into it, found a firm ſupport: but this ſnow being ſoon diſſolved, by the treading of the foremoſt troops and beaſts of burden, the ſoldiers marched on nothing but ice, which was ſo ſlippery, that there was no ſtanding; and where, if they made the leaſt falſe ſtep, or endeavoured to ſave themſelves with their hands or knees, there were no boughs or roots to catch hold of. Beſides this difficulty, the horſes, ſtriking their feet into the ice to keep themſelves from falling, could not draw them out again, but were caught as in a gin. They therefore were forced to ſeek ſome other expedient.

Hannibal reſolved to pitch his camp, and to give his troops ſome days reſt, on the ſummit of this hill, which was of a conſiderable extent; after they ſhould have cleared the ground, and removed all the old as well as the new fallen ſnow, which was a work of immenſe labour. He afterwards ordered a path to be cut into the rock itſelf, and this was carried on with amazing patience and ardor. To open and enlarge this path, all the trees thereabouts were cut down, and piled round the rock, after which fire was ſet to them. The wind,

by good fortune, blowing hard, a fierce flame ſoon broke out, ſo that the rock glowed like the very coals with which it was ſurrounded. Then Hannibal, if Livy may be credited, (for Polybius ſays nothing of this matter) cauſed a great quantity of vinegar to be poured on the rock *, which piercing into the veins of it, that were now cracked by the intenſe heat of the fire, calcined and ſoftned it. In this manner, taking a large compaſs about, in order that the deſcent might be eaſier, they cut a way along the rock, which opened a free paſſage to the forces, the baggage, and even to the elephants. Four days were employed in this work, during which the beaſts of burden had no provender; there being no food for them on mountains buried under eternal ſnows. At laſt they came into cultivated and fruitful ſpots, which yielded plenty of forage for the horſes, and all kinds of food for the ſoldiers.

Hannibal enters Italy.

(r) When Hannibal marched into Italy, his army was not near ſo numerous as when he left Spain, where we find it amounted to near ſixty thouſand men. It had ſuſtained great loſſes during the march, either in the battles it was forced to fight, or in the paſſage of rivers. At his departure from the Rhone, it conſiſted of thirty-eight thouſand foot, and above eight thouſand horſe. The march over the Alps deſtroyed near half this number; ſo that Hannibal had now remaining only twelve thouſand Africans, eight thouſand Spaniſh foot, and ſix thouſand horſe. This account he himſelf cauſed to be engraved on a pillar near the promontory called Lacinium. It was five months and a half ſince

(r) Polyb. l. 3. p. 209. & 212—214. Liv. l. 21. n. 39.

* *Many reject this incident as fictitious. Pliny takes notice of a remarkable quality in vinegar*; viz. *its being able to break rocks and ſtones.* Saxa rumpit infuſum, quæ non ruperit ignis antecedens. l. 23. c. 1. *He therefore calls it* Succus rerum domitor. l. 33. c. 2. *Dion, ſpeaking of the ſiege of Eleuthera, ſays, that the walls of it were made to fall by the force of vinegar.* l. 36. p. 8. *Probably, the circumſtance that ſeems improbable on this occaſion, is, the difficulty of Hannibal's procuring, in thoſe mountains, a quantity of vinegar ſufficient for his purpoſe.*

his firſt ſetting out from New Carthage, including the fortnight he employed in marching over the Alps, when he ſet up his ſtandards in the plains of the Po, at the entrance of Piedmont. It might then be September.

His firſt care was to give his troops ſome reſt, which they very much wanted. When he perceived that they were fit for action, the inhabitants of the territories of Turin *, refuſing to conclude an alliance with him, he marched and encamped before their chief city; carried it in three days, and put all who had oppoſed him to the ſword. This expedition ſtruck the Barbarians with ſo much dread, that they all came voluntarily, and ſurrendred at diſcretion. The reſt of the Gauls would have done the ſame, had they not been awed by the terror of the Roman arms, which were now approaching. Hannibal thought therefore that he had no time to loſe; that it was his intereſt to march up into the country, and attempt ſome great exploit; ſuch as might induce thoſe who ſhould have an inclination to join him, to rely on his valour.

The rapid progreſs which Hannibal had made, greatly alarmed Rome, and cauſed the utmoſt conſternation throughout the city. Sempronius was ordered to leave Sicily, and haſten to the relief of his country; and P. Scipio, the other conſul, advanced with the utmoſt diligence towards the enemy, croſſed the Po, and marched and pitched his camp near the Ticinus †.

Battle of the cavalry near the Ticinus.

(s) The armies being now in ſight, the generals on each ſide made a ſpeech to their ſoldiers, before they engaged in battle. Scipio, after having repreſented to his forces the glory of their country, and the noble atchievements of their anceſtors, obſerved to them, that victory was in their hands, ſince they were to combat only with Carthaginians, a people who had been ſo of-

(s) Polyb. l. 3. p. 214—218. Liv. l. 21. n. 39—47.

* *Taurini.*

† *A ſmall river (now called Teſino) in Lombardy.*

ten defeated by them, as well as forced to be their tributaries for twenty years, and long accuſtomed to be almoſt their ſlaves: That the advantage they had gained over the flower of the Carthaginian horſe, was a ſure omen of their ſucceſs, during the reſt of the war: That Hannibal, in marching over the Alps, had juſt before loſt the beſt part of his army; and that thoſe who ſurvived were half dead with hunger, cold, and fatigue: That the bare ſight of the Romans was ſufficient to put to flight a parcel of ſoldiers, who had the aſpect of ghoſts rather than of men: In a word, that victory was become neceſſary, not only to ſecure Italy, but to ſave Rome itſelf, whoſe fate the preſent battle would decide, that city having no other army wherewith to oppoſe the enemy.

Hannibal, that his words might make the ſtronger impreſſion on the rude minds of his ſoldiers, ſpeaks to their eyes, before he addreſſes their ears; and does not attempt to perſuade them by arguments, till he has firſt moved them by the following ſpectacle. He arms ſome of the priſoners he had taken in the mountains, and obliges them to fight, two and two, in ſight of his army; promiſing to reward the conquerors with their liberty and rich preſents. The alacrity and vigour wherewith theſe Barbarians engaged upon theſe motives, gives Hannibal an occaſion of exhibiting to his ſoldiers a lively image of their preſent condition; which, by depriving them of all means of returning back, puts them under an abſolute neceſſity either of conquering or dying, in order to avoid the endleſs evils prepared for thoſe that ſhould be ſo baſe and cowardly, as to ſubmit to the Romans. He diſplays to them the greatneſs of their reward, *viz.* the conqueſt of all Italy; the plunder of the rich and wealthy city of Rome; an illuſtrious victory, and immortal glory. He ſpeaks contemptibly of the Roman power, the falſe luſtre of which (he obſerved) ought not to dazzle ſuch warriors as themſelves, who had marched from the pillars of Hercules, through the fierceſt nations, into the very

very center of Italy. As for his own part, he ſcorns to compare himſelf with Scipio, a general of but ſix months ſtanding: Himſelf, who was almoſt born, at leaſt brought up, in the tent of Hamilcar his father; the conqueror of Spain, of Gaul, of the inhabitants of the Alps, and what is ſtill more, conqueror of the Alps themſelves. He rouzes their indignation againſt the inſolence of the Romans, who had dared to demand that himſelf, and the reſt who had taken Saguntum, ſhould be delivered up to them; and excites their jealouſy againſt the intolerable pride of thoſe imperious maſters, who imagined that all things ought to obey them, and that they had a right to give laws to the whole world.

After theſe ſpeeches, both ſides prepare for battle. Scipio, having thrown a bridge croſs the Ticinus, marched his troops over it. Two ill omens * had filled his army with conſternation and dread. As for the Carthaginians, they were inſpired with the boldeſt courage. Hannibal animates them with freſh promiſes; and cleaving with a ſtone the ſkull of the lamb he was ſacrificing, he prays Jupiter to daſh to pieces his head in like manner, in caſe he did not give his ſoldiers the rewards he had promiſed them.

Scipio poſts, in the firſt line, the troops armed with miſſive weapons, and the Gauliſh horſe; and forming his ſecond line of the flower of the confederate cavalry, he advances ſlowly. Hannibal advanced with his whole cavalry, in the center of which he had poſted the troopers who rid with bridles, and the Numidian horſemen on † the wings, in order to ſurround the enemy. The officers and cavalry being eager to engage, a battle enſues. At the firſt onſet, Scipio's light-armed ſoldiers diſcharged their darts, but frighted at the Carthaginian

* *Theſe two ill omens were, firſt, A wolf had ſtole into the camp of the Romans, and cruelly mangled ſome of the ſoldiers, without receiving the leaſt harm from thoſe who endeavoured to kill it: And ſecondly, A ſwarm of bees had pitched upon a tree near the Prætorium or general's tent.* Liv. l. 21. c. 46.

† *The Numidians uſed to ride without ſaddle or bridle.*

cavalry which came pouring upon them, and fearing leſt they ſhould be trampled under the horſes feet, they gave way, and retired through the intervals of the ſquadrons. The fight continued a long time with equal ſucceſs. Many troopers on both ſides diſmounted; ſo that the battle was carried on between infantry as well as cavalry. In the mean time, the Numidians ſurround the enemy, and charge the rear of the light-armed troops, who at firſt had eſcaped the attack of the cavalry, and tread them under their horſes feet. The center of the Roman forces had hitherto fought with great bravery. Many were killed on both ſides, and even more on that of the Carthaginians. But the Roman troops were put into diſorder by the Numidians, who attacked them in the rear; and eſpecially by a wound the conſul received, which diſabled him. However, this general was reſcued out of the enemy's hands by the bravery of his ſon, then but ſeventeen years old; and who afterwards was honoured with the ſurname of Africanus, for having put a glorious period to this war.

The conſul, though dangerouſly wounded, retreated in good order, and was conveyed to his camp by a body of horſe, who covered him with their arms and bodies: The reſt of the army followed him thither. He haſtned to the Po, which he croſſed with his army, and then broke down the bridge, whereby he prevented Hannibal from overtaking him.

It is agreed, that Hannibal owed this firſt victory to his cavalry; and it was judged from thenceforth that the main ſtrength of his army conſiſted in his horſe; and therefore, that it would be proper for the Romans to avoid large open plains, like thoſe between the Po and the Alps.

Immediately after the battle of the Ticinus, all the neighbouring Gauls ſeemed to contend who ſhould ſubmit themſelves firſt to Hannibal; furniſh him with ammunition, and enliſt in his army. And this, as Polybius has already obſerved, was what chiefly induced

that wiſe and ſkilful general, notwithſtanding the ſmall number and weakneſs of his troops, to hazard a battle; which he indeed was now obliged to venture, from the impoſſibility of marching back whenever he ſhould deſire to do it, becauſe nothing but a battle would oblige the Gauls to declare for him; their aſſiſtance being the only refuge he then had left.

Battle of Trebia.

(*t*) Sempronius the conſul, upon the orders he had received from the ſenate, was returned from Sicily to Ariminum. From thence he marched towards Trebia, a ſmall river of Lombardy, which falls into the Po a little above Placentia, where he joined his forces to thoſe of Scipio. Hannibal advanced towards the camp of the Romans, from which he was ſeparated only by that ſmall river. The armies lying ſo near one another, gave occaſion to frequent ſkirmiſhes, in one of which Sempronius, at the head of a body of horſe, gained but a very ſmall advantage over a party of Carthaginians, which nevertheleſs very much increaſed the good opinion this general naturally entertained of his own merit.

This inconſiderable ſucceſs ſeemed to him a compleat victory. He boaſted his having vanquiſhed the enemy in the ſame kind of fight, in which his collegue had been defeated, and that he thereby had revived the courage of the dejected Romans. Being now reſolutely bent to come, as ſoon as poſſible, to a deciſive battle; he thought it proper, for decency ſake, to conſult Scipio, whom he found was of a quite different opinion from himſelf. Scipio repreſented, that in caſe time ſhould be allowed for diſciplining the new levies during the winter, they would be much fitter for ſervice in the enſuing campaign; that the Gauls, who were naturally fickle and inconſtant, would diſengage themſelves inſenſibly from Hannibal; that as ſoon as his wounds ſhould be healed, his preſence might be of ſome uſe in an affair of ſuch general concern:

(*t*) Polyb. l. 23. p. 220—227. Liv. l. 21. n. 51—56.

In a word, he beſought him earneſtly not to proceed any further.

Theſe reaſons, though ſo juſt, made no impreſſion upon Sempronius. He ſaw himſelf at the head of ſixteen thouſand Romans, and twenty thouſand allies, exclusive of the cavalry; (which number, in thoſe ages, formed a compleat army) when both conſuls joined their forces. The troops of the enemy amounted to near the ſame number. He thought the juncture extremely favourable for him. He declared publickly, that all the officers and ſoldiers were deſirous of a battle, except his collegue, whoſe mind (he obſerved) being more affected by his wound than his body, could not, for that reaſon, bear to hear of an engagement. But ſtill, continued Sempronius, is it juſt to let the whole army droop and languiſh with him? What could Scipio expect more? Did he flatter himſelf with the hopes that a third conſul, and a new army, would come to his aſſiſtance? Such were the expreſſions he employed both among the ſoldiers, and even about Scipio's tent. The time for the election of new generals drawing near, Sempronius was afraid a ſucceſſor would be ſent before he had put an end to the war; and therefore it was his opinion, that he ought to take advantage of his collegue's illneſs, to ſecure the whole honour of the victory to himſelf. As he had no regard, ſays Polybius, to the time proper for action, and only to that which he thought ſuited his own intereſt, he could not fail of taking wrong meaſures. He therefore ordered his army to prepare for battle.

This was the very thing Hannibal deſired, holding it for a maxim, that when a general is once got into a foreign country, or one poſſeſſed by the enemy, and has formed ſome great deſign, that ſuch an one has no other refuge left, but continually to raiſe the expectations of his allies by ſome freſh exploits. Beſides, knowing that he ſhould have to deal only with new-levied and unexperienced troops, he was deſirous of taking all the advantages poſſible of the ardour of

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the Gauls, who were extremely desirous of fighting; and of Scipio's absence, who, by reason of his wound, could not be present in the battle. Mago was therefore ordered to lie in ambush with two thousand men, consisting of horse and foot, on the steep banks of a small rivulet, which ran between the two camps; and to conceal himself among the bushes that were very thick there. An ambuscade is often safer in a smooth, open country, but full of thickets, as this was, than in woods, because such a spot is less apt to be suspected. He afterwards caused a detachment of Numidian cavalry to cross the Trebia, with orders to advance at break of day as far as the very barriers of the enemy's camp, in order to provoke them to fight; and then to retreat and repass the river, in order to draw the Romans after them. What he had foreseen, came directly to pass. The fiery Sempronius immediately detached his whole cavalry against the Numidians, and then six thousand light-armed troops, who were soon followed by all the rest of the army. The Numidians fled designedly; upon which the Romans pursued them with great eagerness, and crossed the Trebia without resistance, but not without great difficulty, being forced to wade up to their very arm-pits through the rivulet, which was swoln with the torrents that had fallen, in the night, from the neighbouring mountains. It was then about the winter-solstice, that is, in December. It happened to snow that day, and the cold was excessively piercing. The Romans had left their camp fasting, and without taking the least precaution: whereas the Carthaginians had, by Hannibal's order, eat and drunk plentifully in their tents; had got their horses in readiness, rubbed themselves with oil, and put on their armour by the fire-side.

They were thus prepared when the fight began. The Romans defended themselves valiantly for a considerable time, though they were half spent with hunger, fatigue and cold; but their cavalry was at last broke and put to flight by the Carthaginians, which much

exceeded theirs in numbers and ſtrength. The infantry were ſoon in great diſorder alſo. The ſoldiers in ambuſcade ſallying out at a proper time, ruſhed on a ſudden upon their rear, and compleated the overthrow. A body of above ten thouſand men fought reſolutely their way through the Gauls and Africans, of whom they made a dreadful ſlaughter; but as they could neither aſſiſt their friends nor return to the camp, the way to it being cut off by the Numidian horſe, the river and the rain, they retreated in good order to Placentia. Moſt of the reſt loſt their lives on the banks of the river, being trampled to pieces by the elephants and horſes. Thoſe who eſcaped, went and joined the body above mentioned. The next night Scipio retired alſo to Placentia. The Carthaginians gained a compleat victory, and their loſs was inconſiderable, except that a great number of their horſes were deſtroyed by the cold, the rain, and the ſnow; and that, of all their elephants, they ſaved but one only.

(*u*) In Spain, the Romans had better ſucceſs, in this and the following campaign: for Cn. Scipio extended his conqueſts as far as the river Iberus †, defeated Hanno, and took him priſoner.

(*w*) Hannibal took the opportunity, whilſt he was in winter-quarters, to refreſh his troops, and gain the affection of the natives. For this purpoſe, after having declared to the priſoners he had taken from the Roman allies, that he was not come with the view of making war upon them, but to reſtore the Italians to their liberty and protect them againſt the Romans, he ſent them all home to their own countries, without requiring the leaſt ranſom.

(*x*) The winter was no ſooner over, than he ſet out towards Tuſcany, whither he haſtned his march for two important reaſons. Firſt, To avoid the ill effects which would ariſe from the ill-will of the Gauls,

(*u*) Polyb. l. 3. p. 228, 229. Liv. l. 21. n. 60, 61. (*w*) Polyb. p. 229. (*x*) Liv. l. 21. n. 58.

† *Or Ebro.*

who

who were tired with the long ſtay of the Carthaginian army in their territories; and impatient of bearing the whole burden of a war, in which they had engaged with no other view, but to carry it into the country of their common enemy. Secondly, That he might increaſe, by ſome bold exploit, the reputation of his arms, in the minds of all the inhabitants of Italy, by carrying the war to the very gates of Rome; and at the ſame time, to animate afreſh his troops, and the Gauls his allies, by the plunder of the enemy's lands. But in his march over the Apennines, he was overtaken with a dreadful ſtorm, which deſtroyed great numbers of his men. The cold, the rain, the winds and hail, ſeemed to conſpire his ruin; ſo that the fatigues which the Carthaginians had undergone in croſſing the Alps, ſeemed leſs dreadful than thoſe they now ſuffered. He therefore marched back to Placentia, where he again fought Sempronius, who was returned from Rome. The loſs on both ſides was very near equal.

(*y*) Whilſt Hannibal was in theſe winter-quarters, he hit upon a true Carthaginian ſtratagem. He was ſurrounded with fickle and inconſtant nations: The friendſhip he had contracted with them, was but of freſh date. He had reaſon to apprehend a change in their diſpoſition, and conſequently that attempts would be made upon his life. To ſecure himſelf therefore, he got peruques made, and clothes ſuited to every age. Of theſe he ſometimes wore one, ſometimes another; and diſguiſed himſelf ſo often, that not only ſuch as ſaw him tranſiently, but even his intimate acquaintance, could ſcarce know him.

(*z*) At Rome, Cn. Servilius and C. Flaminius had been appointed conſuls. Hannibal having advice that the latter was advanced already as far as Arretium, a town of Tuſcany, reſolved to go and engage him as

(*y*) Polyb. l. 21. Liv. l. 22. n. 1. Appian. in Bell. Annib. p. 316.
(*z*) Polyb. p. 230, 231. Liv. l. 22. n. 2. A. M. 3788. Rome, 532.

ſoon

ſoon as poſſible. Two ways being ſhewn him, he choſe the ſhorteſt, though the moſt troubleſome, nay, almoſt impaſſible, by reaſon of a fen which he was forced to go through. Here the army ſuffered incredible hardſhips. During four days and three nights, they marched half way up the leg in water, and conſequently could not get a moment's ſleep. Hannibal himſelf, who rid upon the only elephant he had left, could hardly get through. His long want of ſleep, and the thick vapours which exhaled from that marſhy place, together with the unhealthfulneſs of the ſeaſon, coſt him one of his eyes.

Battle of Thraſymenus.

(*a*) Hannibal being thus got, almoſt unexpectedly, out of this dangerous place, refreſhed his troops, and then marched and pitched his camp between Arretium and Feſulæ, in the richeſt and moſt fruitful part of Tuſcany. His firſt endeavours were, to diſcover the genius and character of Flaminius, in order that he might take advantage of his foible, which, according to Polybius, ought to be the chief ſtudy of a general. He was told, that Flaminius was greatly conceited of his own merit, bold, enterprizing, raſh, and fond of glory. To plunge him the deeper into theſe exceſſes, to which he was naturally prone *, he enflamed his impetuous ſpirit, by laying waſte and burning the whole country, in his ſight.

Flaminius was not of a temper to continue unactive in his camp, though Hannibal ſhould have lain ſtill. But when he ſaw the territories of his allies laid waſte before his eyes, he thought it would reflect diſhonour upon him, ſhould he ſuffer Hannibal to ranſack Italy without controul; and even advance to the very walls of Rome, without meeting any reſiſtance. He rejected with ſcorn the prudent counſels of thoſe who

(*a*) Polyb. l. 3. p. 231—238.

* Apparebat ferociter omnia ac temere acturum. Quoque propensior esset in suæ vitio, aliena eadem atque irritare Pœnus parat. *Liv.* l. 22. n. 3.

adviſed

adviſed him to wait the arrival of his collegue; and to be ſatisfied for the preſent, with putting a ſtop to the devaſtation of the enemy.

In the mean time, Hannibal was ſtill advancing towards Rome, having Cortona on the left hand, and the lake Thraſymenus on his right. When he ſaw that the conſul followed cloſe after him, with the deſign to give him battle, by ſtopping him in his march; having obſerved that the ground was convenient for that purpoſe, he alſo began to prepare himſelf for the battle. The lake Thraſymenus and the mountains of Cortona form a very narrow defile, which leads into a large valley, lined, on both ſides, with hills of a conſiderable height, and cloſed, at the outlet, by a ſteep hill of difficult acceſs. On this hill, Hannibal, after having croſſed the valley, came and encamped with the main body of his army; poſting his light-armed infantry in ambuſcade upon the hills on the right, and part of his cavalry behind thoſe on the left, as far almoſt as the entrance of the defile, through which Flaminius was obliged to paſs. Accordingly this general, who followed him very eagerly, with the reſolution to fight him, being come to the defile near the lake, was forced to halt, becauſe night was coming on; but he entred it the next morning at day-break.

Hannibal having permitted him to advance, with all his forces, above half way through the valley, and ſeeing the Roman van-guard pretty near him, he ſounded the charge, and commanded his troops to come out of their ambuſcade, in order that he might attack the enemy, at the ſame time, from all quarters. The reader may gueſs at the conſternation with which the Romans were ſeized.

They were not yet drawn up in order of battle, neither had they got their arms in readineſs, when they found themſelves attacked in front, in rear, and in flank. In a moment, all the ranks were put into diſorder. Flaminius, alone undaunted in ſo univerſal a ſurprize, animates his ſoldiers both with his hand and

voice,

voice; and exhorts them to cut themſelves a paſſage, with their ſwords, through the midſt of the enemy. But the tumult which reigned every where, the dreadful ſhouts of the enemy, and a fog that was riſen, prevented his being ſeen or heard. However, when the Romans ſaw themſelves ſurrounded on all ſides, either by the enemy or the lake, and the impoſſibility of ſaving their lives by flight, it rouzed their courage, and both parties began the fight with aſtoniſhing animoſity. Their fury was ſo great, that not a ſoldier in either army perceived an earthquake which happened in that country, and buried whole cities in ruins. In this confuſion, Flaminius being ſlain by one of the Inſubrian Gauls, the Romans began to give ground, and at laſt quite ran away. Great numbers, to ſave themſelves, leaped into the lake; whilſt others, climbing over the mountains, fell into the enemy's hands whom they ſtrove to avoid. Six thouſand only cut their way through the conquerors, and retreated to a place of ſafety: but the next day they were taken priſoners. In this battle fifteen thouſand Romans were killed, and about ten thouſand eſcaped to Rome, by different roads. Hannibal ſent back the Latins, who were allies of the Romans, into their own country, without demanding the leaſt ranſom. He commanded ſearch to be made for the body of Flaminius, in order to give it burial, but it could not be found. He afterwards put his troops into quarters of refreſhment, and ſolemnized the funerals of thirty of his chief officers, who were killed in the battle. He loſt in all but fifteen hundred men, moſt of whom were Gauls.

Immediately after, Hannibal diſpatched a courier to Carthage, with the news of his good ſucceſs in Italy. This cauſed the greateſt joy for the preſent, raiſed the moſt promiſing hopes with regard to the future, and revived the courage of all the citizens. They now prepared, with incredible ardor, to ſend into Italy and Spain, all neceſſary ſuccours.

Rome, on the contrary, was filled with univerſal

grief and alarm, as ſoon as the prætor had pronounced from the roſtra the following words, *We have loſt a great battle.* The ſenate, ſtudious of nothing but the publick welfare, thought that in ſo great a calamity and ſo imminent a danger, recourſe muſt be had to extraordinary remedies. They therefore appointed Quintus Fabius dictator, a perſon as conſpicuous for his wiſdom as his birth. It was the cuſtom at Rome, that the moment a dictator was nominated, all authority ceaſed, that of the tribunes of the people excepted. M. Minucius was appointed his general of horſe. We are now in the ſecond year of the war.

Hannibal's conduct with reſpect to Fabius.

(*b*) Hannibal, after the battle of Thraſymenus, not thinking it yet proper to march directly to Rome, contented himſelf, in the mean time, with laying waſte the country. He croſſed Umbria and Picenum; and after ten days march, arrived in the territory of Adria *. He got a very conſiderable booty in this march. Out of his implacable enmity to the Romans, he commanded, that all who were able to bear arms ſhould be put to the ſword; and meeting no obſtacle any where, he advanced as far as Apulia; plundering the countries which lay in his way, and carrying deſolation wherever he came, in order to compel the nations to diſengage themſelves from their alliance with the Romans; and to ſhow all Italy, that Rome itſelf, now quite diſpirited, yielded him the victory.

Fabius, followed by Minucius and four legions, had marched from Rome in queſt of the enemy, but with a firm reſolution not to let him take the leaſt advantage, nor to advance one ſtep till he had firſt reconnoitred every place; nor hazard a battle till he ſhould be ſure of ſucceſs.

As ſoon as both armies were in ſight, Hannibal, to terrify the Roman forces, offered them battle, by advancing very near the intrenchments of their camp.

(*b*) Polyb. l. 23. p. 239—255. Liv. l. 22. n. 9—30.

* *A ſmall town, which gave name to the Adriatic ſea.*

But

But finding every thing quiet there, he retired; blaming, in appearance, the outward cowardiſe of the enemy, whom he upbraided with having at laſt loſt that valour ſo natural to their anceſtors; but fretted inwardly, to find he had to do with a general of ſo different a genius from Sempronius and Flaminius; and that the Romans, inſtructed by their defeat, had at laſt made choice of a commander capable of oppoſing Hannibal.

From this moment he perceived that the dictator would not be formidable to him by the boldneſs of his attacks, but by the prudence and regularity of his conduct, which might perplex and embarraſs him very much. The only circumſtance he now wanted to know was, whether the new general had reſolution enough to purſue ſteadily the plan he ſeemed to have laid down. He endeavoured therefore to rouze him, by his frequent removals from place to place, by laying waſte the lands, plundering the cities, and burning the villages and towns. He, at one time, would raiſe his camp with the utmoſt precipitation; and at another, ſtop ſhort in ſome valley out of the common rout, to try whether he could not ſurprize him in the plain. However, Fabius ſtill kept his troops on hills, but without loſing ſight of Hannibal; never approaching near enough to come to an engagement; nor yet keeping at ſuch a diſtance, as might give him an opportunity of eſcaping him. He never ſuffered his ſoldiers to ſtir out of the camp, except to forage, and on theſe occaſions, not without a numerous convoy. If ever he engaged, it was only in ſlight ſkirmiſhes, and ſo very cautiouſly, that his troops had always the advantage. By this conduct he revived, by inſenſible degrees, the courage of the ſoldiers, which the loſs of three battles had entirely damped; and enabled them to rely, as they had formerly done, on their valour and good ſucceſs.

Hannibal, having got immenſely rich ſpoils in Campania, where he had reſided a conſiderable time, left it,

it, with his army, in order that he might not conſume the proviſions he had laid up, and which he reſerved for the winter-ſeaſon. Beſides, he could no longer continue in a country of gardens and vineyards, which were more agreeable to the eye, than uſeful for the ſubſiſtence of an army; a country where he would have been forced to take up his winter-quarters among marſhes, rocks, and ſands; during which the Romans would have drawn plentiful ſupplies from Capua, and the richeſt parts of Italy. He therefore reſolved to ſettle elſewhere.

Fabius naturally ſuppoſed, that Hannibal would be obliged to return the ſame way he came, and that he might eaſily annoy him during his march. He began by throwing a conſiderable body of troops into, and thereby ſecuring, Caſilinum, a ſmall town ſituated on the Vulturnus, which ſeparated the territories of Falernum from thoſe of Capua: He afterwards detached four thouſand men, to go and ſeize the only narrow paſs through which Hannibal could come out; and then, according to his uſual cuſtom, poſts himſelf with the remainder of the army on the hills adjoining to the road.

The Carthaginians arrive, and encamp in the plain at the foot of the mountains. And now, the crafty Carthaginian falls into the ſame ſnare he had laid for Flaminius at the defile of Thraſymenus; and it ſeemed impoſſible for him ever to extricate himſelf out of this difficulty, there being but one outlet, of which the Romans were poſſeſſed. Fabius, fancying himſelf ſure of his prey, was only contriving how to ſeize it. He flattered himſelf with the probable hopes of putting an end to the war by this ſingle battle. Nevertheleſs, he thought fit to defer the attack till the next day.

Hannibal perceived, that * his own artifices were now employed againſt him. It is in ſuch junctures as theſe, that a general has need of great preſence of mind, and unuſual fortitude, to view danger in its ut-

* Nec Annibalem fefellit ſuis ſe artibus peti. *Liv.*

moſt

moſt extent, without being ſtruck with the leaſt dread; and to find out ſure and inſtant expedients without deliberating. Immediately the Carthaginian general cauſed two thouſand oxen to be got together, and ordered ſmall bundles of vine-branches to be tied to their horns. He then commanded the branches to be ſet on fire in the dead of night, and the oxen to be driven with violence to the top of the hills where the Romans were encamped. As ſoon as thoſe creatures felt the flame, the pain putting them in a rage, they flew up and down on all ſides, and ſet fire to the ſhrubs and buſhes they met in their way. This ſquadron, of a new kind, was ſuſtained by a good number of light-armed ſoldiers, who had orders to ſeize upon the ſummit of the mountain, and to charge the enemy in caſe they ſhould meet them. All things happened which Hannibal had foreſeen. The Romans who guarded the defile, ſeeing the fires ſpread over the hills which were above them, and imagining that it was Hannibal making his eſcape by torch-light, quit their poſt, and run up to the mountains to oppoſe his paſſage. The main body of the army not knowing what to think of all this tumult; and Fabius himſelf not daring to ſtir, as it was exceſſively dark, for fear of a ſurprize, waits for the return of the day. Hannibal ſeizes this opportunity, marches his troops and the ſpoils thro' the defile which was now unguarded; and reſcues his army out of a ſnare in which, had Fabius been but a little more vigorous, it would either have been deſtroyed, or at leaſt very much weakened. It is glorious for a man to turn his very errors to his advantage, and make them ſubſervient to his reputation.

The Carthaginian army returned to Apulia, ſtill purſued and harraſſed by the Romans. The dictator, being obliged to take a journey to Rome, on account of ſome religious ceremonies, earneſtly intreated his general of horſe, before his departure, not to fight during his abſence. However, Minucius did not regard either his advice or his entreaties; but the very firſt oppor-

opportunity he had, whilſt part of Hannibal's troops were foraging, he charged the reſt, and gained ſome advantage. He immediately ſent advice of this to Rome, as if he had obtained a conſiderable victory. The news of this, with what had juſt before happened at the paſſage of the defile, raiſed complaints and murmurs againſt the ſlow and timorous circumſpection of Fabius. In a word, matters were carried ſo far, that the Roman people gave his general of horſe an equal authority with him; a thing unheard of before. The dictator was upon the road when he received advice of this: For he had left Rome, in order that he might not be an eye-witneſs of what was contriving againſt him. His conſtancy however was not ſhaken. He was very ſenſible, that though his authority in the command was divided, yet his ſkill in the art of war was not ſo *. This ſoon became manifeſt.

Minucius, grown arrogant at the advantage he had gained over his collegue, propoſed that each ſhould command a day alternately, or even a longer time. But Fabius rejected this propoſal, as it would have expoſed the whole army to danger, whilſt under the command of Minucius. He therefore choſe to divide the troops, in order that it might be in his power to preſerve, at leaſt, that part which ſhould fall to his ſhare.

Hannibal, fully informed of all that paſſed in the Roman camp, was over-joy'd to hear of this diſſenſion of the two commanders. He therefore laid a ſnare for the raſh Minucius, who accordingly plunged headlong into it; and engaged the enemy on an eminence, in which an ambuſcade was concealed. But his troops being ſoon put into diſorder, were juſt upon the point of being cut to pieces, when Fabius, alarmed by the ſudden outcries of the wounded, called aloud to his ſoldiers: "Let us haſten to the aſſiſtance of Minu-
"cius: Let us fly and ſnatch the victory from the

* Satis fidens haudquaquam cum imperii jure artem imperandi æquatam. *Liv.* l. 22. n. 26.

"enemy,

" enemy, and extort from our fellow-citizens a con-
" feſſion of their fault." This ſuccour was very ſea-ſonable, and compelled Hannibal to ſound a retreat. The latter, as he was retiring, ſaid, " That the cloud " which had been long hovering on the ſummit of the " mountains, had at laſt burſt with a loud crack, and " cauſed a mighty ſtorm." So important and ſeaſonable a ſervice done by the dictator, opened the eyes of Minucius. He accordingly acknowledged his error, returned immediately to his duty and obedience; and ſhewed, that it is ſometimes more glorious to know how to atone for a fault, than not to have committed it.

The ſtate of affairs in Spain.

(c) In the beginning of this campaign, Cn. Scipio, having ſuddenly attacked the Carthaginian fleet, commanded by Hamilcar, defeated it, and took twenty-five ſhips, with a great quantity of rich ſpoils. This victory made the Romans ſenſible, that they ought to be particularly attentive to the affairs of Spain, becauſe Hannibal could draw conſiderable ſupplies both of men and money from that country. Accordingly they ſent a fleet thither, the command whereof was given to P. Scipio, who, after his arrival in Spain, having joined his brother, did the commonwealth very great ſervice. Till that time the Romans had never ventured beyond the Ebro. They then were ſatisfied, with their having gained the friendſhip of the nations ſituated between that river and Italy, and confirming it by alliances: But under Publius, they croſſed the Ebro, and carried their arms much farther up into the country.

The circumſtance which contributed moſt to promote their affairs, was, the treachery of a Spaniard in Saguntum. Hannibal had left there the children of the moſt diſtinguiſhed families in Spain, whom he had taken as hoſtages. Abelox, for ſo this Spaniard was called, perſuaded Boſtar, the governor of the city, to ſend back theſe young men into their country, in order, by that means, to attach the inhabitants more

(c) Polyb. l. 3. p. 245—250. Liv. l. 22. n. 19—22.

firmly

firmly to the Carthaginian intereſt. He himſelf was charged with this commiſſion. But he carried them to the Romans, who afterwards delivered them to their relations, and, by ſo acceptable a preſent acquired their amity.

The battle of Cannæ.

(*d*) The next ſpring, C. Terentius Varro and L. Æmilius Paulus were choſen conſuls at Rome. In this campaign, which was the third of the ſecond Punic war, the Romans did what had never been practiſed before, viz. to compoſe the army of eight legions, each conſiſting of five thouſand men, excluſive of the allies. For, as we have already obſerved, the Romans never raiſed but four legions, each of which conſiſted of about four thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe *. They never, except on the moſt important occaſions, made them conſiſt of five thouſand of the one, and four hundred of the other. As for the troops of the allies, their infantry was equal to that of the legions, but they had three times as many horſe. Each of the conſuls had commonly half the troops of the allies, with two legions, in order for them to act ſeparately; and all theſe forces were very ſeldom uſed at the ſame time, and in the ſame expedition. Here the Romans had not only four, but eight legions, ſo important did the affair appear to them. The ſenate even thought fit, that the two conſuls of the foregoing year, Servilius and Attilius, ſhould ſerve in the army as proconſuls: but the latter could not go into the field, by reaſon of his great age.

Varro, at his ſetting out from Rome, had declared openly, that he would fall upon the enemy the very firſt opportunity, and put an end to the war; adding, that it would never be terminated, ſo long as men, of the character of Fabius, ſhould be at the head of the Roman armies. An advantage which he gained over

(*d*) A. M. 3789. Rome 533. Polyb. l. 3. p. 255—268. Liv. l. 22. n. 34—54.

* *Polybius ſuppoſes only two hundred horſe in each legion: But J. Lipſius thinks that this is a miſtake either of the author or tranſcriber.*

the

the Carthaginians, of whom near ſeventeen hundred were killed, greatly increaſed his boldneſs and arrogance. As for Hannibal, he conſidered this loſs as a real advantage; being perſuaded that it would ſerve as a bait to the conſul's raſhneſs; and prompt him on to a battle, which he wanted extremely. It was afterwards known, that Hannibal was reduced to ſuch a ſcarcity of proviſions, that he could not poſſibly have ſubſiſted ten days longer. The Spaniards were already meditating to leave him. So that there would have been an end of Hannibal and his army, if his good fortune had not thrown a Varro in his way.

Both armies having often removed from place to place, came in ſight of each other near Cannæ, a little town in Apulia, ſituated on the river Aufidus. As Hannibal was encamped in a level open country, and his cavalry much ſuperior to that of the Romans, Æmilius did not think proper to engage in ſuch a place. He was for drawing the enemy into an irregular ſpot, where the infantry might have the greateſt ſhare in the action. But his collegue, who was wholly unexperienced, was of a contrary opinion. Such is the inconveniency of a divided command; jealouſy, a diſparity of tempers, or a diverſity of views, ſeldom failing to create a diſſenſion between the two generals.

The troops on each ſide were, for ſome time, contented with ſlight ſkirmiſhes. But, at laſt, one day when Varro had the command (for the two conſuls took it by turns) preparations were made on both ſides for battle. Æmilius had not been conſulted; yet, tho' he extremely diſapproved the conduct of his collegue, as it was not in his power to prevent it, he ſeconded him to the utmoſt.

Hannibal, after having made his ſoldiers obſerve, that, being ſuperior in cavalry, they could not poſſibly have pitched upon a better ſpot for fighting, had it been left to their choice: "Return then, ſays he, thanks "to the gods, for having brought the enemy hither, "that you may triumph over them; and thank me "alſo,

" alſo, for having reduced the Romans to a neceſſity " of coming to an engagement. After three great " victories, won ſucceſſively, is not the remembrance " of your own actions ſufficient to inſpire you with " courage? By the former battles, you are become " maſters of the open country; but this will put you " in poſſeſſion of all the cities, and (I preſume to ſay " it) of all the riches and power of the Romans. It " is not words that we want, but action. I truſt in " the gods, that you ſhall ſoon ſee my promiſes ve- " rified."

The two armies were very unequal in number. That of the Romans, including the allies, amounted to four-ſcore thouſand foot, and a little above ſix thouſand horſe: and that of the Carthaginians conſiſted but of forty thouſand foot, (all well diſciplined) and of ten thouſand horſe. Æmilius commanded the right wing of the Romans, Varro the left, and Servilius, one of the conſuls of the laſt year, was poſted in the center. Hannibal, who had the art of taking all advantages, had poſted himſelf, ſo as the wind Vulturnus *, which riſes at certain ſtated times, ſhould blow directly in the faces of the Romans during the fight, and cover them with duſt; then keeping the river Aufidus on his left, and poſting his cavalry in the wings, he formed his main body of the Spaniſh and Gallick infantry which he poſted in the center, with half the African heavy-armed foot on their right, and half on their left, on the ſame line with the cavalry. His army being thus drawn up, he put himſelf at the head of the Spaniſh and Gallick infantry; and having drawn them out of the line, advanced to begin the battle, rounding his front as he advanced nearer the enemy; and extending his flanks in the ſhape of a half-moon, in order that he might leave no interval between his main body and the

* *A violent burning wind, blowing South-South-Eaſt, which, in this flat and ſandy country, raiſed clouds of hot duſt, and blinded and choaked the Romans.*

reſt of the line, which conſiſted of the heavy-armed infantry, who had not moved from their poſts.

The fight ſoon began, and the Roman legions that were in the wings, ſeeing their center warmly attacked, advanced to charge the enemy in flank. Hannibal's main body, after a brave reſiſtance, finding themſelves furiouſly attacked on all ſides, gave way, being overpowered by numbers; and retired through the interval they had left in the center of the line. The Romans having purſued them thither with eager confuſion, the two wings of the African infantry, which was freſh, well-armed, and in good order, wheeled about on a ſudden towards that void ſpace in which the Romans, who were already fatigued, had thrown themſelves in diſorder; and attacked them vigorouſly on both ſides, without allowing them time to recover themſelves, or leaving them ground to draw up. In the mean time, the two wings of the cavalry, having defeated thoſe of the Romans, which were much inferior to them; and in order to purſue the broken and ſcattered ſquadrons, having left only as many forces as were neceſſary to keep them from rallying; advanced and charged the rear of the Roman infantry, which, being ſurrounded at once on every ſide by the enemy's horſe and foot, was all cut to pieces, after having fought with unparallelled bravery. Æmilius, being covered with the wounds he had received in the fight, was afterwards killed by a body of the enemy to whom he was not known; and with him two quæſtors, one and twenty military tribunes, many who had been either conſuls or prætors; Servilius, one of the laſt year's conſuls, Minucius the late general of the horſe to Fabius, and fourſcore ſenators. Above ſeventy thouſand men fell in this battle *; and the Carthaginians, ſo great was their fury †, did not

* *Livy leſſens very much the number of the ſlain, making them amount but to about forty three thouſand. But Polybius ought rather to be believed.*

† Duo maximi exercitus cæſi ad hoſtium ſatietatem, donec Annibal diceret militi ſuo: Parce ferro. *Flor.* l. 1. c. 6.

give

give over the ſlaughter, till Hannibal, in the very heat of it, called out to them ſeveral times; *Stop, ſoldiers; ſpare the vanquiſhed.* Ten thouſand men, who had been left to guard the camp, ſurrendred themſelves priſoners of war after the battle. Varro the conſul retired to Venuſia, with only ſeventy horſe; and about four thouſand men eſcaped into the neighbouring cities. Thus Hannibal remained maſter of the field, he being chiefly indebted for this, as well as for his former victories, to the ſuperiority of his cavalry over that of the Romans. He loſt four thouſand Gauls, fifteen hundred Spaniards and Africans, and two hundred horſe.

Maharbal, one of the Carthaginian generals, adviſed Hannibal to march directly to Rome, promiſing him that within five days they ſhould ſup in the Capitol. Hannibal anſwering, that it was an affair which required mature examination; "I ſee, replies Maharbal, that the gods have not endowed the ſame man "with all talents. You, Hannibal, know how to "conquer, but not to make the beſt uſe of a victory." *

It is pretended that this delay ſaved Rome and the empire. Many authors, and among the reſt Livy, charge Hannibal, on this occaſion, as guilty of a capital error. But others, more reſerved, are not for condemning, without evident proofs, ſo renowned a general, who, in the reſt of his conduct was never wanting, either in prudence to make choice of the beſt expedients, or in readineſs to put his deſigns in execution. They, beſides, are inclined to judge favourably of him, from the authority, or at leaſt the ſilence of Polybius, who, ſpeaking of the memorable conſequences of this celebrated battle, ſays, That the Carthaginians were firmly perſuaded, that they ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of Rome at the firſt aſſault: But then he does not mention, how this could poſſibly have been effected, as that city was very populous, warlike,

* Tum Maharbal: Non omnia nimirum eidem Dii dedere. Vincere ſcis, Annibal, victoria uti neſcis. *Liv.* l. 22. n. 51.

ſtrongly fortified, and defended with a garriſon of two legions; nor does he any where give the leaſt hint that ſuch a project was feaſible, or that Hannibal did wrong in not attempting to put it in execution.

And indeed, if we examine matters more narrowly, we ſhall find that, according to the common maxims of war, it could not be undertaken. It is certain that Hannibal's whole infantry, before the battle, amounted but to forty thouſand men; and as ſix thouſand of theſe had been ſlain in the action, and, doubtleſs, many more either wounded or diſabled, there could remain but ſix or ſeven and twenty thouſand foot fit for ſervice; now this number was not ſufficient to inveſt ſo large a city as Rome, which had a river running through it; nor to attack it in form, becauſe they had neither engines, ammunition, nor any other things neceſſary for carrying on a ſiege. (*e*) For want of theſe, Hannibal, even after his victory at Thraſymenus, miſcarried in his attempt upon Spoletum: And ſoon after the battle of Cannæ, was forced to raiſe the ſiege of a little nameleſs city *. It cannot be denied, but that, had he miſcarried on the preſent occaſion, nothing leſs could have been expected but that he muſt have been irrecoverably loſt. However, to form a juſt judgment of this matter, a man ought to be a ſoldier, and ſhould, perhaps, have been upon the ſpot. This is an old diſpute, on which none but thoſe who are perfectly well ſkilled in the art of war, ſhould pretend to give their opinion.

(*f*) Soon after the battle of Cannæ, Hannibal diſpatched his brother Mago to Carthage, with the news of his victory; and at the ſame time to demand ſuccours, in order that he might be enabled to put an end to the war. Mago being arrived, made, in full ſenate, a lofty ſpeech, in which he extolled his brother's exploits, and diſplayed the great advantages he had gained over the Romans. And, to give a more lively idea

(*e*) Liv. l. 22. n. 9. Liv. l. 23. n. 18. (*f*) Liv. l. 23. n. 11—14.

* *Caſi linum.*

of the greatneſs of the victory, by ſpeaking in ſome meaſure to the eye, he poured out, in the middle of the ſenate, a buſhel * of gold rings, which had been taken from the fingers of ſuch of the Roman nobility as had fallen in the battle of Cannæ. He concluded with demanding money, proviſions, and freſh troops. All the ſpectators were ſtruck with an extraordinary joy; upon which Imilcon, a great ſtickler for Hannibal, fancying he now had a fair opportunity to inſult Hanno, the chief of the contrary faction, aſked him, whether he was ſtill diſſatisfied with the war they were carrying on againſt the Romans, and was for having Hannibal delivered up to them. Hanno, without diſcovering the leaſt emotion, replied, that he was ſtill of the ſame mind; and that the victories they ſo much boaſted (ſuppoſing them real) could not give him joy, but only in proportion as they ſhould be made ſubſervient to an advantageous peace: He then undertook to prove, that the mighty exploits, on which they inſiſted ſo much, were wholly chimerical and imaginary. "I have cut to pieces, ſays he, (continuing "Mago's ſpeech) the Roman armies: Send me ſome "troops.—What more could you aſk, had you been "conquered? I have twice ſeized upon the enemy's "camp, full, (no doubt) of proviſions of every kind. "—Send me proviſions and money.—Could you have "talked otherwiſe had you loſt your camp?" He then aſked Mago, whether any of the Latin nations were come over to Hannibal, and whether the Romans had made him any propoſals of peace. To this Mago anſwering in the negative: "I then perceive, replied "Hanno, That we are no farther advanced, than "when Hannibal firſt landed in Italy." The inference he drew from hence was, that neither men nor money ought to be ſent. But Hannibal's faction pre-

* Pliny, l. 33. c. 1. *ſays, that there were three buſhels ſent to Carthage.* Livy *obſerves, that ſome authors made them amount to three buſhels and a half; but he thinks it moſt probable, that there was but one,* l. 33. n. 12. Florus, l. 2. c. 16. *makes it two buſhels.*

vailing

vailing at that time, no regard was paid to Hanno's remonſtrances, which were conſidered merely as the effect of prejudice and jealouſy; and accordingly, orders were given for levying the ſupplies of men and money which Hannibal required. Mago ſet out immediately for Spain, to raiſe twenty-four thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe in that country; but theſe levies were afterwards ſtopped, and ſent another way: ſo eager was the contrary faction to oppoſe the deſigns of a general whom they utterly abhorred. (*g*) Whereas, in Rome, a conſul, who had fled, was thanked becauſe he had not deſpaired of the commonwealth; at Carthage, people were almoſt angry with Hannibal, for being victorious. But Hanno could never forgive him the advantages he had gained in this war, becauſe he had undertaken it in oppoſition to his counſel. Thus being more jealous for the honour of his own opinions than for the good of his country, and a greater enemy to the Carthaginian general than to the Romans, he did all that lay in his power to prevent future, and to ruin paſt, ſucceſſes.

Hannibal takes up his winter quarters in Capua.

(*b*) The battle of Cannæ ſubjected the moſt powerful nations of Italy to Hannibal, drew over to his intereſt Græcia Magna *, with the city of Tarentum; and ſo wreſted, from the Romans, their moſt ancient allies, among whom the Capuans held the firſt rank. This city, by the fertility of its ſoil, its advantageous ſituation, and the bleſſings of a long peace, had roſe to great wealth and power. Luxury, and a flow of pleaſures, (the uſual attendants on wealth) had corrupted the minds of all its citizens, who, from their natural inclination, were but too much inclined to voluptuouſneſs and all exceſſes.

(*g*) De St. Evrem.

(*b*) Liv. l. 23. n. 4—18.

* Cæterum quum Græci omnem fere oram maritimam Coloniis ſuis, è Græcia deductis, obſiderent, &c. *But after the Greeks had, by their colonies, poſſeſſed themſelves of almoſt all the maritime coaſt, this very country, (together with Sicily) was called* Græcia Magna. *&c.* Cluver. Geograph. l. 3. c. 30.

Hannibal

Hannibal † made choice of this city for his winter quarters. Here it was that his ſoldiers, who had ſuſtained the moſt grievous toils, and braved the moſt formidable dangers, were overthrown by delights and a profuſion of all things, into which they plunged with the greater eagerneſs, as they, till then, had been ſtrangers to them. Their courage was ſo greatly enervated in this bewitching retirement, that all their after-efforts were owing rather to the fame and ſplendor of their former victories, than to their preſent ſtrength. When Hannibal marched his forces out of the city, one would have taken them for other men, and the reverſe of thoſe who had ſo lately marched into it. Accuſtomed, during the winter-ſeaſon, to commodious lodgings, to eaſe and plenty; they were no longer able to bear hunger, thirſt, long marches, watchings, and the other toils of war: not to mention that all obedience, all diſcipline were entirely laid aſide.

I only tranſcribe on this occaſion from Livy, who, if he may be credited, thinks Hannibal's ſtay at Capua a reproach to his conduct; and pretends, that he there was guilty of an infinitely greater error, than when he neglected to march directly to Rome after the battle of Cannæ. For this delay *, ſays Livy, might ſeem only to have retarded his victory; whereas this laſt miſ-conduct rendred him abſolutely incapable of ever defeating the enemy. In a word, as Marcellus obſerved judiciouſly afterwards, Capua was to the Carthaginians and their general, what || Cannæ had been to the Romans. There their martial genius, their love of diſcipline, were loſt: There their former fame, and their

† Ibi partem majorem hiemis exercitum in tectis habuit; adverſus omnia humana mala ſæpe ac diu durantem, bonis inexpertum atque inſuetum. Itaque quos nulla mali vicerat vis, perdidere nimia bona ac voluptates immodicæ, et eo impenſius, quo avidius ex inſolentia in eas ſe merſerant. *Liv.* l. 23. n. 18.

* Illa enim cunctatio diſtuliſſe modo victoriam videri potuit, hic error vires ademiſſe ad vincendum. *Liv.* l. 23. n. 18.

|| Capuam Annibali Cannas fuiſſe: ibi virtutem bellicam, ibi militarem diſciplinam, ibi præteriti temporis famam, ibi ſpem futuri extinctam. *Liv.* l. 23. n. 45.

almoſt certain hopes of future glory vaniſhed at once. And indeed, from thenceforth the affairs of Hannibal advanced to their decline by ſwift ſteps; fortune declared in favour of prudence, and victory ſeemed now reconciled to the Romans.

I know not whether Livy has reaſon to impute all theſe fatal conſequences, to the delicious abode of Capua. If we examine carefully all the circumſtances of this hiſtory, we ſhall ſcarce be able to perſuade ourſelves, that the little progreſs which was afterwards made by the arms of Hannibal, ought to be aſcribed to Capua. It might, indeed, have been one cauſe, but this would be a very inconſiderable one: And the bravery with which the forces of Hannibal, afterwards defeated the armies of conſuls and prætors; the towns they took even in ſight of the Romans; their maintaining their conqueſts ſo vigorouſly, and ſtaying fourteen years after this in Italy, in ſpite of the Romans; all theſe circumſtances may induce us to believe, that Livy lays too great a ſtreſs on the delights of Capua.

The real cauſe of the decay of Hannibal's affairs, was owing to his want of neceſſary recruits and ſuccours from Carthage. (*i*) After Mago's ſpeech, the Carthaginian ſenate had judged it neceſſary, in order for the carrying on the conqueſts in Italy, to ſend thither a conſiderable reinforcement of Numidian horſe, forty elephants, and a thouſand talents; and to hire, in Spain, twenty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, to reinforce their armies in Spain and Italy. (*k*) Nevertheleſs, Mago could obtain an order but for twelve thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe: And even, when he was juſt going to march to Italy with an army, ſo much inferior to that which had been promiſed him, he was countermanded and ſent to Spain. So that Hannibal, after theſe mighty promiſes, had neither infantry, cavalry, elephants, nor money ſent him; but was left to his ſhifts. His army was now reduced to twenty-ſix thouſand foot, and

(*i*) Liv. l. 23. n. 13. (*k*) Ibid. n. 32.

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nine thouſand horſe. How could it be poſſible for him, with ſo inconſiderable an army, to ſeize, in an enemy's country, on all the advantageous poſts; to awe his new allies, to preſerve his old conqueſts and form new ones; and to keep the field, with advantage, againſt two armies of the Romans which were recruited every year? This was the true cauſe of the declenſion of Hannibal's affairs, and of the ruin of thoſe of Carthage. Was the part where Polybius treated this ſubject extant, we doubtleſs ſhould find, that he lays a greater ſtreſs on this cauſe, than on the luxurious delights of Capua.

The tranſactions relating to Spain and Sardinia.

(*l*) The two Scipios continued in the command of Spain, and their arms were making a conſiderable progreſs there, when Aſdrubal, who alone ſeemed able to cope with them, received orders from Carthage, to march into Italy to the relief of his brother. Before he left Spain, he writ to the ſenate, to convince them of the abſolute neceſſity of their ſending a general in his ſtead, who had abilities ſufficient for oppoſing the Romans. Imilcon was therefore ſent thither with an army; and Aſdrubal ſet out upon his march with his, in order to go and join his brother. The news of his departure was no ſooner known, but the greateſt part of Spain was ſubjected by the Scipios. Theſe two generals, animated by ſuch ſignal ſucceſs, reſolved to prevent him, if poſſible, from leaving Spain. They conſidered the danger to which the Romans would be expoſed, if, being ſcarce able to reſiſt Hannibal only, they ſhould be attacked by the two brothers, at the head of two powerful armies. They therefore purſued Aſdrubal, and, coming up with that general, forced him to fight, againſt his inclination. Aſdrubal was overcome; and, ſo far from being able to continue his march for Italy, he found that it would be impoſſible for him to continue with any ſafety in Spain.

The Carthaginians had no better ſucceſs in Sardinia.

(*l*) A. M. 3790. Rome 534. Liv. l. 23. n. 26—30—32—40, 41.

Deſigning to take advantage of ſome rebellions they had fomented in that country, they loſt twelve thouſand men in a battle fought againſt the Romans, who took a ſtill greater number of priſoners, among whom were Aſdrubal ſurnamed Calvus, Hanno, and Mago *, who were diſtinguiſhed by their birth as well as military exploits.

The ill ſucceſs of Hannibal. The ſieges of Capua and Rome.

(*m*) From Hannibal's abode in Capua, the Carthaginian affairs in Italy no longer ſupported their reputation. M. Marcellus, firſt as prætor, and afterwards as conſul, had contributed very much to this revolution. He harraſſed Hannibal's army on every occaſion, ſeized upon his quarters, forced him to raiſe ſieges, and even defeated him in ſeveral engagements; ſo that he was called the Sword of Rome, as Fabius had before been named its Buckler.

(*n*) But what moſt affected the Carthaginian general, was, to ſee Capua beſieged by the Romans. In order therefore to preſerve his reputation among his allies, by a vigorous ſupport of thoſe who held the chief rank as ſuch, he flew to the relief of that city; brought forward his forces, attacked the Romans, and fought ſeveral battles, to oblige them to raiſe the ſiege. (*o*) At laſt, ſeeing all his meaſures defeated, he marched haſtily towards Rome, in order to make a powerful diverſion. He had ſome hopes, in caſe he could have an opportunity, in the firſt conſternation, to ſtorm ſome part of the city, of drawing the Roman generals with all their forces from the ſiege of Capua, to the relief of their capital; at leaſt he flattered himſelf that if, for the ſake of continuing the ſiege, they ſhould divide their forces, their weakneſs might then offer an occaſion, either to the Capuans or himſelf, of enga-

(*m*) A. M. 3791. Rom. 535. Liv. l. 23. n. 41—46. l. 25. n. 22. l. 26. n. 5—16. (*n*) A. M. 3793. Rome 537. (*o*) A. M. 3794. Rom. 538.

* *Not Hannibal's brother.*

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ging and defeating them. Rome was ſtruck, but not confounded. A propoſal being made by one of the ſenators, to recall all the armies to ſuccour Rome; Fabius * declared, that it would be ſhameful in them to be terrified, and forced to change their meaſures upon every motion of Hannibal. They therefore contented themſelves with only recalling part of the army, and one of the generals, Q. Fulvius the proconſul, from the ſiege. Hannibal, after making ſome devaſtations, drew up his army in order of battle before the city, and the conſuls did the ſame. Both ſides were preparing to ſignalize themſelves in a battle, of which Rome was to be the recompence, when a violent ſtorm obliged them to ſeparate. They were no ſooner returned to their reſpective camps, but the face of the heavens grew calm and ſerene. The ſame happened frequently afterwards; inſomuch that Hannibal, believing that there was ſomething ſupernatural in the event, ſaid, according to Livy, that ſometimes † his own will, and ſometimes fortune, would not ſuffer him to take Rome.

But the circumſtances which moſt ſurprized and intimidated him, was the news, that, whilſt he lay encamped at one of the gates of Rome, the Romans had ſent out recruits for the army in Spain at another gate; and at the ſame time, diſpoſed of the ground whereon his camp was pitched, notwithſtanding which, it had been ſold for its full value. So barefaced a contempt, ſtung Hannibal to the quick: He therefore, on the other ſide, expoſed to ſale the ſhops of the goldſmiths round the forum. After this bravado he retired, and, in his march, plundered the rich temple of the goddeſs Feronia ‖.

Capua,

* Flagitioſum eſſe terreri ac circumagi ad omnes Annibalis comminationes. *Liv.* l. 26. n. 8.

† Audita vox Annibalis fertur, Potiundæ ſibi urbis Romæ, modo mentem non dari, modo fortunam. *Liv.* l. 26. n. 11.

‖ *Feronia was the goddeſs of groves, and there was one, with a temple in it, dedicated to her, at the foot of the mountain Soracte. Strabo, ſpeaking of the grove where this goddeſs was worſhipped, ſays, that a ſacrifice was offered annually to her in it; and that her votaries, inſpired by this goddeſs, walked*

Capua, thus left to itſelf, held out but very little longer. After that ſuch of its ſenators, as had the chief hand in the revolt, and conſequently could not expect any quarter from the Romans, had put themſelves to a truly tragical death *, the city ſurrendered at diſcretion. The ſucceſs of this ſiege, which, by the happy conſequences wherewith it was attended, proved deciſive, and gave the Romans a viſible ſuperiority over the Carthaginians; diſplayed, at the ſame time, how formidable the power of the Romans was, † when they undertook to puniſh their perfidious allies; and the feeble protection which Hannibal could afford his friends, at a time when they moſt wanted it.

The defeat and death of the two Scipios in Spain.

(p) The face of affairs was very much changed in Spain. The Carthaginians had three armies in that country; one commanded by Aſdrubal, the ſon of Giſgo; the ſecond by Aſdrubal, ſon of Hamilcar; and a third under Mago, who had joined the firſt Aſdrubal. The two Scipios, Cneus and Publius, were for dividing their forces, and attacking the enemy ſeparately, which was the cauſe of their ruin. It accordingly was agreed that Cneus, with a ſmall number of Romans, and thirty thouſand Celtiberians, ſhould march againſt Aſdrubal the ſon of Hamilcar; whilſt Publius, with the remainder of the forces compoſed of Romans and the allies of Italy, ſhould advance againſt the other two generals.

(p) Liv. l. 25. n. 32—39. A. M. 3793. Rome 537.

walked unhurt over burning coals. There are ſtill extant ſome medals of Auguſtus, in which this goddeſs is repreſented with a crown on her head.

* *Vilius Virius, the chief of this conſpiracy, after having repreſented to the Capuan ſenate, the ſevere treatment which his country might expect from the Romans, prevailed with twenty-ſeven ſenators to go with him to his own houſe, where, after eating a plentiful dinner, and beating themſelves with wine, they all drank poiſon. Then, taking their laſt farewell, ſome withdrew to their own houſes, others ſtaid with Virius; and all expired before the gates were opened to the Romans.* Liv. l. 26. n. 13, 14.

† Confeſſio expreſſa hoſti quanta vis in Romanis ad expetendas pœnas ab infidelibus ſociis, & quam nihil in Annibale auxilii ad receptos in fidem tuendos eſſet. *Liv.* l. 26. n. 16.

Publius

Publius was vanquiſhed firſt. To the two leaders whom he had to oppoſe, Maſiniſſa, elate with the victories he had lately gained over Syphax, joined himſelf; and was to be ſoon followed by Indibilis a powerful Spaniſh prince, The armies came to an engagement. The Romans, being thus attacked on all ſides at once, made a brave reſiſtance as long as they had their general at their head; but the moment he fell, the few troops which had eſcaped the ſlaughter, ſecured themſelves by flight.

The three victorious armies marched immediately in queſt of Cneus, in order to put an end to the war by his defeat. He was already more than half vanquiſhed, by the deſertion of his allies, who all forſook him; and left, to the Roman generals, this important inſtruction *, *viz.* never to let their own forces be exceeded in number by thoſe of foreigners. He gueſſed that his brother was ſlain, and his army defeated, upon ſeeing ſuch great bodies of the enemy arrive. He ſurvived him but a ſhort time, being killed in the engagement. Theſe two great men were equally lamented by their citizens and allies; and the Spaniards bewailed their memory, becauſe of the juſtice and moderation of their conduct.

Theſe vaſt countries ſeemed now inevitably loſt; but the valour of L. Marcius † a private officer, of the Equeſtrian order, preſerved them to the Romans. Shortly after this the younger Scipio was ſent thither, who greatly revenged the death of his father and uncle; and reſtored the affairs of the Romans in Spain, to their former flouriſhing condition.

* Id quidem cavendum ſemper Romanis ducibus erit, exemplaque hæc vere pro documentis habenda, Ne ita externis credant auxiliis, ut non plus ſui roboris ſuarumque propriè virium in caſtris habeant. *Liv.* n. 33.

† *He attacked the Carthaginians, who had divided themſelves into two camps, and were ſecure, as they thought, from any immediate attempt of the Romans; killed thirty-ſeven thouſand of them; took one thouſand eight hundred priſoners, and brought off immenſe plunder.* Liv. l. 25. n. 39.

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The defeat and death of Asdrubal.

(q) One unforeseen defeat ruined all the measures, and blasted all the hopes of Hannibal with regard to Italy. The consuls of this year, which was the eleventh of the second Punic war, (for I pass over several events for brevity sake) were C. Claudius Nero, and M. Livius. The latter had, for his province, the Cisalpin Gaul, where he was to oppose Asdrubal, who, it was reported, was preparing to pass the Alps. The former commanded in the country of the Brutians, and in Lucania, that is, in the opposite extremity of Italy, and was there making head against Hannibal.

The passage of the Alps gave Asdrubal very little trouble, because his brother had cleared the way for him, and all the nations were disposed to receive him. Some time after this, he dispatched couriers to Hannibal, but they were intercepted. Nero found by their letters, that Asdrubal was hastening to join his brother in Umbria. In a conjuncture of so delicate and important a nature as this, when the safety of Rome lay at stake, he thought himself at liberty to dispense with the established rules * of his duty, for the welfare of his country. In consequence of this, it was his opinion, that such a bold and unexpected blow ought to be struck, as might be capable of striking terror into the enemy; by marching to the relief of his collegue, in order for them to charge Asdrubal unexpectedly with their united forces. This design, if the several circumstances of it were thoroughly examined, will appear exceeding remote from imprudence. To prevent the two brothers from joining their armies, was to save the state. Very little would be hazarded, even though Hannibal should be informed of the absence of the consul. From his army, which consisted of forty-two thousand men, he drew out but seven thousand for his

(q) Polyb. l. 11. p. 622—625. Liv. l. 27. p. 35—39—51. A. M. 3798. Rome 542.

* *No general was allowed to leave his own province, to go into that of another.*

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own detachment, which indeed were the flower of his troops, but, at the ſame time, a very inconſiderable part of them. The reſt remained in the camp, which was advantageouſly ſituated, and ſtrongly fortified. Now could it be ſuppoſed, that Hannibal would attack, and force a camp, defended by thirty-five thouſand men?

Nero ſet out without giving his ſoldiers the leaſt notice of his deſign. When he advanced ſo far, that it might be communicated without any danger, he told them, that he was leading them to certain victory: That, in war, all things depended upon reputation; that the bare rumour of their arrival would diſconcert all the meaſures of the Carthaginians; and that the whole honour of this battle would fall to them.

They marched with extraordinary diligence, and joined the other conſul in the night, but did not pitch ſeparate camps, the better to impoſe upon the enemy. The troops which were newly arrived joined thoſe of Livius. The army of Porcius the prætor was incamped near that of the conſul, and in the morning a council of war was held. Livius was of opinion, that it might be proper to allow the troops ſome days to refreſh themſelves; but Nero beſought him not to ruin, by delay, an enterprize to which diſpatch only could give ſucceſs; and to take advantage of the error of the enemy, as well abſent as preſent. This advice was complied with, and accordingly the ſignal for battle was given. Aſdrubal, advancing to his foremoſt ranks, diſcovered by ſeveral circumſtances, that freſh troops were arrived; and he did not doubt but that they belonged to the other conſul. This made him conjecture, that his brother had ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs, and, at the ſame time, fear, that he was come too late to his aſſiſtance.

After making theſe reflections, he cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and his army began to march in great diſorder. Night overtaking him, and his guides deſerting, he was uncertain what way to go. He marched,

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at random, along the banks of the river Metaurus *, and was preparing to croſs it, when the three armies of the enemy came up with him. In this extremity, he ſaw it would be impoſſible for him to avoid coming to an engagement; and therefore did all things which could be expected from the preſence of mind and valour of a great captain. He ſeized an advantageous poſt, and drew up his forces on a narrow ſpot, which gave him an opportunity of poſting his left wing (the weakeſt part of his army) in ſuch a manner, that it could neither be attacked in front, nor charged in flank; and of giving, to his main battle and right wing, a greater depth than front. After this haſty diſpoſition of his forces, he poſted himſelf in the center, and firſt marched to attack the enemy's left wing; well knowing that all was at ſtake, and that he muſt either conquer or die. The battle laſted a long time, and was obſtinately diſputed by both parties. Aſdrubal eſpecially, ſignalized himſelf in this engagement, and added new glory to that he had already acquired by a ſeries of ſhining actions. He led on his ſoldiers trembling and quite diſpirited, againſt an enemy ſuperior to them both in numbers and reſolution. He animated them by his words, ſupported them by his example, and, with intreaties and menaces, endeavoured to bring back thoſe who fled; till, at laſt, ſeeing that victory declared for the Romans, and being unable to ſurvive the loſs of ſo many thouſand men who had quitted their country to follow his fortune, he ruſhed at once into the midſt of a Roman cohort, and their died in a manner worthy the ſon of Hamilcar, and the brother of Hannibal.

This was the moſt bloody battle the Carthaginians had fought during this war: And, whether we conſider the death of the general, or the ſlaughter made of the Carthaginian forces, it may be looked upon as a repriſal for the battle of Cannæ. The Carthagini-

* *Now called Metaro.*

ans

ans loſt fifty-five thouſand men *, and ſix thouſand were taken priſoners. The Romans loſt eight thouſand. Theſe were ſo weary of killing, that ſome perſon telling Livius, that he might very eaſily cut to pieces a body of the enemy who were flying: *It is fit*, ſays he, *that ſome ſhould ſurvive, in order that they may carry the news of this defeat to the Carthaginians.*

Nero ſet out upon his march, on the very night which followed the engagement. Thro' all places where he paſſed, in his return, ſhouts of joy and loud acclamations welcomed him, inſtead of thoſe fears and uneaſineſſes which his coming had occaſioned. He arrived in his camp the ſixth day. Aſdrubal's head being thrown into that of the Carthaginians, informed Hannibal of his brother's unhappy fate. Hannibal perceived, by this cruel ſtroke, the fortune of Carthage: *It is done*, ſays he †, *I will no longer ſend triumphant meſſages to Carthage. In loſing Aſdrubal, I have loſt at once all my hope, all my good fortune.* He afterwards retired to the extremities of the country of the Brutians, where he aſſembled all his forces, who found it a very difficult matter to ſubſiſt there, as no proviſions were ſent them from Carthage.

Scipio conquers all Spain. Is appointed conſul, and ſails into Africa. Hannibal is recalled.

(*r*) The fate of arms was not more propitious to the Carthaginians in Spain. The prudent vivacity of young Scipio had reſtored the Roman affairs in that country to their former flouriſhing ſtate, as the courageous ſlowneſs of Fabius had before done Italy. The three Carthaginian generals in Spain, Aſdrubal ſon of

(*r*) Polyb. l. 11. p. 150. &. l. 14. p. 677—687. & l. 15. p. 689—694. Liv. l. 28. n. 1—4—16—38—40—46. l. 29. n. 24—36. l. 30. n. 20—28. A. M. 5799. Rome, 543.

* *According to Polybius, the loſs amounted but to ten thouſand men, and that of the Romans to two thouſand*, l. 11. p. 870. Edit. Gronov.

† *Horace makes him ſpeak thus, in the beautiful ode where this defeat is deſcribed.* Carthagini jam non ego nuntios Mittam ſuperbos. Occidit, occidit Spes omnis & fortuna noſtri Nominis, Aſdrubale interempto. *L.* 4. *Od.* 4.

Giſgo,

Giſgo, Hanno, and Mago, having been defeated with their numerous armies, by the Romans, in ſeveral engagements, Scipio at laſt poſſeſſed himſelf of Spain, and ſubjected it entirely to the Roman power. It was at this time that Maſiniſſa, a very powerful African prince, went over to the Romans; and Syphax, on the contrary, to the Carthaginians.

(s) Scipio, at his return to Rome, was declared conſul, being then thirty years of age. He had P. Licinius Craſſus for his collegue. Sicily was allotted to Scipio, with permiſſion for him to croſs into Africa, if he found it convenient. He ſet out with all imaginable expedition for his province; whilſt his collegue was to command in the country whither Hannibal was retired.

The taking of New Carthage, where Scipio had diſplayed all the prudence, the courage and capacity which could have been expected from the greateſt generals, and the conqueſt of all Spain, were more than ſufficient to immortalize his name: But he had conſidered theſe only as ſo many ſteps by which he was to climb to a nobler enterprize, and this was the conqueſt of Africa. Accordingly he croſſed over thither, and made it the ſeat of the war.

The devaſtation of the country; the ſiege of Utica, one of the ſtrongeſt cities of Africa; the entire defeat of the two armies under Syphax and Aſdrubal, whoſe camp was burnt by Scipio; and afterwards the taking Syphax himſelf priſoner, who was the moſt powerful reſource the Carthaginians had left; all theſe things forced them at laſt to turn their thoughts to peace. They thereupon deputed thirty of their principal ſenators, who were ſelected for that purpoſe, out of the powerful body, at Carthage, called the *council of the hundred.* Being introduced into the Roman general's tent, they all threw themſelves proſtrate on the earth, (ſuch was the cuſtom of their country,) ſpoke to him in terms of great ſubmiſſion, acculing

(s) A. M. 3800. Rome, 544.

Hannibal

Hannibal as the author of all their calamities; and promiſing in the name of the ſenate, an implicit obedience to whatever the Romans ſhould pleaſe to ordain. Scipio anſwered, that though he was come into Africa, not for peace but conqueſt, he would however grant them a peace, upon condition that they ſhould deliver up all the priſoners and deſerters to the Romans; that they ſhould recall their armies out of Italy and Gaul; ſhould never ſet foot again in Spain; ſhould retire out of all the iſlands between Italy and Africa; ſhould deliver up all their ſhips, twenty excepted, to the victor; ſhould give to the Romans five hundred thouſand buſhels of wheat, three hundred thouſand of barley, and pay fifteen thouſand talents: That in caſe they were pleaſed with theſe conditions, they then, he ſaid, might ſend ambaſſadors to the ſenate. The Carthaginians feigned a compliance, but this was only to gain time, till Hannibal ſhould be returned. A truce was then granted to the Carthaginians, who immediately ſent deputies to Rome, and at the ſame time an expreſs to Hannibal, to order his return into Africa.

(*t*) He was then, as was obſerved before, in the extremity of Italy. Here he received the orders from Carthage, which he could not liſten to without groans, and almoſt tears; and was exaſperated almoſt to madneſs, to ſee himſelf thus forced to quit his prey. Never baniſhed man * ſhewed ſo much regret at leaving his native country, as Hannibal did in going out of that of an enemy. He often turned his eyes wiſhfully to Italy, accuſing gods and men of his misfortunes, and calling down a thouſand curſes, ſays † Livy, up-

(*t*) A. M. 3802. Rome, 546.

* Raro quenquam alium patriam exilii cauſa relinquentem magis mœſtum abiiſſe ferunt, quam Annibalem hoſtium terra excedentem. Reſpexiſſe ſæpe Italiæ littora, & deos hominesque accuſantem, in ſe quoque ac ſuum ipſius caput execratum, *Quod non cruentum ab Cannenſi victoria militem Romam duxiſſet.* Liv. l. 30. n. 20.

† *Livy ſuppoſes however, that this delay was a capital error in Hannibal, which he himſelf afterwards regretted.*

on himſelf, for not having marched his ſoldiers directly to Rome, after the battle of Cannæ, whilſt they were ſtill reeking with the blood of its citizens.

At Rome the ſenate, greatly diſſatisfied with the excuſes made by the Carthaginian deputies, in juſtification of their republic, and the ridiculous offer of their adhering, in its name, to the treaty of Lutatius; thought proper to refer the deciſion of the whole to Scipio, who, being on the ſpot, could beſt judge what conditions beſt ſuited the welfare of the ſtate.

About the ſame time, Octavius the prætor ſailing from Sicily with two hundred veſſels of burden, was attacked near Carthage by a furious ſtorm which diſperſed all his fleet. The citizens not bearing to ſee ſo rich a prey eſcape them, demanded importunately that the Carthaginian fleet might ſail out and ſeize it. The ſenate, after a faint reſiſtance, complied. Aſdrubal ſailing out of the harbour, ſeized the greateſt part of the Roman ſhips, and brought them to Carthage, although the truce was ſtill ſubſiſting.

Scipio ſent deputies to the Carthaginian ſenate, to complain of this, but they were little regarded. Hannibal's approach had revived their courage, and filled them with great hopes. The deputies were even in great danger of being ill treated by the populace. They therefore demanded a convoy, which was granted, and accordingly two ſhips of the republic attended them. But the magiſtrates, who were abſolutely againſt peace, and determined to renew the war, gave private orders to Aſdrubal, (who was with the fleet near Utica) to attack the Roman galley when it ſhould arrive in the river Bagrada near the Roman camp, where the convoy was ordered to leave them. He obeyed the order, and ſent out two gallies againſt the ambaſſadors, who nevertheleſs made their eſcape, but with difficulty and danger.

This was a freſh ſubject for a war between the two nations, who now were more animated, or rather more exaſperated one againſt the other than ever; the

Romans,

Romans, from the ſtrong deſire they had to revenge ſo black a perfidy; and the Carthaginians, from a perſuaſion that they were not now to expect a peace.

At the ſame time Lælius and Fulvius, who carried the full powers with which the ſenate and people of Rome had inveſted Scipio, arrived in the camp, accompanied by the deputies of Carthage. As the Carthaginians had not only infringed the truce, but violated the law of nations, in the perſon of the Roman ambaſſadors; it was natural that their principals ſhould order the Carthaginian deputies to be ſeized by way of reprizal. However, Scipio *, more attentive to the Roman generoſity, than to the demerits of the Carthaginians, in order not to deviate from the principles and maxims of his own countrymen, nor his own character, diſmiſſed the deputies without offering them the leaſt injury. So aſtoniſhing an inſtance of moderation, and at ſuch a juncture, terrified the Carthaginians, and even put them to the bluſh; and made Hannibal himſelf entertain a ſtill higher idea of a general, who, to the diſhonourable practices of his enemies, oppoſed only a rectitude and greatneſs of ſoul, that was ſtill more worthy of admiration, than all his military virtues.

In the mean time, Hannibal, being ſtrongly importuned by his fellow citizens, advanced forward into the country; and arriving at Zama, which is five days march from Carthage, he there pitched his camp. He thence ſent out ſpies to obſerve the poſture of the Romans. Scipio having ſeized theſe, ſo far from puniſhing them, only commanded them to be led about the Roman camp, in order that they might take an exact ſurvey of it, and then ſent them back to

* Ἐσκοπεῖτο παρ' ἑαυτῷ συλλογιζόμενος, ἐχ ὅτω τί δέον παθεῖν Καρχηδονίους, ὡς τί δέον ἦν πράξαι Ῥωμαίους. Polyb. l. 15. p. 965. Ed. Gronov.

Quibus Scipio. Etſi non inducarum modo fides, ſed etiam jus gentium in legatis violatum eſſet; tamen ſe nihil nec inſtitutis populi Romani nec ſuis moribus indignum in iis facturum eſſe. *Liv.* l. 30. n. 25.

Hannibal. The latter knew very well whence ſo noble an aſſurance flowed. After the ſtrange reverſes he had met with, he no longer expected that fortune would again be propitious. Whilſt every one was exciting him to give battle, himſelf only meditated a peace. He flattered himſelf that the conditions of it would be more honourable for him, as he was at the head of an army; and as the fate of arms might ſtill appear uncertain. He therefore ſent to deſire an interview with Scipio, which accordingly was agreed to, and the time and place fixed.

The interval between Hannibal and Scipio in Africa, followed by a battle.

(*u*) Theſe two generals, who were not only the moſt illuſtrious of their own age, but worthy of being ranked with the moſt renowned princes and warriors that had ever lived, meeting at the place appointed, continued for ſome time in a deep ſilence, as tho' they were aſtoniſhed, and ſtruck with a mutual admiration at the ſight of each other. At laſt Hannibal ſpoke, and after having praiſed Scipio in the moſt artful and delicate manner, he gave a very lively deſcription of the ravages of the war, and the calamities in which it had involved both the victors and the vanquiſhed. He conjured him, not to ſuffer himſelf to be dazzled by the ſplendor of his victories. He repreſented to him, that how ſucceſsful ſoever he might have hitherto been, he ought however to tremble at the inconſtancy of fortune: That without going far back for examples, he himſelf, who was then ſpeaking to him, was a glaring proof of this: That Scipio was at that time what himſelf (Hannibal) had been at Thraſymenus and Cannæ: That he ought to make a better uſe of opportunity than himſelf had done, and conſent to peace, now it was in his power to propoſe the conditions of it. He concluded with declaring, that the Carthaginians would willingly reſign Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and all the

(*u*) A. M. 3803. Rome, 547. Polyb. l. 15. p. 694—703. Liv. l. 30. n. 29—35.

iſlands between Africa and Italy, to the Romans. That they muſt be forced, ſince ſuch was the will of the gods, to confine themſelves to Africa; whilſt they ſhould ſee the Romans extending their conqueſts to the moſt remote regions, and obliging all nations to pay obedience to their laws.

Scipio anſwered in few words, but not with leſs dignity. He reproached the Carthaginians for their perfidy, in plundering the Roman gallies before the truce was expired. He imputed to them only, and to their injuſtice, all the calamities with which the two wars had been attended. After thanking Hannibal for the admonition he gave him, with regard to the uncertainty of human events; he concluded with deſiring him to prepare for battle, unleſs he choſe rather to accept of the conditions that had been already propoſed; to which, (he obſerved) ſome others would be added, in order to puniſh the Carthaginians for their having violated the truce.

Hannibal could not prevail with himſelf to accept theſe conditions, and the generals left one another, with the reſolution to decide the fate of Carthage by a general battle. Each commander exhorted his troops to fight valiantly. Hannibal enumerated the victories he had gained over the Romans; the generals he had ſlain, the armies he had cut to pieces. Scipio repreſented to his ſoldiers, the conqueſts of both the Spains, his ſucceſſes in Africa; and the tacit confeſſion the enemies themſelves made of their weakneſs, by thus coming to ſue for peace. All this he ſpoke * with the tone and air of a conqueror. Never were motives more prevalent to prompt troops to behave gallantly. This day was to compleat the glory of the one or the other of the generals; and to decide whether Rome or Carthage was to preſcribe laws to all other nations.

I ſhall not undertake to deſcribe the order of the battle, nor the valour of the forces on both ſides. The

* Celſus hæc corpore vultuque ita læto, ut viciſſe jam crederes, dicebat. *Liv.* l. 30. n. 32.

reader

reader will naturally ſuppoſe, that two ſuch experienced generals did not forget any circumſtance, which could contribute to the victory. The Carthaginians, after a very obſtinate fight, were obliged to fly, leaving twenty thouſand men on the field of battle, and the like number of priſoners were taken by the Romans. Hannibal eſcaped in the tumult, and entering Carthage, owned that he was irrecoverably overthrown, and that the citizens had no other choice left, but to accept of peace on any conditions. Scipio beſtowed great elogiums on Hannibal, chiefly with regard to his capacity in taking advantages, his manner of drawing up his army, and giving out his orders in the engagement; and he affirmed, that Hannibal had this day ſurpaſſed himſelf, although the ſucceſs had not anſwered his valour and conduct.

With regard to himſelf, he well knew how to make a proper advantage of the victory, and the conſternation with which he had filled the enemy. He commanded one of his lieutenants to march his land-army to Carthage, whilſt himſelf prepared to ſail the fleet thither.

He was not far from the city, when he met a veſſel covered with ſtreamers and olive-branches, bringing ten of the moſt conſiderable perſons of the ſtate, as embaſſadors to implore his clemency. However, he diſmiſſed them without making any anſwer, and bid them come to him at Tunis where he ſhould halt. The deputies of Carthage, being thirty in number, came to him at the place appointed, and ſued for peace in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms. He then called a council there, the majority of which were for razing Carthage, and treating the inhabitants with the utmoſt ſeverity. But the conſideration of the time which muſt neceſſarily be employed before ſo ſtrongly fortified a city could be taken; and Scipio's fear, leſt a ſucceſſor might be appointed him whilſt he ſhould be employed in the ſiege, made him incline to clemency.

A peace

A peace concluded between the Carthaginians and the Romans. The end of the ſecond Punic war.

(x) The conditions of the peace dictated by Scipio to the Carthaginians were, "That the Carthaginians "ſhould continue free, and preſerve their laws, their "territories, and the cities they poſſeſſed in Africa be-"fore the war——That they ſhould deliver up to the "Romans, all deſerters, ſlaves, and captives belong-"to them——all their ſhips, except ten Triremes; "all their tame elephants, and that they ſhould not "train up any more for war.——That they ſhould "not make war out of Africa, nor even in that coun-"try, without firſt obtaining leave for that purpoſe "from the Roman people——Should reſtore to Maſi-"niſſa all they had diſpoſſeſſed either him or his an-"ceſtors of——Should furniſh money and corn to "the Roman auxiliaries, till their embaſſadors ſhould "be returned from Rome——Should pay to the Ro-"mans ten thouſand Euboic talents * of ſilver in fifty "annual payments; and give an hundred hoſtages "who ſhould be nominated by Scipio. And in order "that they might have time to ſend to Rome, it was "agreed to grant them a truce, upon condition that "they ſhould reſtore the ſhips taken during the for-"mer, without which they were not to expect either "a truce or peace."

When the deputies were returned to Carthage, they laid before the ſenate the conditions dictated by Scipio.

(x) Polyb. l. 15. p. 704—707. Liv. l. 30. n. 36—44.

* *Ten thouſand Attic talents make thirty millions French money. Ten thouſand Euboic talents make ſomething more than twenty-eight millions, thirty-three thouſand liures: Becauſe, accooding to Budæus, the Euboic talent is equivalent but to fifty-ſix minæ and ſomething more, whereas the Attic talent is worth ſixty minæ.*

Or otherwiſe thus calculated in Engliſh money.

According to Budæus, the Euboic talent is —— 56 *Minæ.*
56 *Minæ reduced to Engliſh money* —— —— 175 *l.*
Conſequently 10000 *Euboic talents make* —— 1,750,000.
So that the Carthaginians paid annually —— —— 35000 *l.*
This calculation is as near the truth as it can well be brought, the Euboic talent being ſomething more than 56 *minæ.*

But they appeared ſo intolerable to Giſgo, that riſing up, he made a ſpeech, in order to diſſuade his citizens from accepting a peace on ſuch ſhameful terms. Hannibal, provoked at the calmneſs with which ſuch an orator was heard, took Giſgo by the arm, and dragged him from his ſeat. A behaviour ſo outrageous, and ſo remote from the manners of a free city like Carthage, raiſed an univerſal murmur. Hannibal himſelf was vexed when he reflected on what he had done, and immediately made an apology for it. "As I left, "ſays he, your city at nine years of age, and did not "return to it till after thirty-ſix years abſence, I had "full leiſure to learn the arts of war, and flatter my "ſelf that I have made ſome improvement in them. "As for your laws and cuſtoms, 'tis no wonder I "am ignorant of them, and I therefore deſire you to "inſtruct me in them." He then expatiated on the neceſſity they were under of concluding a peace. He added, that they ought to thank the gods for having prompted the Romans to grant them a peace even on theſe conditions. He diſcovered to them the great importance of their uniting in opinion; and of not giving an opportunity, by their diviſions, for the people to take an affair of this nature under their cognizance. The whole city came over to his opinion, and accordingly the peace was accepted. The ſenate made Scipio ſatisfaction with regard to the ſhips demanded by him; and, after obtaining a truce for three months, they ſent embaſſadors to Rome.

Theſe Carthaginians, who were all venerable for their years and dignity, were admitted immediately to audience. Aſdrubal, ſurnamed Hœdus, who was ſtill an irreconcileable enemy to Hannibal and his faction, ſpoke firſt; and after having excuſed, to the beſt of his power, the people of Carthage, by imputing the rupture to the ambition of ſome particular perſons; he added, that had the Carthaginians liſtened to his counſels and thoſe of Hanno, they would have been able to grant the Romans the peace for which they now

now were obliged to ſue. "But *, continued he, "wiſdom and proſperity are very rarely found toge- "ther. The Romans are invincible, becauſe they "never ſuffer themſelves to be blinded by good for- "tune. And it would be ſurprizing ſhould they act "otherwiſe. Succeſs dazzles thoſe only to whom it "is new and unuſual; whereas the Romans are ſo "much accuſtomed to conquer, that they are almoſt "inſenſible to the charms of victory; and it may be "ſaid for their glory, that they have extended their "empire, in ſome meaſure, more by the humanity "they have ſhewn to the conquered, than by the "conqueſt itſelf." The other embaſſadors ſpoke with a more plaintive tone of voice, and repreſented the calamitous ſtate to which Carthage was going to be reduced, and the grandeur and power from which it was fallen.

The ſenate and people being equally inclined to peace, ſent full powers to Scipio to conclude it; left the conditions to that general, and permitted him to march back his army, after the treaty ſhould be concluded.

The embaſſadors deſired leave to enter the city, to redeem ſome of their priſoners, and they found about two hundred whom they deſired to ranſom. But the ſenate ſent them to Scipio, with orders that they ſhould be reſtored without any pecuniary conſideration, in caſe a peace ſhould be concluded.

The Carthaginians, on the return of their embaſſadors, concluded a peace with Scipio, on the terms he himſelf had preſcribed. They then delivered up to him more than five hundred ſhips, all which he burnt in ſight of Carthage: A lamentable ſight to the inha-

* Raro ſimul hominibus bonam fortunam bonamque mentem dari. Populum Romanum eo invictum eſſe, quod in ſecundis rebus ſapere et conſulere meminerit. Et hercle mirandum fuiſſe ſi aliter facerent. Ex inſolentia, quibus nova bona fortuna ſit, impotentes lætitia inſanire: Populo Romano uſitata ac prope obſoleta ex victoria gaudia eſſe; ac plus pene parcendo victis, quam vincendo, imperium auxiſſe. *Liv.* l. 30. n. 42.

bitants of that ill-fated city! He ſtruck off the heads of the allies of the Latin name, and hanged all the citizens who were ſurrendered up to him, as deſerters.

When the time for the payment of the firſt tax impoſed by the treaty was expired, as the funds of the government were exhauſted by this long and expenſive war; the difficulty which would be found to levy ſo great a ſum, threw the ſenate into a melancholy ſilence, and many could not refrain even from tears. It is ſaid that Hannibal laughing was reproached by Aſdrubal Hœdus, for thus inſulting his country in its affliction, which he had brought upon it. "Were it "poſſible, ſays Hannibal, for my heart to be ſeen, "and that as clearly as my countenance; you would "then find, that this laughter which offends ſo much, "flows not from an intemperate joy, but from a "mind almoſt diſtracted with the publick calamities. "But is this laughter more unſeaſonable than your "unbecoming tears? Then, then, ought you to have "wept, when your arms were ingloriouſly taken from "you, your ſhips burnt, and you were forbid to en-"gage in any foreign wars. This was the mortal "blow which laid us proſtrate.——We are ſenſible "of the publick calamity, ſo far only as we have a "perſonal concern in it; and the loſs of our money "gives us the moſt pungent ſorrow. Hence it was, "that when our city was made the ſpoil of the victor; "when it was left diſarmed and defenceleſs amidſt ſo "many powerful nations of Africa who had at that "time taken the field, not a groan, not a ſigh was "heard. But now, when you are called on for a "poll-tax, you bewail and lament as if all were loſt. "Alas! I only wiſh that the ſubject of this day's fear, "does not ſoon appear to you the leaſt of your mis-"fortunes."

Scipio, after all things were concluded, embarked in order to return to Italy. He arrived at Rome, thro' crouds of people, whom curioſity had drawn together to behold his march. The moſt magnificent triumph

that

that Rome had ever ſeen was decreed him, and the ſurname of Africanus was beſtowed upon this great man; an honour till then unknown, no perſon before him having aſſumed the name of a vanquiſhed nation. (y) Such was the concluſion of the ſecond Punic war, after having laſted ſeventeen years.

A ſhort reflection on the government of Carthage, in the time of the ſecond Punic war.

I ſhall conclude the particulars which relate to the ſecond Punic war, with a reflexion of (z) Polybius, which will ſhow the difference between the two commonwealths. It may be affirmed, in ſome meaſure, that at the beginning of the ſecond Punic war, and in Hannibal's time, Carthage was in its decline. The flower of its youth, and its ſprightly vigour were already diminiſhed. It had begun to fall from its exalted pitch of power, and was inclining towards its ruin: Whereas Rome was then, as it were, in its bloom and ſtrength of life, and ſwiftly advancing to the conqueſt of the univerſe. The reaſon of the declenſion of the one, and the riſe of the other, is taken, by Polybius, from the different form of government eſtabliſhed in theſe commonwealths, at the time we are now ſpeaking of. At Carthage, the common people had ſeized upon the ſovereign authority with regard to publick affairs, and the advice of their antient men or magiſtrates were no longer liſtened to: all affairs were tranſacted by intrigue and cabal. To take no notice of the artifices which the faction oppoſite to Hannibal employed, during the whole time of his command, to perplex him; the ſingle inſtance of burning the Roman veſſels during a truce, a perfidious action to which the common people compelled the ſenate to lend their name and aſſiſtance, is a proof of Polybius's aſſertion. On the contrary, at this very time, the Romans paid the higheſt regard to their ſenate, that is, to a body compoſed of the greateſt ſages; and their old

(y) A. M. 3804. Carth. 646. Rome 548. Ant. J. C. 200.
(z) L. 6. p. 493, 494.

men were liſtened to and revered as oracles. It is well known that the Roman people were exceedingly jealous of their authority, and eſpecially in that part of it which related to the election of magiſtrates. (*a*) A century of young men, who by lot were to give the firſt vote, which generally directed all the reſt, had nominated two conſuls. On the bare remonſtrance of Fabius *, who repreſented to the people, that in a tempeſt, like that with which Rome was then ſtruggling, the ableſt pilots ought to be choſen to ſteer their common ſhip, the republic; upon this, I ſay, the century returned to their ſuffrages, and nominated other conſuls. Polybius, from this diſparity of government, infers, that a people, thus guided by the prudence of old men, could not fail of prevailing over a ſtate which was governed wholly by the giddy multitude. And indeed, the Romans, under the guidance of the wiſe counſels of their ſenate, gained at laſt the ſuperiority with regard to the war conſidered in general, though they were defeated in ſeveral particular engagements; and eſtabliſhed their power and grandeur on the ruin of their rivals.

The interval between the ſecond and third Punic war.

This interval, though conſiderable enough with regard to its duration, ſince it took up above fifty years, is very little remarkable as to the events which relate to Carthage. They may be reduced to two heads; of which the one relates to the perſon of Hannibal, and the other to ſome particular differences between the Carthaginians and Maſiniſſa king of the Numidians. We ſhall treat both ſeparately, but with no great extent.

(*a*) Liv. l. 24. n. 8, and 9.

* Quilibet nautarum rectorumque tranquillo mari gubernare poteſt: Ubi ſæva orta tempeſtas eſt, ac turbato mari rapitur vento navis, tum viro et gubernatore opus eſt. Non tranquillo navigamus, ſed jam aliquot procellis ſubmerſi pene ſumus. Itaque quis ad gubernacula ſedeat, ſumma cura providendum ac præcavendum nobis eſt.

SECT.

SECT. I. *Continuation of the history of Hannibal.*

WHEN the second Punic war was ended, by the treaty of peace concluded with Scipio, Hannibal, as he himself observed in the Carthaginian senate, was forty-five years of age. What we have farther to say of this great man, includes the space of twenty-five years.

Hannibal undertakes and compleats the reformation of the courts of justice, and the treasury of Carthage.

After the conclusion of the peace, Hannibal, at least in the beginning, was greatly respected in Carthage, where he filled the first employments of the state with honour and applause. (*b*) He headed the Carthaginian forces in some wars against the Africans: But the Romans, to whom the very name of Hannibal gave uneasiness, not being able to see him in arms, made complaints on that account, and accordingly he was recalled to Carthage.

(*c*) On his return he was appointed prætor, which seems to have been a very considerable employment, as well as of great authority. Carthage is therefore going to be, with regard to him, a new theatre, as it were, on which he will display virtues and qualities of a quite different nature from those we have hitherto admired in him, and which will finish the picture of this illustrious man.

Eagerly desirous of restoring the affairs of his afflicted country to their former happy condition, he was persuaded, that the two most powerful methods to make a state flourish, were, an exact and equal distribution of justice to all people in general, and a faithful management of the publick finances. The former, by preserving an equality among the citizens, and making them enjoy such a delightful, undisturbed liberty, under the protection of the laws, as fully secures their honour, their lives, and properties; unites the individuals of the commonwealth more closely together, and at-

(*b*) Corn. Nep. in Annib. c. 7. (*c*) A. M. 3810. Rome 554.

taches them more firmly to the ſtate, to which they owe the preſervation of all that is moſt dear and valuable to them. The latter, by a faithful adminiſtration of the publick revenues, ſupplies punctually the ſeveral wants and neceſſities of the ſtate; keeps in reſerve a never-failing reſſource for ſudden emergencies, and prevents the people from being burthened with new taxes, which are rendred neceſſary by extravagant profuſion, and which chiefly contribute to make men harbour an averſion for a government.

Hannibal ſaw with great concern, the irregularities which had crept equally into the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the management of the finances. Upon his being nominated prætor, as his love for regularity and order made him uneaſy at every deviation from it, and prompted him to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to reſtore it; he had the courage to attempt the reformation of this double abuſe, which drew after it a numberleſs multitude of others, without dreading, either the animoſity of the old faction that oppoſed him, or the new enmity which his zeal for the republic muſt neceſſarily raiſe.

(*d*) The judges exerciſed the moſt cruel rapine with impunity. They were ſo many petty tyrants, who diſpoſed, in an arbitary manner, of the lives and fortunes of the citizens; without there being the leaſt poſſibility of putting a ſtop to their injuſtice, becauſe they held their commiſſions for life, and mutually ſupported one another. Hannibal, as prætor, ſummoned before his tribunal an officer, belonging to the bench of judges, who openly abuſed his power. Livy tells us, that he was a queſtor. This officer, who was in the oppoſite faction to Hannibal, and had already aſſumed all the pride and haughtineſs of the judges, among whom he was to be admitted at the expiration of his preſent office, inſolently refuſed to obey the ſummons. Hannibal was not of a diſpoſition to ſuffer an affront of this nature tamely. Accordingly he cauſed him to be

(*d*) Liv. l. 33. n. 46.

ſeized

ſeized by a lictor, and brought him before the aſſembly of the people. There, not ſatisfied with levelling his reſentment againſt this ſingle officer, he impeached the whole bench of judges; whoſe inſupportable and tyrannical pride was not reſtrained, either by the fear of the laws, or a reverence for the magiſtrates. And, as Hannibal perceived that he was heard with pleaſure, and that the loweſt and moſt inconſiderable of the people diſcovered on this occaſion, that they were no longer able to bear the inſolent pride of theſe judges, who ſeemed to have a deſign upon their liberties; he propoſed a law (which accordingly paſſed) by which it was enacted, that new judges ſhould be choſen annually; with a clauſe, that none ſhould continue in office beyond that term. This law, at the ſame time that it acquired him the friendſhip and eſteem of the people, drew upon him, proportionably, the hatred of the greateſt part of the grandees and nobility.

(e) He attempted another reformation, which created him new enemies, but gained him great honour. The publick revenues were either ſquandered away by the negligence of thoſe who had the management of them, or were plundered by the chief men of the city, and the magiſtrates; ſo that money being wanting to pay the annual tribute due to the Romans, the Carthaginians were going to levy it upon the people in general. Hannibal, entring into a large detail of the publick revenues, ordered an exact eſtimate of them to be laid before him; enquired in what manner they had been applied; the employments and ordinary expences of the ſtate; and having diſcovered, by this enquiry, that the publick funds had been in a great meaſure embezzled, by the fraud of the officers who had the management of them; he declared and promiſed in a full aſſembly of the people, that, without laying any new taxes upon private men, the republic ſhould hereafter be enabled to pay the tribute to the Romans; and he was as good as his word. The farmers of the re-

(e) Ibid. n. 46, 47.

venues, whoſe plunder and rapine he had publickly detected, having accuſtomed themſelves hitherto to fatten upon the ſpoils of their country, exclaimed † vehemently againſt theſe regulations, as if their own property had been forced out of their hands, and not the ſums they had plundered from the publick.

The retreat and death of Hannibal.

(*f*) This double reformation of abuſes raiſed great clamours againſt Hannibal. His enemies were writing inceſſantly to the chief men, or their friends, at Rome, to inform them, that he was carrying on a ſecret intelligence with Antiochus king of Syria; that he frequently received couriers from him; and that this prince had privately diſpatched agents to Hannibal, to concert, with him, the meaſures for carrying on the war he was meditating: That as ſome animals are ſo extremely fierce, that it is impoſſible ever to tame them; in like manner this man, was of ſo turbulent and implacable a ſpirit, that he could not brook eaſe, and therefore would ſooner or later break out again. Theſe informations were liſtened to at Rome; and as the tranſactions of the preceding war had been begun and carried on almoſt ſolely by Hannibal, they appeared the more probable. However, Scipio ſtrongly oppoſed the violent meaſures which the ſenate were going to take, on their receiving this intelligence, by repreſenting it as derogatory to the dignity of the Roman people, to countenance the hatred and accuſations of Hannibal's enemies; to ſupport, with their authority, their unjuſt paſſions; and obſtinately to purſue him even to the very heart of his country; as though the Romans had not humbled him ſufficiently, in driving him out of the field, and forcing him to lay down his arms.

(*f*) Liv. l. 23. n. 45—49.

† Tum vero iſti quos paverat per aliquot annos publicus peculatus, ve ut bonis ereptis, non furto eorum manibus extorto, infenſi & irati, Romanos in Annibalem, & ipſos cauſam odii quærentes, inſtigabant. *Liv.*

But

But notwithſtanding theſe prudent remonſtrances the ſenate appointed three commiſſioners to go and make their complaints to Carthage, and to demand that Hannibal ſhould be delivered up to them. On their arrival in that city, though other things were ſpeciouſly pretended, yet Hannibal was perfectly ſenſible that himſelf only was aimed at. The evening being come, he conveyed himſelf on board a ſhip, which he had ſecretly provided for that purpoſe; on which occaſion he bewailed his country's fate more than his own. *Sæpius patriæ quam* * *ſuorum eventus miſeratus.* This was the eighth year after the concluſion of the peace. The firſt place he landed at was Tyre, where he was received as in his ſecond country, and had all the honours paid him which were due to his exalted merit. (*g*) After ſtaying ſome days here, he ſet out for Antioch, which the king had lately left, and from thence waited upon him at Epheſus. The arrival of ſo renowned a general gave great pleaſure to the king; and did not a little contribute to determine him to engage in war againſt Rome; for hitherto he had appeared wavering and uncertain on that head. (*h*) In this city a philoſopher, who was looked upon as the greateſt orator of Aſia, had the imprudence to harangue before Hannibal, on the duties of a general, and the rules of the art-military. The ſpeech charmed the whole audience. But Hannibal being aſked his opinion of it, "I have ſeen," ſays he, "many old do-"tards in my life, but this exceeds them all." †.

(*g*) A. M. 3812. Rome, 556. (*h*) Cic. de Orat. l. 2. n. 75, 76.

* *It ſhould, methinks, be* ſuos,

† Hic Pœnus libere reſpondiſſe fertur, multos ſe deliros ſenes ſæpe vidiſſe: Sed qui magis quam Phormio deliraret vidiſſe neminem. Stobæus *Serm.* lii. *gives the following account of this matter.* Ἀννίβας ἀκούσας Στοϊκῷ τινὶ ἐπιχειροῦντι, ὅτι ὁ σοφὸς μόνος στρατηγός ἐστιν, ἐγέλασε, νομίζων ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἐκτὸς τῆς δι' ἔργων ἐμπειρίας τὴν ἐν τούτοις ἐπιστήμην ἔχειν. i. e. *Hannibal hearing a Stoic philoſopher undertake to prove, that the wiſe man was the only general, laughed, as thinking it impoſſible for a man to have any ſkill in war, without being long practiſed in it.*

The

The Carthaginians, juſtly fearing that Hannibal's eſcape would certainly draw upon them the arms of the Romans, ſent them advice that Hannibal was withdrawn to Antiochus †. The Romans were very much diſturbed at this news, and the king might have turned it extremely to his advantage, had he known how to make a proper uſe of it.

(*i*) The firſt counſel that Hannibal gave him at this time, and which he frequently repeated afterwards, was, to make Italy the ſeat of the war. He required an hundred ſhips, eleven or twelve thouſand land-forces, and offered to take upon himſelf the command of the fleet; to croſs into Africa, in order to engage the Carthaginians in the war; and afterwards to make a deſcent upon Italy, during which the king himſelf ſhould be ready to croſs over, with his army, into Italy, whenever it ſhould be thought convenient. This was the only thing proper to be done, and the king approved very much the propoſal at firſt.

(*k*) Hannibal thought it would be expedient to prepare his friends at Carthage, in order to engage them the more ſtrongly in his intereſt. The tranſmitting of particulars, by letters, is not only unſafe, but alſo give an imperfect idea of things, and are never ſufficiently particular. He therefore diſpatched a truſty perſon with ample inſtructions to Carthage. This man was ſcarce arrived in the city, but his buſineſs was ſuſpected. Accordingly, he was watched and followed; and, at laſt, orders were iſſued for his being ſeized. However, he prevented the vigilance of his enemies, and eſcaped in the night; after having fixed, in ſeveral publick places, papers which fully declared the occaſion of his coming among them. The ſenate immediately ſent advice of this to the Romans.

(*i*) Liv. l. 34. n. 60.

(*k*) Ibid. n. 61.

† *They did more, for they ſent two ſhips to purſue Hannibal, and bring him back; they ſold off his goods, raz'd his houſe; and, by a publick decree, declared him an exile. Such was the gratitude the Carthaginians ſhowed to the greateſt general they ever had.* Corn. Nep. in vita Hannib. c. 7.

Villius,

(*l*) Villius, one of the deputies who had been ſent into Aſia, to enquire into the ſtate of affairs there, and, if poſſible, to diſcover the real deſigns of Antiochus, found Hannibal in Epheſus. He had many conferences with him, paid him ſeveral viſits, and ſpeciouſly affected to ſhow him a particular eſteem on all occaſions. But his chief aim, by all this artificial behaviour, was, to make him be ſuſpected, and to leſſen his credit with the king, in which he ſucceeded but too well *.

(*m*) Some authors affirm, that Scipio was joined in this embaſſy; and they even relate the converſation which that general had with Hannibal. They tell us, that the Roman having aſked him, who, in his opinion, was the greateſt captain that had ever lived; he anſwered, Alexander the Great, becauſe, with a handful of Macedonians, he had defeated numberleſs armies, and carried his conqueſts into countries ſo very remote, that it ſeemed ſcarce poſſible for any man only to travel ſo far. Being afterwards aſked, to whom he gave the ſecond rank; he anſwered, to Pyrrhus: For this king, ſays Hannibal, firſt underſtood the art of pitching a camp to advantage; no commander had ever made a more judicious choice of his poſts, was better ſkilled in drawing up of his forces, or was more happy in winning the affection of foreign ſoldiers; inſo much that even the people of Italy were more deſirous to have him for their governour than the Romans themſelves, though they had ſo long been ſubject to them. Scipio proceeding, aſked him next, whom

(*l*) Liv. l. 35. n. 14. Polyb. l. 3. p. 166, 167. A. M. 3813. Rome, 557. (*m*) Liv. l. 35. n. 14. Plutarch. in vita Flamin. &c.

* *Polybius repreſents this application of Villius to Hannibal, as a premeditated deſign, in order to render him ſuſpected to Antiochus, becauſe of his intimacy with a Roman. Livy owns, that the affair ſucceeded as if it had been deſigned; but, at the ſame time he gives, for a very obvious reaſon, another turn to this converſation; and ſays, that no more was intended by it, than to ſound Hannibal, and to remove any fears or apprehenſions he might be under from the Romans.*

he

he looked upon as the third captain; on which deciſion Hannibal made no ſcruple to give the preference to himſelf. Here Scipio could not forbear laughing: "But what would you have ſaid, (continued Scipio) "had you conquered me? I would, replied Hanni- "bal, have ranked my ſelf above Alexander, Pyr- "rhus, and all the generals the world ever produced." Scipio was not inſenſible of ſo refined and delicate a flattery, which he no ways expected; and which, by giving him no rival, ſeemed to inſinuate, that no captain was worthy of being put in compariſon with him.

The anſwer, as told by (*n*) Plutarch, is leſs witty, and not ſo probable. In this author, Hannibal gives Pyrrhus the firſt place, Scipio the ſecond, and himſelf the third.

(*o*) Hannibal, ſenſible of the coldneſs with which Antiochus received him, ever ſince his conferences with Villius or Scipio, took no notice of it for ſome time, and ſeemed inſenſible of it. But at laſt he thought it adviſeable to come to an eclairciſſement with the king, and to open his mind freely to him. "The hatred "(ſays he) which I bear to the Romans, is known "to the whole world. I bound my ſelf to it, by an "oath, from my moſt tender infancy. It was this "hatred that made me draw the ſword againſt Rome "during thirty-ſix years. It was that, even in times "of peace, drove me from my native country, and "forced me to ſeek an aſylum in your dominions. "For ever guided and fired by the ſame paſſion, ſhould "my hopes be eluded, I will fly to every part of the "globe, and rouze up all nations againſt the Romans. "I hate them, will hate them eternally; and know "that they bear me no leſs animoſity. So long as "you ſhall continue in the reſolution to take up arms "againſt that people, you may rank Hannibal in the "number of your beſt friends. But if other coun- "ſels incline you to peace, I declare to you, once "for all, addreſs yourſelf to others for counſel and

(*n*) Plut. in Pyrrho, p. 687. (*o*) Ibid. n, 19.

"not

" not to me." Such a ſpeech, which came from his heart, and expreſſed the greateſt ſincerity, ſtruck the king, and ſeemed to remove all his ſuſpicions; ſo that he now reſolved to give Hannibal the command of part of his fleet.

(*p*) But what havock is not flattery capable of making in courts and in the minds of princes? Antiochus was told, " that it was imprudent in him to put " ſo much confidence in Hannibal, an exile, a Car- " thaginian, whoſe fortune or genius might ſuggeſt, " in one day, a thouſand different projects to him: " That beſides, this very fame which Hannibal had " acquired in war, and which he conſidered as his pe- " culiar inheritance, was too great for a man who " fought only under the enſigns of another: That " none but the king ought to be the general and con- " ductor of the war; and that it was incumbent on " him to draw upon himſelf only the eyes and atten- " tion of all men; whereas, ſhould Hannibal be em- " ployed, he (a foreigner) would have the glory of " all victories aſcribed to him." *No minds*, * ſays Livy on this occaſion, *are more ſuſceptible of envy, than thoſe whoſe merit is below their birth and dignity; ſuch perſons always abhorring virtue and worth in others, for this reaſon only, becauſe they are ſtrange and foreign to themſelves.* This obſervation was fully verified on this occaſion. Antiochus had been taken on his weak ſide; a low and ſordid jealouſy, which is the defect and characteriſtic of little minds, extinguiſhed every generous ſentiment in that monarch. Hannibal was now ſlighted and laid aſide; however, the latter was greatly revenged on Antiochus, by the ill ſucceſs this prince met with; and ſhowed, how unfortunate that king is, whoſe ſoul is acceſſible to envy, and his ears open to the poiſonous inſinuation of flatterers.

(*p*) Liv. l. 35. n. 32, 43.

* Nulla ingenia tam prona ad invidiam ſunt, quam eorum qui genus ac fortunam ſuam animis non æquant: Quia virtutem & bonum alienum oderunt. *Methinks it is better to read*, ut bonum alienum.

In

(q) In a council held ſome time after, to which Hannibal, for form ſake, was admitted, he, when it came to his turn to ſpeak, endeavoured chiefly to prove, that Philip of Macedon ought, on any terms, to be invited into the alliance of Antiochus, which was not ſo difficult as might be imagined. "With regard," ſays Hannibal, "to the operations of the war, I ad-
"here immoveably to my firſt opinion; and had my
"counſels been liſtened to before, Tuſcany and Liguria
"would now be all in a flame; and Hannibal (a
"name that ſtrikes terror into the Romans) in Italy.
"Though I ſhould not be very well ſkilled as to other
"matters, yet the good and ill ſucceſs I have met
"with, muſt neceſſarily have taught me ſufficiently
"how to carry on a war againſt the Romans. I have
"nothing now in my power, but to give you my
"counſel, and offer you my ſervice. May the gods
"give ſucceſs to all your undertakings." Hannibal's ſpeech was received with applauſe, but not one of his counſels were put in execution.

(r) Antiochus, impoſed upon and lulled aſleep by his flatterers, remained quiet at Epheſus, after the Romans had drove him out of Greece; not once imagining, that they would ever attempt to invade his dominions. Hannibal, who was now reſtored to favour, was for ever aſſuring him, that the war would ſoon be removed into Aſia, and that he would ſoon ſee the enemy at his gates: That he muſt reſolve, either to abdicate his throne, or oppoſe vigorouſly a people who graſped at the empire of the world. This diſcourſe waked, in ſome little meaſure, the king out of his lethargy, and prompted him to make ſome weak efforts. But as his conduct was unſteady, after ſuſtaining a great many conſiderable loſſes, he was forced to terminate the war by an ignominious peace; one of the articles of which was, that he ſhould deliver up Hannibal to the Romans. However, the latter did not give him opportunity to put it in execution, re-

(q) Liv. l. 36. n. 7. (r) Liv. l. 36. n. 41.

tiring

tiring to the iſland of Crete, to conſider there what courſe it would be beſt for him to take.

(*s*) The riches he had brought along with him, of which the people of the iſland got ſome notice, had like to have proved his ruin. Hannibal was never wanting in ſtratagems, and he had occaſion to employ them now, to ſave both himſelf and his treaſure. He filled ſeveral veſſels with molten lead, which he juſt covered over with gold and ſilver. Theſe he depoſited in the temple of Diana, in preſence of ſeveral Cretans, to whoſe honeſty, he ſaid, he confided all his treaſure. A ſtrong guard was then poſted on the temple, and Hannibal left at full liberty, from a ſuppoſition that his riches were ſecured. But he had concealed them in hollow ſtatues of braſs *, which he always carried along with him. (*t*) And then, embracing a favourable opportunity he had to make his eſcape, he fled to the court of Pruſias king of Bithynia.

It appears from hiſtory, that he made ſome ſtay in the court of this prince, who ſoon engaged in war with Eumenes king of Pergamus, a profeſſed friend to the Romans. By means of Hannibal, the troops of king Pruſias gained ſeveral victories both by land and ſea.

(*u*) He employed a ſtratagem, of an extraordinary kind, in a ſea-fight. The enemy's fleet conſiſting of more ſhips than his, he had recourſe to artifice. He put, into earthen veſſels, all kinds of ſerpents, and ordered theſe veſſels to be thrown into the enemy's ſhips. His chief aim in this was, to deſtroy Eumenes; and for that purpoſe, it was neceſſary for him to find out which ſhip he was on board of. This Hannibal diſcovered, by ſending out a boat, upon pretence of conveying a letter to him. Having gained his point thus far, he ordered the commanders of the reſpective veſſels

(*s*) Cornel. Nep. in. Annib. c. 9 & 10. Juſtin. l. 32. c. 4.
(*t*) A. M. 3820. Rome, 564. Corn. Nep. in Annib. c. 10, 11. Juſtin. l. 33. c. 4. (*u*) Juſtin. l. 32. c. 4. Cornel. Nep. in vit. Annib.

* *Theſe ſtatues were thrown out by him, in a place of publick reſort, as things of little value.* Corn. Nep.

to

to employ the chief force of their attacks againſt Eumenes's ſhip. They obeyed, and would have taken it, had he not outſailed his purſuers. The reſt of the ſhips of Pergamus ſuſtained the fight with great vigour, till the earthen veſſels had been thrown into them. At firſt they only laughed at this, and were very much ſurprized to find ſuch weapons employ'd againſt them. But ſeeing themſelves ſurrounded with ſerpents which flew out of theſe veſſels, when they flew to pieces, they were ſeized with dread, retired in diſorder, and yielded the victory to the enemy.

(*x*) Services of ſo important a nature, ſeemed to ſecure for ever to Hannibal an undiſturbed aſylum at that prince's court. However, the Romans would not ſuffer him to be eaſy there, but deputed Q. Flaminius to Pruſias, to complain of the protection he gave Hannibal. The latter eaſily gueſſed the motive of this embaſſy, and therefore did not wait till his enemies had an opportunity of delivering him up. At firſt he attempted to ſecure himſelf by flight; but perceiving that the ſeven ſecret outlets, which he had contrived in his palace, were all ſeized by the ſoldiers of Pruſias, who, by this perfidy, was deſirous of making his court to the Romans; he ordered the poiſon, which he had long kept for this melancholy occaſion, to be brought him, and taking it in his hand, "Let us," ſaid he, "free the Romans from the diſquiet with which they "have ſo long been tortured, ſince they have not pa-"tience to wait for an old man's death. The vic-"tory which Flaminius gains over a naked, betrayed "man, will not do him much honour. This ſingle "day will be a laſting teſtimony of the great dege-"neracy of the Romans. Their fathers ſent notice "to Pyrrhus, to deſire he would beware of a traytor "who intended to poiſon him, and that at a time "when this prince was at war with them in the very "center of Italy; but their ſons have deputed a per-"ſon of conſular dignity, to ſpirit up Pruſias, im-

(*x*) Liv. l. 39. n. 51. A. M. 3822. Rome, 566.

"piouſly

"piouſly to murther one, who is not only his friend, "but his gueſt." After calling down curſes upon Pruſias, and having invoked the gods, the protectors and avengers of the ſacred rights of hoſpitality, he ſwallowed the poiſon *, and died at ſeventy years of age.

This year was remarkable for the death of three great men, Hannibal, Philopæmen and Scipio, who had this in common, that they all died out of their native countries by a death little correſpondent to the glory of their actions. The two firſt died by poiſon; Hannibal was betrayed by his hoſt; and Philopæmen being taken priſoner, in a battle againſt the Meſſenians, and thrown into a dungeon, was forced to ſwallow a doſe of poiſon. As to Scipio he baniſhed himſelf, to avoid an unjuſt proſecution which was carrying on againſt him at Rome, and ended his days in a kind of obſcurity.

The character and elogium of Hannibal.

This would be the proper place for repreſenting the excellent qualities of Hannibal, who reflected ſo much glory on Carthage. But as I have attempted to draw his character * elſewhere, and to give a juſt idea of him, by making a compariſon between him and Scipio, I think myſelf diſpenſed from giving his elogium at large in this place.

Perſons who devote themſelves to the profeſſion of arms, cannot ſpend too much time in the ſtudy of this great man, who is looked upon, by the judges, as the moſt compleat general, in almoſt every reſpect, that ever the world produced.

* *Plutarch, according to his cuſtom, aſſigns him three different deaths. Some, ſays he, relate that having wrapped his cloak about his neck, he ordered his ſervant to fix his knee againſt his buttocks, and not to leave twiſting till he had ſtrangled him. Others ſay, that, in imitation of Themiſtocles and Midas, he drank bulls blood. Livy tells us, that Hannibal drank a poiſon which he always carried about him; and taking the cup into his hands, cried,* Let us free, *&c.* In vita Flaminii.

† Vol. II. *Of the method of ſtudying and teaching the Belles Lettres.*

During

During the whole ſeventeen years, (the time the war laſted) two errors, only, are objected to him: Firſt, his not marching, immediately after the battle of Cannæ, his victorious army to Rome, in order to beſiege that city: Secondly, his ſuffering their courage to be ſoftened and enervated, during their winter quarters in Capua: errors, which only ſhow, that great men are not ſo in all things; † *ſummi enim ſunt, homines tamen*; and which, perhaps, may be partly excuſed.

But then, for theſe two errors, what a multitude of ſhining qualities appear in Hannibal! How extenſive were his views and deſigns, even in his moſt tender years! What greatneſs of ſoul! What intrepidity! What preſence of mind muſt he have poſſeſſed, to be able, even in the fire and heat of action, to take all advantages: with what ſurprizing addreſs muſt he have managed the minds of men, that, amidſt ſo great a variety of nations which compoſed his army, who often were in want both of money and proviſions, his camp was not once diſturbed with any inſurrection, either againſt himſelf or any of his generals! With what equity, what moderation muſt he have behaved towards his new allies, to prevail ſo far, as to attach them inviolably to his ſervice, though he was reduced to the neceſſity of making them ſuſtain almoſt the whole burthen of the war, by quartering his army upon them, and levying contributions in their ſeveral countries! In fine, how fruitful muſt he have been in expedients, to be able to carry on, for ſo many years, a war in a remote country, in ſpite of the violent oppoſition made by a powerful domeſtic faction, which refuſed him ſupplies of every kind, and thwarted him on all occaſions! It may be affirmed, that Hannibal, during the whole ſeries of this war, ſeemed the only prop of the ſtate, and the ſoul of every part of the empire of the Carthaginians, who could never believe

* Quintil.

themſelves

themſelves conquered, till Hannibal confeſſed that he himſelf was ſo.

But that man muſt know the character of Hannibal very imperfectly, who ſhould conſider him only at the head of armies. The particulars we learn from hiſtory, concerning the ſecret intelligence he held with Philip of Macedon; the wiſe counſels he gave to Antiochus king of Syria; the double regulation he introduced in Carthage, with regard to the management of the publick revenues, and the adminiſtration of juſtice, prove, that he was a great ſtateſman in every reſpect. So ſuperior and univerſal was his genius, that it took in all parts of government; and, ſo great was his natural abilities, that he was capable to acquit himſelf in all the various functions of it with glory. Hannibal ſhone as conſpicuouſly in the cabinet as in the field; equally able to fill the civil or the military employments. In a word, he united in his own perſon the different talents and merits of all profeſſions, the ſword, the gown, and the finances.

He had ſome learning; and though he was ſo much employed in military labours, and engaged in ſo many wars, he however found leiſure to cultivate the muſes.* Several ſmart repartees of Hannibal, which have been tranſmitted to us, ſhow, that he had a great fund of natural wit; and this he improved by the moſt polite education that could be beſtowed at that time, in ſuch a republic as Carthage. He ſpoke Greek tolerably well, and wrote ſome books in that language. His præceptor was a Lacedæmonian (Solſius) who, with Philenius another Lacedæmonian, accompanied him in all his expeditions. Both theſe undertook to write the hiſtory of this renowned warrior.

With regard to his religion and moral conduct, he was not ſo profligate and wicked as he is repreſented by (y) Livy, "cruel even to inhumanity, more perfidious than a Carthaginian; regardleſs of truth, of

(y) Lib. 21. n. 4.

* Atque hic tantus vir, tantiſque bellis diſtrictus, non nihil temporis tribuit litteris, &c. *Corn. Nep. in vit. Hannib. cap.* 13.

"probity,

"probity, of the ſacred ties of oaths; fearleſs of the "gods, and utterly void of religion." *Inhumana crudelitas, perfidia pluſquam Punica; nihil veri, nihil ſancti, nullus deûm metus, nullum jusjurandum, nulla religio.* According to (z) Polybius, he rejected a barbarous propoſal that was made him, before he entred Italy, and this was, to eat human fleſh, at a time when his army was in abſolute want of proviſions. (*a*) Some years after, ſo far from treating with barbarity, as he was adviſed to do, the dead body of Sempronius Gracchus which Mago had ſent him; he cauſed his funeral obſequies to be ſolemnized, in preſence of the whole army. We have ſeen him, on many occaſions, ſhowing the higheſt reverence for the gods; and (*b*) Juſtin, who copied Trogus Pompeius, an author worthy of credit, obſerves, that he always ſhowed uncommon wiſdom and continence, with regard to the great number of women taken by him during the courſe of ſo long a war; inſomuch that no one would have imagined he had been born in Africa, where incontinence is the predominant vice of the country. *Pudicitiamque eum tantam inter tot captivas habuiſſe, ut in Africa natum quivis negaret.*

His diſregard of wealth, at a time when he had ſo many opportunities to enrich himſelf by the plunder of the cities he ſtormed, and the nations he ſubdued, ſhows, that he knew the true and genuine uſe which a general ought to make of riches, *viz.* to gain the affection of his ſoldiers, and to attach allies to his intereſt, by diffuſing his beneficence on proper occaſions, and not being ſparing in his rewards: a very eſſential quality, and at the ſame time as uncommon in a commander. The only uſe Hannibal made of money was, to purchaſe ſucceſs; firmly perſuaded, that a man who is at the head of affairs, is ſufficiently recompenced by the glory derived from victory.

(z) Excerpt. è Polyb. p. 33. Liv. l. 25. n. 17.

(*a*) Excerpt. è Diod. p. 282.

(*b*) Lib. 32. c. 4.

He

* He always led a very regular, auſtere life; and even in times of peace, and in the midſt of Carthage, when he was inveſted with the firſt dignity of the city, we are told that he never uſed to recline himſelf on a bed at meals, as was the cuſtom in thoſe ages, and drank but very little wine. So regular and uniform a life, may ſerve as an illuſtrious example to our commanders, who often include, among the privileges of war, and the duty of officers, the keeping of ſplendid tables, and living luxurioufly.

But notwithſtanding theſe elogiums, I do not however pretend to juſtify entirely all the errors and defects with which Hannibal is charged. Though he poſſeſſed an aſſemblage of the moſt exalted qualities, it cannot be denied, but that he had ſome little tincture of the vices of his country; and that it would be difficult to excuſe ſome actions and circumſtances of his life. (c) Polybius obſerves, that Hannibal was accuſed of avarice in Carthage, and of cruelty in Rome. He adds, on the ſame occaſion, that people were very much divided in opinion concerning him; and it would be no wonder, as he had made himſelf ſo many enemies in both cities, that they ſhould have drawn him in diſadvantageous colours. But Polybius is of opinion, that though it ſhould be taken for granted, that all the defects with which he is charged are true; we yet ought to conclude, that they were not ſo much owing to his nature and diſpoſition, as to the difficulties with which he was ſurrounded, in the courſe of ſo long and laborious a war; and to the complacency he was obliged to ſhow to the general officers, whoſe aſſiſtance he abſolutely wanted, for the execution of his various enterprizes; and whom he was not always able to

(c) Excerpt. è Polyb. p. 34. & 37.

* Cibi potioniſque, deſiderio naturali, non voluptate, modus finitus. *Liv.* l. 21. n. 4.

Conſtat Annibalem nec tum cùm Romano tonantem bello Italia contremuit, nec cùm reverſus Carthaginem ſummum imperium tenuit, aut cubantem cœnaſſe, aut plus quam ſextario vini indulſiſſe. *Juſtin.* l. 32. c. 4.

reſtrain,

reſtrain, any more than he could the ſoldiers who fought under them.

SECT. II. *Diſſenſions between the Carthaginians and Maſiniſſa king of Numidia.*

AMONG the conditions of the peace granted to the Carthaginians, there was one which imported, that they ſhould reſtore to Maſiniſſa all the territories and cities he poſſeſſed before the war: and further, Scipio, to reward the zeal and fidelity which that monarch had ſhewn with regard to the Romans, had added to his dominions thoſe of Syphax. This preſent afterwards gave riſe to diſputes and quarrels between the Carthaginians and Numidians.

Theſe two princes, Syphax and Maſiniſſa, were both kings in Numidia, but reigned in different parts of it. The ſubjects of Syphax were called Maſæſuli, and their capital was Cirtha. Thoſe of Maſiniſſa were the Maſſyli: but both theſe nations are better known by the name of Numidians, which was common to them. Their principal ſtrength conſiſted in their cavalry. They always rid without ſaddles, and ſome even without bridles, whence * Virgil called them *Numidæ infræni.*

(*d*) In the beginning of the ſecond Punic war, Syphax ſiding with the Romans, Gala, the father of Maſiniſſa, to check the career of ſo powerful a neighbour, thought it his intereſt to join the Carthaginians, and accordingly ſent out againſt Syphax a powerful army under the conduct of his ſon, at that time but ſeventeen years of age. Syphax, being overcome in a battle, in which it is ſaid he loſt thirty thouſand men, eſcaped into Mauritania. However, the face of things was afterwards greatly changed.

(*e*) Maſiniſſa, after his father's death, was often reduced to the brink of ruin; being drove from his kingdom by an uſurper; purſued warmly by Syphax; in

(*d*) Liv. l. 24. n. 48, 49. (*e*) Liv. l. 29. n. 29—34.

* Æn. l. 4. v. 41.

danger

danger every inſtant of falling into the hands of his enemies; deſtitute of forces, money, and almoſt all things. He was at that time in alliance with the Romans, and the friend of Scipio, with whom he had an interview in Spain. His misfortunes would not permit him to bring great ſuccours to that general. When Lælius arrived in Africa, Maſiniſſa joined him with a few horſe, and from that time was attached inviolably to the Roman intereſt. (*f*) Syphax, on the contrary, having married the famous Sophoniſba, daughter of Aſdrubal, went over to the Carthaginians.

(*g*) The fate of theſe two princes now changed once for all. Syphax loſt a great battle, and was taken alive by the enemy. Maſiniſſa, the victor, beſieged Cirtha, his capital, and took it. But he met with a greater danger in that city than he had faced in the field; and this was Sophoniſba, whoſe charms and endearments he was unable to reſiſt. To ſecure this princeſs to himſelf, he married her; but a few days after, he was obliged to ſend her a doſe of poiſon, as her nuptial preſent; this being the only way left him to keep his promiſe with his queen, and preſerve her from the power of the Romans.

This was a conſiderable error in itſelf, and which muſt neceſſarily diſoblige a nation that was ſo jealous of its authority: but this young prince repaired it glorioufly, by the ſignal ſervices he afterwards did Scipio. (*h*) We obſerved, that after the defeat and capture of Syphax, the dominions of this prince were beſtowed upon him; and that the Carthaginians were forced to reſtore all he poſſeſſed before. This gave riſe to the diviſions we are now going to relate.

(*i*) A territory ſituated towards the ſea-ſide, near the leſſer Syrtis, was the ſubject of thoſe conteſts. The country was very rich, and the ſoil extremely fruitful, a proof of which is, that the city of Leptis (only) which belonged to that territory, paid daily, a talent,

(*f*) Liv. l. 29. n. 23. (*g*) Idem, l. 30. n. 11, 12. (*h*) Ibid. n. 44. (*i*) Liv. l. 34. n. 62.

to the Carthaginians by way of tribute. Maſiniſſa had ſeized part of this territory. Each ſide diſpatched deputies to Rome, to plead the cauſe of their ſuperiors before the ſenate. This aſſembly thought proper to ſend Scipio Africanus, with two other commiſſioners, to examine the controverſy upon the ſpot. However, they returned without coming to any reſolution, and left the buſineſs in the ſame uncertain ſtate in which they had found it. Poſſibly they had acted in this manner by order of the ſenate, and had received private inſtructions to favour Maſiniſſa, who was then poſſeſſed of the diſtrict in queſtion.

(*k*) Ten years after, new commiſſioners having been appointed to examine the ſame affair, they acted as the former had done, and left the whole undetermined.

(*l*) After the like diſtance of time, the Carthaginians again brought their complaint to the ſenate, but with greater importunity than before. They repreſented, that beſides the lands at firſt conteſted, Maſiniſſa had, during the two preceding years, diſpoſſeſſed them of upwards of ſeventy towns and caſtles. That their hands were bound up by the article of the laſt treaty, which forbid their making war upon any of the allies of the Romans; that they could no longer bear the inſolence, the avarice, and cruelty of that prince: That they were deputed to Rome with three requeſts, (which they deſired might be immediately complied with) *viz.* either to get orders to have the affair examined and decided by the ſenate; or, ſecondly, that they might be permitted to repel force by force, and defend themſelves by arms; or laſtly, that, if favour was to prevail over juſtice, they then entreated the Romans to ſpecify, once for all, which of the Carthaginian lands they were deſirous ſhould be veſted in Maſiniſſa, that they, by this means, might hereafter know what they had to depend on; and that the Roman people would have ſome regard to them,

(*k*) Liv. l. 40. n. 17. A. M. 3823. Rome 567.
(*l*) Liv. l. 42. n. 23, 24. A. M. 3833. Rome 577.

at

at a time that this prince ſet no other bounds to his pretenſions, but his inſatiable avarice. The deputies concluded with beſeeching the Romans, that if the Carthaginians had been guilty of any crimes (with regard to them) ſince the concluſion of the laſt peace, that they themſelves would puniſh them for it; and not give them up to the wild caprice of a prince, by whom their liberties were made precarious, and their lives inſupportable. After ending their ſpeech, being pierced with grief, they fell proſtrate upon the earth, and burſt into tears; a ſpectacle that moved all who were preſent to compaſſion, and raiſed a violent hatred againſt Maſiniſſa. Guluſſa his ſon, who was then preſent, being aſked, what he had to reply; he anſwered, that his father had not given him any inſtructions, not knowing that any thing would be laid to his charge. He only deſired the ſenate to reflect, that the circumſtance which drew all this hatred upon him from the Carthaginians, was, the inviolable fidelity with which he had always been attached to them. The ſenate, after hearing both ſides, anſwered, that they were inclined to do juſtice to that party to whom it was due: That Guluſſa ſhould ſet out immediately, with their orders to his father, who was thereby commanded to ſend deputies with thoſe of Carthage: That they would do all that lay in their power to ſerve him, but not to the prejudice of the Carthaginians: That it was but juſt the antient limits ſhould be preſerved; and that it was far from being the intention of the Romans, to have the Carthaginians diſpoſſeſſed, during the peace, of thoſe territories and cities which had been left them by the treaty. The deputies of both powers were then diſmiſſed with the uſual preſents.

(*m*) But all theſe aſſurances were but mere words. It is plain that the Romans did not once endeavour to ſatisfy the Carthaginians, or do them the leaſt juſtice; and that they ſpun out the buſineſs, on purpoſe to give

(*m*) Polyb. p. 951.

Maſiniſſa an opportunity to eſtabliſh himſelf in his uſurpation, and weaken his enemies.

(*n*) A new deputation was ſent to examine the affair upon the ſpot, and Cato was one of the commiſſioners. On their arrival, they aſked the parties if they were willing to abide by their determination. Maſiniſſa readily complied. The Carthaginians anſwered, that they had a fixed rule to which they adhered, and that this was the treaty which had been concluded by Scipio, and deſired that their cauſe might be examined with all poſſible rigour. They therefore could not come to any deciſion. The deputies viſited all the country, and found it in a very good condition, eſpecially the city of Carthage: And they were ſurprized to ſee it, after being involved in ſuch a calamity, again raiſed to ſo exalted a pitch of power and grandeur. The ſenate was told of this, immediately on the return of the deputies; and declared Rome could never be in ſafety, ſo long as Carthage ſhould ſubſiſt. From this time, whatever affair was debated in the ſenate, Cato always added the following words to his opinion, *I conclude that Carthage ought to be deſtroyed.* This grave ſenator did not give himſelf the trouble to prove, that bare jealouſy of the growing power of a neighbouring ſtate, is a warrant ſufficient for deſtroying a city contrary to the faith of treaties. But Scipio Naſica was of opinion, that the ruin of this city would draw after it that of their commonwealth; becauſe that the Romans, having then no rival to fear, would quit the ancient ſeverity of their manners, and abandon themſelves to luxury and pleaſures, the never failing ſubverters of the moſt flouriſhing empires.

(*o*) In the mean time diviſions broke out in Carthage. The popular faction, being now become ſuperior to that of the grandees and ſenators, ſent forty citizens into baniſhment; and bound the people by an oath, never to ſuffer the leaſt mention to be made of

(*n*) App. de bell. Pun. p. 37. A. M. 3848. Rome 592.
(*o*) App. p. 38.

recalling

recalling thoſe exiles. They withdrew to the court of Maſiniſſa, who diſpatched Guluſſa and Micipſa, his two ſons, to Carthage, to ſollicit their return. However, the gates of the city were ſhut againſt them, and one of them was cloſely purſued by Hamilcar, one of the generals of the republic. This gave occaſion to a new war, and accordingly armies were levied on both ſides. A battle was fought; and the younger Scipio, who afterwards ruined Carthage, was ſpectator of it. He had been ſent from Lucullus in Spain, under whom Scipio then fought, to Maſiniſſa, to deſire ſome elephants from that monarch. During the whole engagement, he ſtood upon a neighbouring hill; and was ſurprized to ſee Maſiniſſa, then eighty-eight years of age, mounted (agreeably to the cuſtom of his country) on a horſe without a ſaddle; flying from rank to rank like a young officer, and ſuſtaining the moſt arduous toils. The fight was very obſtinate, and continued all day, but at laſt the Carthaginians gave way. Scipio uſed to ſay afterwards, that he had been preſent at many battles, but at none with ſo much pleaſure as this; having never before beheld ſo formidable an army engage, without any danger or trouble to himſelf. And being very converſant in the writings of Homer, he added, that, till his time, there were but two more who had been ſpectators of ſuch an action, *viz.* Jupiter from mount Ida, and Neptune from Samothrace, when the Greeks and Trojans fought before Troy. I know not whether the ſight of an hundred thouſand men (for ſo many there were) butchering one another, can adminiſter a real pleaſure; or whether ſuch a pleaſure is conſiſtent with the ſentiments of humanity, ſo natural to mankind.

(*p*) The Carthaginians, after the battle was over, entreated Scipio to terminate their conteſts with Maſiniſſa. Accordingly he heard both parties, and the Carthaginians conſented to yield up the territory of

(*p*) Idem, p. 40.

Emporium *, which had been the firſt cauſe of their diviſion; to pay Maſiniſſa two hundred talents of ſilver down, and eight hundred more, at ſuch times as ſhould be agreed. But Maſiniſſa inſiſting on the return of the exiles, they did not come to any deciſion. Scipio, after having paid his compliments, and returned thanks to Maſiniſſa, ſet out with the elephants, for which he had been ſent.

(q) The king, immediately after the battle was over, had blocked up the enemy's camp, which was pitched upon a hill, whither neither troops nor proviſions could come to them. During this interval, there arrived deputies from Rome, with orders from the ſenate to decide the quarrel, in caſe the king ſhould be defeated; otherwiſe, to leave it undetermined, and to give the king the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the continuation of their friendſhip; and this they did. In the mean time, the famine daily increaſed in the enemy's camp, which being heightened by the plague, occaſioned a new calamity, and made dreadful havock. Being now reduced to the laſt extremity, they ſurrendred to Maſiniſſa, promiſing to deliver up the deſerters, to pay him five thouſand talents of ſilver in fifty years, and reſtore the exiles, notwithſtanding their oaths to the contrary. They all ſubmitted to the ignominious ceremony of paſſing under the yoke †, and were diſmiſſed, with only one ſuit of clothes for each. Guluſſa, to ſatiate his vengeance for the ill treatment, as we be-

(q) Ibid.

* *The Emporium, or Emporia, was a country of Africa, on the Leſſer Syrtis, in which Leptis ſtood. No part of the Carthaginian dominions was more fruitful than this.* Polybius, *l.* 1. *ſays, that the revenue that aroſe from this place, was ſo conſiderable, that all their hopes were almoſt founded on it,* ἐν αἷς *(viz. their revenues from Emporia)* εἶχον τὰς μεγίσας ἐλπίδας. *To this was owing their care and ſtate-jealouſy above-mentioned, leſt the Romans ſhould ſail beyond the Fair Promontory, that lay before Carthage; and become acquainted with a country, which might induce them to attempt the conqueſt of it.*

† *Ils furent tous paſsés ſous le joug:* Sub jugum miſſi; *a kind of gallows (made by two forked ſticks, ſtanding upright) was erected, and a ſpear laid acroſs, under which vanquiſhed enemies were obliged to paſs.* Feſtus.

fore

fore obſerved, he had met with; ſent out, againſt them, a body of cavalry, whom, from their great weakneſs, they could neither eſcape nor reſiſt. So that, of fifty-eight thouſand men, very few returned to Carthage.

The third Punic war.

(q) The third Punic war, which was leſs conſiderable than either of the former, with regard to the number and greatneſs of the battles, and its continuance, which was only four years, was ſtill more remarkable with reſpect to the ſucceſs and event of it, as it ended in the total ruin and deſtruction of Carthage.

(r) The inhabitants of it, from their laſt defeat, knew what they might naturally fear from the Romans, from whom they had always met with the moſt rigorous treatment after they had addreſſed them upon their diſputes with Maſiniſſa. To prevent the conſequences of it, the Carthaginians, by a decree of the ſenate, impeached Aſdrubal, general of the army, and Carthalo commander † of the auxiliary forces, as guilty of high-treaſon, for being the authors of the war againſt the king of Numidia. They then ſent a deputation to Rome, to enquire what opinion that republick entertained of their late proceedings, and what was deſired of them. The deputies were coldly anſwered, that it was the buſineſs of the ſenate and people of Carthage to know, what ſatisfaction was due to the Romans. A ſecond deputation bringing them no clearer anſwer, they fell into the greateſt dejection; and being ſeized with the ſtrongeſt terrors, upon recollecting their paſt ſufferings, they fancied the enemy was already at their gates, and imag'd to themſelves all the diſmal conſequences of a long ſiege, and of a city taken ſword in hand.

(s) In the mean time, the ſenate debated at Rome,

(q) A. M. 3855. Carthage 697. Rome 599. Ant. J. C. 149.
(r) Appian. p. 41, 42.
(s) Plut. in vit. Cat. p. 352.

† *The foreign forces were commanded by leaders of their reſpective nations, who were all under the command of a Carthaginian officer, called by Appian* Βουδαρχος.

on the meaſures it would be proper for them to take; and the diſputes between Cato and Scipio Naſica, who were of a quite different opinion on this ſubject, were renewed. The former, on his return from Africa, had declared in the ſtrongeſt terms, that he had not found Carthage exhauſted of men or money, nor in that weak and humble ſtate, as the Romans ſuppoſed it to be; but, on the contrary, that it was crouded with vigorous young men, abounded with immenſe quantities of gold and ſilver, and prodigious magazines of arms and all warlike ſtores; and was ſo haughty and confident on account of this force, that their hopes and ambition had no bounds. It is farther ſaid, that after he had ended his ſpeech, he threw, out of the lappet of his robe, in the midſt of the ſenate, ſome African figs; and, as the ſenators admired their beauty and ſize, (*t*) *Know*, ſays he, *that it is but three days ſince theſe figs were gathered. Such is the diſtance between the enemy and us.*

(*u*) Cato and Naſica had each of them their reaſons for voting as they did. Naſica, obſerving that the people roſe to ſuch a height of inſolence, as threw them into exceſſes of every kind; that their proſperity had ſwelled them with a pride which the ſenate itſelf was not able to check: and that their power was become ſo enormous, that they were able to draw the city, by force, into every mad deſign they might undertake; Naſica, I ſay, obſerving this, was deſirous that they ſhould continue in fear of Carthage, in order that this might ſerve as a curb to reſtrain their audacious conduct. For it was his opinion, that the Carthaginians were too weak to ſubdue the Romans; and, at the ſame time, ſo powerful, that it was not for the intereſt of the Romans, to conſider them in a contemptible light. With regard to Cato, he thought, that as his countrymen were become haughty and inſolent by ſucceſs, and plunged headlong into diſſolution of every kind; nothing could be more dangerous,

(*t*) Plin. l. 15. c. 18. (*u*) Plut. ibid. in vita Cat.

than

than for it to have a rival city, (to whom the Romans were odious;) a city that till now had been powerful, but was become, even by its misfortunes, more wise and provident than ever; and therefore that it would not be safe, to remove the fears of the inhabitants entirely with regard to a foreign power; since they had, within their own walls, all the opportunities of indulging themselves in excesses of every kind.

§. To lay aside, for one instant, the laws of equity, I leave the reader to determine, which of these two great men reasoned most justly, according to the maxims of sound policy, and the true interest of a state. One undoubted circumstance is, that all historians have observed, that there was a sensible change in the conduct and government of the Romans, immediately after the ruin of Carthage *: That vice no longer made its way into Rome with a timorous pace, and as it were by stealth, but appeared barefaced, and seized with astonishing rapidity, all orders of the republic: That senators, plebeians, in a word, all conditions abandoned themselves to luxury and voluptuousness, without having the least regard to, or sense of decency, which occasioned, as it must necessarily, the ruin of the state. "The first Scipio †," says Paterculus, speaking of the Romans, "had laid the foundations of their future "grandeur; and the last, by his conquests, had opened "a door to all manner of luxury and dissoluteness. "For, after Carthage, which obliged Rome to stand "for ever on its guard, by disputing empire with that "city, had been totally destroyed; the depravity of

* Ubi Carthago, & æmula imperii Romani ab stirpe interiit, Fortuna sævire ac miscere omnia cœpit. *Sallust. in bell. Catilin.*

Ante Carthaginem deletam populus & senatus Romanus placidè modestéque inter se Remp. tractabant——Metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi formido illa mentibus decessit, ilicet ea, quæ secundæ res amant, lascivia atque superbia incessere. *Idem in bello Jugurthino.*

† Potentiæ Romanorum prior Scipio viam aperuerat, luxuriæ posterior aperuit. Quippe remoto Carthaginis metu, sublataque imperii æmula, non gradu, sed præcipiti cursu à virtute descitum, ad vitia transcursum. *Vel. Paterc.* l. 2. c. 1.

"manners was no longer ſlow in its progreſs, but "ſwelled at once into the utmoſt exceſs of cor-"ruption."

(x) Be this as it will, the ſenate reſolved to declare war againſt the Carthaginians; and the reaſons or pretences urged for it were, their keeping up ſhips contrary to the tenor of treaties; their ſending an army out of their territories, againſt a prince who was in alliance with Rome, and whoſe ſon they treated ill, at the time he was accompanied by a Roman embaſſador.

(y) An event, that chance occaſioned very fortunately, at the time that the ſenate of Rome was debating on the affair of Carthage, contributed, doubtleſs, very much to make them take that reſolution. This was the arrival of deputies from Utica, who came to ſurrender up themſelves, their effects, their lands, and their city, into the hands of the Romans. Nothing could have happened more ſeaſonably. Utica was the ſecond city of Africa, vaſtly rich, and had an equally ſpacious and commodious port; it ſtood within ſixty furlongs of Carthage, ſo that it might ſerve as a place of arms in the attack of that city. The Romans now heſitated no longer, but proclaimed war. M. Manilius and L. Marcius Cenſorinus, the two conſuls, were deſired to ſet out as ſoon as poſſible. They had ſecret orders from the ſenate, not to end the war, but by the deſtruction of Carthage. The conſuls immediately left Rome, and ſtopped at Lilybæum in Sicily. They had a conſiderable fleet, on board of which were fourſcore thouſand foot, and about four thouſand horſe.

(z) The Carthaginians were not yet acquainted with the reſolutions which had been taken at Rome. The anſwer brought back by their deputies, had only increaſed their fears, *viz. It was the buſineſs of the Carthaginians, to conſider what ſatisfaction was due to them**. This made them not know what courſe to take. At

(x) App. p. 42. Rome 600.
(y) App. bell. Pun. p. 42. A. M. 3856.
(z) Polyb. excerpt. legat. p. 972.
* *To the Romans.*

laſt,

laſt, they ſent new deputies, whom they inveſted with full powers to act as they ſhould ſee fitting; and even (what the former wars could never make them ſtoop to) to declare, that the Carthaginians gave up themſelves, and all they poſſeſſed, to the will and pleaſure of the Romans. This, according to the import of the clauſe, *ſe ſuaque eorum arbitrio permittere*, was ſubmitting themſelves, without reſerve, to the power of the Romans, and becoming their vaſſals. Nevertheleſs, they did not expect any great ſucceſs from this condeſcenſion, though ſo very mortifying; becauſe as the Uticans had been before-hand with them on that occaſion, this had deprived them of the merit of a ready and voluntary ſubmiſſion.

The deputies, on their arrival at Rome, were informed that war had been proclaimed, and that the army was ſet out. The Romans had diſpatched a courier to Carthage, with the decree of the ſenate; and to inform that city, that the Roman fleet was ſailed. The deputies had therefore no time for deliberation, but delivered up themſelves, and all they poſſeſſed, to the Romans. In conſequence of this behaviour, they were anſwered, that ſince they had at laſt taken a right ſtep, the ſenate granted them their liberty, the enjoyment of their laws, and all their territories, and other poſſeſſions, whether publick or private, provided that, within the ſpace of thirty days, they ſhould ſend (as hoſtages to Lilybæum) three hundred young Carthaginians of the firſt diſtinction, and comply with the orders of the conſuls. This laſt condition filled them with inexpreſſible anxiety: but the concern they were under, would not allow them to make the leaſt reply, or to demand an explication; nor indeed would it have been to any purpoſe. They therefore ſet out for Carthage, and there gave an account of their embaſſy.

(*a*) All the articles of the treaty were extremely ſevere with regard to the Carthaginians; but the ſilence

(*a*) Ibid.

of

of the Romans, with reſpect to the cities, of which no notice was taken in the conceſſions which that people was willing to make, perplexed them exceedingly. But all they had to do was to obey. After the many former and recent loſſes the Carthaginians had ſuſtained, they were by no means in a condition to reſiſt ſuch an enemy, ſince they had not been able to oppoſe Maſiniſſa. Troops, proviſions, ſhips, allies, in a word, every thing was wanting, and hope and vigour more than all the reſt.

They did not think it proper to wait till the thirty days which had been allowed them were expired, but immediately ſent their hoſtages, in order to ſoften the enemy, by the readineſs of their obedience, though they durſt not flatter themſelves with the hopes of meeting with favour on this occaſion. Theſe hoſtages were in a manner the flower, and the only hopes of the nobleſt families of Carthage. No ſpectacle was ever more moving; nothing was now heard but cries, nothing ſeen but tears, and all places echoed with groans and lamentations. But above all, the unhappy mothers, quite bathed in tears, tore their diſhevel'd hair, beat their breaſts, and, as if grief and deſpair had diſtracted them, they yelled in ſuch a manner, as might have moved the moſt ſavage breaſts to compaſſion. But the ſcene was much more mournful, when the fatal moment of their ſeparation was come; when, after having accompanied their dear children to the ſhip, they bid them a long, laſt farewel, perſuaded that they ſhould never ſee them more; wept a flood of tears over them; embraced them with the utmoſt fondneſs; claſped them eagerly in their arms; could not be prevailed upon to part with them, till they were forced away, which was more grievous and afflicting than if their hearts had been torn out of their breaſts. The hoſtages being arrived in Sicily, were carried from thence to Rome; and the conſuls told the deputies, that when they ſhould arrive at Uti-

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ca, they would acquaint them with the orders of the republic.

(*b*) In ſuch a ſituation of affairs, nothing can be more grievous than a ſtate of uncertainty, which, without deſcending to particulars, images to the mind the blackeſt ſcenes of miſery. As ſoon as it was known, that the fleet was arrived at Utica, the deputies repaired to the Roman camp; ſignifying, that they were come in the name of their republic, in order to receive the commands which they were ever ready to obey. The conſul, after praiſing their good diſpoſition and compliance, commanded them to deliver up to him, without fraud or delay, all their arms. This they conſented to, but beſought him to reflect on the ſad condition to which he was reducing them, in the time that Aſdrubal, whoſe quarrel againſt them was owing to no other cauſe, but their perfect ſubmiſſion to the orders of the Romans, was advanced almoſt to their gates, with an army of twenty thouſand men. The anſwer returned them was, that the Romans would ſet that matter right.

(*c*) This order was immediately put in execution. There arrived, in the camp, a long train of waggons, loaded with all the preparations of war, taken out of Carthage: two hundred thouſand compleat ſets of armour, a numberleſs multitude of darts and javelins, with two thouſand engines for ſhooting darts and ſtones *. Then followed the deputies of Carthage, accompanied by the moſt venerable ſenators and prieſts, who came purpoſely to try to move the Romans to compaſſion in this critical moment, when their ſentence was going to be pronounced, and their fate would be irreverſible. Cenſorinus the conſul, for it was he who ſpoke all this time, roſe up for a moment at their coming, and expreſſed ſome kindneſs and affection for them; but ſuddenly aſſuming a grave and ſevere countenance: "I cannot," ſays he, "but commend the

(*b*) Polyb. p. 975. Appian. p. 44—46. (*c*) Appiau. p. 46.

* *Baliſtæ or Catapultæ,*

"readi-

" readineſs with which you execute the orders of the " ſenate. They have commanded me to tell you, that " it is their abſolute will and pleaſure that you depart " out of Carthage, which they have reſolved to de- " ſtroy; and that you remove into any other part " of your dominions, as you ſhall think proper, pro- " vided it be at the diſtance of eighty ſtadia † from " the ſea."

(*d*) The inſtant the conſul had pronounced this fulminating decree, nothing was heard among the Carthaginians but lamentable ſhrieks and howlings. Being now in a manner thunder-ſtruck, they neither knew where they were, nor what they did; but rolled themſelves in the duſt, tearing their cloaths, and unable to vent their grief any otherwiſe, but by broken ſighs and deep groans. Being afterwards a little recovered, they lifted up their hands with the air of ſuppliants, one moment towards the gods, and the next towards the Romans, imploring their mercy and juſtice with regard to a people, who would ſoon be reduced to the extremities of deſpair. But as both the gods and men were deaf to their fervent prayers, they ſoon changed them into reproaches and imprecations; bidding the Romans call to mind, that there were ſuch beings as avenging deities, whoſe ſevere eyes were for ever open on guilt and treachery. The Romans themſelves could not refrain from tears at ſo moving a ſpectacle, but their reſolution was fixed. The deputies could not even prevail ſo far, as to get the execution of this order ſuſpended, till they ſhould have an opportunity of preſenting themſelves again before the ſenate, if poſſible, to get it revoked. They were forced to ſet out immediately, and carry the anſwer to Carthage.

(*e*) The people waited for their return with ſuch an impatience and terror, as words could never expreſs. It was ſcarce poſſible for them to break through the crowd, that flocked round them, to hear the anſwer,

(*d*) Appian. p. 46—53. (*e*) Appian. p. 53, 54.

† *Four leagues, or twelve miles.*

which

which was but too ſtrongly painted in their faces. When they were come into the ſenate, and had declared the barbarous orders of the Romans, a general ſhriek informed the people of their too-lamentable fate; and, from that inſtant, nothing was ſeen and heard in every part of the city, but howling and deſpair, madneſs and fury.

The reader will here give me leave to interrupt the courſe of the hiſtory for a moment, to reflect on the conduct of the Romans. It is great pity that the fragment of Polybius, where an account is given of this deputation, ſhould end exactly in the moſt affecting part of this event. I ſhould ſet a much higher value on one ſhort reflection of ſo judicious an author, than on the long harangues which Appian aſcribes to the deputies and the conſul. I can never believe, that ſo rational, judicious, and juſt a man as Polybius, could have approved the proceedings of the Romans on the preſent occaſion. We do not here diſcover, in my opinion, any of the characteriſticks which diſtinguiſhed them antiently; that greatneſs of ſoul, that rectitude, that utter abhorrence of all mean artifices, frauds, and impoſtures, which, as is ſomewhere ſaid, formed no part of the Roman genius; *Minime Romanis artibus.* Why did not the Romans attack the Carthaginians by open force? Why ſhould they declare expreſsly in a treaty (a moſt ſolemn and ſacred thing) that they allowed them the full enjoyment of their liberties and laws; and, underſtand at the ſame time, certain private conditions, which proved the entire ruin of both? Why ſhould they conceal, under the ſcandalous omiſſion of the word City in this treaty, the black deſign of deſtroying Carthage; as if, beneath the cover of ſuch an equivocation, they might deſtroy it with juſtice? In fine, why did the Romans not make their laſt declaration, till after they had extorted from the Carthaginians, at different times, their hoſtages and arms; that is, till they had abſolutely rendered them incapable of diſobeying their moſt arbitrary commands?

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Is it not manifeſt, that Carthage, notwithſtanding all its defeats and loſſes, though it was weakened and almoſt exhauſted, was ſtill a terror to the Romans, and that they were perſuaded, they were not able to conquer it by force of arms? It is very dangerous, to be poſſeſſed of ſo much power, as may enable one to commit injuſtice with impunity, and with a proſpect of being a gainer by it. The experience of all ages ſhows, that ſtates ſeldom ſcruple to commit injuſtice, when they think it will conduce to their advantage.

(*f*) The noble character which Polybius gives of the Achæans, differs widely from what was practiſed here. Theſe people, ſays he, far from uſing artifice and deceit with regard to their allies, in order to enlarge their power; did not think themſelves allowed to employ them even againſt their enemies, conſidering only thoſe victories as ſolid and glorious, which were obtained ſword in hand, by dint of courage and bravery. He owns in the ſame place, that there then remained among the Romans, but very faint traces of the antient generoſity of their anceſtors; and he thinks it incumbent on him, (as he declares) to make this remark, in oppoſition to a maxim which was grown very common in his time, among perſons in the adminiſtration of governments, who imagined, that honeſty is inconſiſtent with good policy; and that it is impoſſible to ſucceed in the adminiſtration of ſtate affairs, either in war or peace, without uſing fraud and deceit on ſome occaſions.

(*g*) I now return to my ſubject. The conſuls made no great haſte to march againſt Carthage, not ſuſpecting they had reaſon to be under any apprehenſions from that city, as it was now diſarmed. However, the inhabitants took the opportunity of this delay, to put themſelves in a poſture of defence, being all unanimouſly reſolved not to quit the city. They appointed as general, without the walls, Aſdrubal, who was at

(*f*) Polyb. p. 13. p. 671, 672. (g) Appian. p. 55. Strabo, l. 17. p. 833.

the

the head of twenty thouſand men; and to whom deputies were ſent accordingly, to intreat him to forget, for his country's ſake, the injuſtice which had been done him, from the dread they were under of the Romans. The command of the troops, within the walls, was given to another Aſdrubal, grandſon of Maſiniſſa. They then applied themſelves in making arms with incredible expedition. The temples, the palaces, the open markets and ſquares, were all changed into ſo many arſenals, where men and women worked day and night. Every day were made an hundred and forty ſhields, three hundred ſwords, five hundred pikes or javelins, a thouſand arrows, and a great number of engines to diſcharge them; and, becauſe they wanted materials to make ropes, the women cut off their hair, and abundantly ſupplied their wants on this occaſion.

(*b*) Maſiniſſa was very much diſguſted at the Romans, becauſe after he had extremely weakened the Carthaginians, they came and reaped the fruits of his victory, without acquainting him in any manner with their deſign, which circumſtance cauſed ſome coldneſs between them.

(*i*) During this interval, the conſuls were advancing towards the city, in order to beſiege it. As they expected nothing leſs than a vigorous reſiſtance, the incredible reſolution and courage of the beſieged filled them with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment. The Carthaginians were for ever making the boldeſt ſallies, in order to repulſe the beſiegers, to burn their engines, and harraſs their foragers. Cenſorinus attacked the city on one ſide, and Manilius on the other. Scipio, afterwards ſurnamed Africanus, was then a tribune in the army; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf above the reſt of the officers, no leſs by his prudence than by his bravery. The conſul, under whom he fought, committed many overſights, by his refuſing to follow his advice. This young officer drew the troops from ſeveral dangers into which their imprudent leaders had

(*b*) Pag. 55. (*i*) Pag. 53—58.

plunged

plunged them. A renowned perſon, Phamæas by name, who was general of the enemy's cavalry, and continually harraſſed the foragers, did not dare to ever keep the field, when it was Scipio's turn to ſupport them; ſo capable was he to order his troops, and poſt himſelf to advantage. So great and univerſal a reputation, excited ſome envy againſt him in the beginning; but as he behaved, in all reſpects, with the utmoſt modeſty and reſerve, that envy was ſoon changed into admiration; ſo that when the ſenate ſent deputies to the camp, to enquire into the ſtate of the ſiege, the whole army gave him unanimouſly the higheſt commendations; the ſoldiers, as well as officers, nay, the very generals, extolled the merit of young Scipio: So neceſſary is it for a man to ſoften, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, the ſplendor of his riſing glory, by a ſweet and modeſt carriage; and not to excite the jealouſy of people, by haughty and ſelf-ſufficient behaviour, as it naturally awakens pride in others, and makes even virtue itſelf odious!

(*k*) About the ſame time Maſiniſſa, finding his end approach, ſent to deſire a viſit from Scipio, in order that he might inveſt him with full powers, to diſpoſe, as he ſhould ſee proper, of his kingdom and eſtate, in behalf of his children. But, on Scipio's arrival, he found that monarch dead. Maſiniſſa had commanded them, with his dying breath, to follow implicitly the directions of Scipio, whom he appointed to be a kind of father and guardian to them. I ſhall give no farther account here of the family and poſterity of Maſiniſſa, becauſe that would interrupt too much the hiſtory of Carthage.

(*l*) The high eſteem which Phamæas had entertained for Scipio, induced him to forſake the Carthaginians, and go over to the Romans. Accordingly he joined him with above two thouſand horſe, and did great ſervice at the ſiege.

(*k*) Pag. 63. A. M. 3857. Rome 601. (*l*) Strabo, p. 65.

Cal-

(*m*) Calpurnius Piſo the conſul, and L. Mancinus his lieutenant arrived in Africa in the beginning of the ſpring. Nothing remarkable was tranſacted during this campaign. The Romans were even defeated on ſeveral occaſions, and carried on the ſiege of Carthage but ſlowly. The beſieged, on the contrary, had recovered their ſpirits. Their troops were conſiderably increaſed, they daily got new allies; and even ſent an expreſs as far as Macedonia, to the counterfeit Philip * who paſſed for the ſon of Perſeus, and was then engaged in war with the Romans; to exhort him to carry it on with vigour, and promiſing to furniſh him with money and ſhips.

(*n*) This news occaſioned ſome uneaſineſs at Rome. People began to doubt the ſucceſs of a war, which grew daily more uncertain, and was more important than had at firſt been imagined. As much as they were diſſatisfied with the dilatorineſs of the generals, and exclaimed at their conduct, ſo much did they unanimouſly agree in applauding young Scipio, and extolling his rare and uncommon virtues. He was come to Rome, in order to ſtand candidate for the edileſhip. The inſtant he appeared in the aſſembly, his name, his countenance, his reputation, a general perſuaſion that he was deſigned by the gods to end the third Punic war, as the firſt Scipio, his grandfather by adoption, had terminated the ſecond; theſe ſeveral circumſtances made a very ſtrong impreſſion on the people; and though it was contrary to law, and therefore oppoſed by the antient men, inſtead of the edileſhip which he ſued for, the people, diſregarding for once the laws, conferred the (*o*) conſulſhip upon him, and aſſigned him Africa for his province, without caſting lots for the provinces, as uſual, and as Druſus his collegue demanded.

(*p*) As ſoon as Scipio had compleated his recruits, he ſet out for Sicily, and arrived ſoon after in Utica.

(*m*) Pag. 66. (*n*) Pag. 68. (*o*) A. M. 3858. Rome 602. (*p*) Appian. p. 69.

* *Andriſcus.*

He

He came very ſeaſonably for Mancinus, Piſo's lieutenant, who had raſhly fixed himſelf in a poſt where he was ſurrounded by the enemy; and would have been cut to pieces, had not, that very morning, the new conſul, who, at his arrival, heard of the danger he was in, re-embarked his troops in the night, and ſailed with the utmoſt ſpeed to his aſſiſtance.

(q) Scipio's firſt care, after his arrival, was to revive the diſcipline among the troops, which he found had been entirely neglected. There was not the leaſt regularity, ſubordination, or obedience. Nothing was attended to but rapine, feaſting, and diverſions. He drove from the camp all uſeleſs perſons, ſettled the quality of the proviſions he would have brought in by the ſutlers, and allowed of none but what were plain and fit for ſoldiers, ſtudiouſly baniſhing all things of a dainty, luxurious kind.

After he had made theſe regulations, which coſt him but little time and pains, becauſe he himſelf firſt ſet the example, he was perſuaded that thoſe under him were ſoldiers, and thereupon he prepared to carry on the ſiege with vigour. Having ordered his troops to provide themſelves with axes, levers, and ſcaling ladders, he led them, in the dead of the night, and without the leaſt noiſe, to a diſtrict of the city called Megara; when ordering them to give a ſudden and general ſhout, he attacked it with great vigour. The enemy, who did not expect to be attacked in the night, were, at firſt, in the utmoſt terror; however, they defended themſelves ſo courageouſly, that Scipio could not ſcale the walls. But perceiving a tower that was forſaken, and which ſtood without the city, very near the walls; he detached thither a party of intrepid ſoldiers, who, by the help of * pontons, got from the tower on the walls, and from thence into Megara, whoſe gates they broke down. Scipio entred it immediately after, and drove the enemies out of that

(q) Pag. 70.

* *A ſort of a moveable bridge.*

poſt;

poſt; who, terrified at this unexpected aſſault, and imagining that the whole city was taken, fled into the citadel, whither they were followed even by thoſe forces that were encamped without the city, who abandoned their camp to the Romans, and thought it neceſſary for them to fly to a place of ſecurity.

(r) Before I proceed further, it will be proper to give ſome account of the ſituation and dimenſions of Carthage, which, in the beginning of the war againſt the Romans, contained ſeven hundred thouſand inhabitants. It ſtood at the bottom of a gulf, ſurrounded with the ſea, and in the form of a peninſula, whoſe neck, that is the Iſthmus which joined it to the continent, was twenty-five ſtadia, or a league and a quarter in breadth. The peninſula was three hundred and ſixty ſtadia, or eighteen leagues round. On the weſt-ſide there projected from it a long neck of land, half a ſtadium, or twelve fathoms broad; which advancing into the ſea, divided it from a moraſs, and was fenced on all ſides with rocks and a ſingle wall. On the ſouth-ſide, towards the continent, where ſtood the citadel called Byrſa, the city was ſurrounded with a triple wall, thirty cubits high, abſtracted from the parapets and towers, with which it was flanked all round at equal diſtances, each interval being fourſcore fathoms. Every tower was four ſtories high, and the walls but two; they were arched, and in the lower part were ſtalls large enough to hold three hundred elephants with their fodder, &c; over theſe were ſtables for four thouſand horſes, and lofts for their food. There likewiſe was room enough to lodge twenty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe. In fine, all theſe were contained within the walls. The walls were weak and low in one place only; and that was a neglected angle, which began at the neck of land above mentioned, and extended as far as the harbours, which were on the weſt-ſide. Two of theſe communicated with each other, and had but one entrance,

(r) Appian. p. 56, & l. 57. Strabo, l. 17. p. 832.

ſeventy

ſeventy foot broad, ſhut up with chains. The firſt was appropriated for the merchants, and had ſeveral diſtinct habitations for the ſeamen. The ſecond, or inner harbour, was for the ſhips of war, in the midſt of which ſtood an iſland, called Cothon, lined, as the harbour was, with large keys, in which were diſtinct receptacles † for ſheltering from the weather two hundred and twenty ſhips; over theſe were magazines or ſtore-houſes, wherein was lodged whatever is neceſſary for arming and equipping fleets. The entrance into each of theſe receptacles, was adorned with two marble pillars of the Ionick order: So that both the harbour and the iſland repreſented on each ſide two magnificent galleries. In this iſland was the admiral's palace; and as it ſtood oppoſite to the mouth of the harbour, he could from thence diſcover whatever was doing at ſea, though no one, from thence, could ſee what was tranſacting in the inward part of the harbour. The merchants, in like manner, had no proſpect of the men of war; the two ports being ſeparated by a double wall, each having its particular gate that led to the city, without paſſing through the other harbour. (*r*) So that Carthage may be divided into three parts: The harbour, which was double, and called ſometimes Cothon, from the little iſland of that name: The citadel, named Byrſa: The city properly ſo called, where the inhabitants dwelt, which lay round the citadel, and was called Megara.

(*s*) At day-break, Aſdrubal * perceiving the ignominious defeat of his troops, in order that he might be revenged on the Romans, and, at the ſame time, deprive the inhabitants of all hopes of accommodation and pardon, brought all the Roman priſoners he had taken, upon the walls, in ſight of the whole army.

(*r*) Boch. in Phal. p. 512.

† Νεωσοίκους, Strabo

(*s*) Appian. p. 72.

* 'Twas he who at firſt commanded without the city, but having cauſed the other Aſdrubal, Maſiniſſa's grandſon, to be put to death, he got the command of the troops within the walls.

my. There he put them to the moſt exquiſite torture; putting out their eyes, cutting off their noſes, ears, and fingers; tearing their ſkin to pieces with iron rakes or harrows, and then threw them headlong from the top of the battlements. So inhuman a treatment filled the Carthaginians with horror: however, he did not ſpare even them; but murdered many ſenators who had been ſo brave as to oppoſe his tyranny.

(*t*) Scipio, finding himſelf abſolute maſter of the Iſthmus, burnt the camp which the enemy had deſerted, and built a new one for his troops. It was in a ſquare form, ſurrounded with large and deep intrenchments, and fenced with ſtrong paliſades. On the ſide which faced the Carthaginians, he built a wall twelve foot high, flanked at proper diſtances with towers and redoubts; and, on the middle tower he erected a very high wooden fort, from whence could be ſeen whatever was doing in the city. This wall was equal to the whole breadth of the Iſthmus, that is, twenty-five ſtadia *. The enemy, who were within arrow-ſhot of it, employed their utmoſt efforts to put a ſtop to this work; but, as the whole army worked at it day and night, without intermiſſion, it was finiſhed in twenty-four days. Scipio reaped a double advantage from this work: Firſt, his forces were lodged more ſafely and commodiouſly than before: Secondly, he cut off all proviſions from the beſieged, to whom none could be brought but by land; which diſtreſſed them exceedingly, both becauſe the ſea is frequently very tempeſtuous in that place, and becauſe the Roman fleet kept a ſtrict guard. This proved one of the chief cauſes of the famine which raged ſoon after in the city. Beſides, Aſdrubal diſtributed the corn that was brought, only among the thirty thouſand men who ſerved under him, without regard to what became of the inhabitants.

(*u*) To diſtreſs them ſtill more, by the want of

(*t*) Pag. 73. (*u*) Pag. 74.

* *Four miles and three quarters.*

pro-

proviſions, Scipio attempted to ſtop up the mouth of the haven, by a mole, beginning at the abovementioned neck of land, which was near the harbour. The beſieged looked, at firſt, upon this attempt as ridiculous, and accordingly they inſulted the workmen: But, at laſt, ſeeing them make an aſtoniſhing progreſs every day, they began to be afraid; and to take ſuch meaſures as might, if poſſible, render the attempt unſucceſsful. Every one, to the women and children, fell to work, but ſo privately, that all Scipio could learn from the priſoners, was, that they had heard a great noiſe in the harbour, but did not know the cauſe or occaſion of it. At laſt, all things being ready, the Carthaginians opened, on a ſudden, a new outlet on the other ſide of the haven; and appeared at ſea with a numerous fleet, which they had then built with the old materials found in their magazines. It is generally allowed, that had they attacked the Roman fleet directly, they muſt infallibly have taken it: becauſe, as no ſuch attempt was expected, and every man was otherwiſe employed, the Carthaginians would have found it without rowers, ſoldiers or officers, But the ruin of Carthage, ſays the hiſtorian, was decreed. Having therefore only offered a kind of inſult or bravado to the Romans, they returned into the harbour.

(*x*) Two days after, they brought forward their ſhips, with a reſolution to fight in good earneſt, and found the enemy ready for them. This battle was to determine the fate of both parties. It laſted a long time, each exerting themſelves to the utmoſt; the one to ſave their country reduced to the laſt extremity, and the other to compleat their victory. During the fight, the Carthaginian brigantines running along under the large Roman ſhips, broke to pieces ſometimes their ſterns, and at other times their rudders and oars; and, when briſkly attacked retreated with ſurprizing ſwiftneſs, and returned immediately to the charge. At laſt, after the two armies had fought with equal ſucceſs

(*x*) Pag. 75.

till ſun-ſet, the Carthaginians thought proper to retire; not that they believed themſelves overcome, but in order to begin the fight again on the morrow. Part of their ſhips, not being able to run ſwiftly enough into the harbour, becauſe the mouth of it was too narrow, took ſhelter under a very ſpacious terraſs, which had been thrown up againſt the walls to unload goods, on the ſide of which a ſmall rampart had been raiſed during this war, to prevent the enemy from poſſeſſing themſelves of it. Here the fight was again renewed with more vigour than ever, and laſted till late at night. The Carthaginians ſuffered very much, and the few ſhips of theirs, which got off, ſailed for refuge to the city. Morning being come, Scipio attacked the terraſs, and carried it, though with great difficulty; after which he poſted and fortified himſelf on it, and built a brick wall cloſe to thoſe of the city, and of the ſame height. When it was finiſhed, he commanded four thouſand men to get on the top of it, and to diſcharge from it a perpetual ſhower of darts and arrows upon the enemy, which did great execution; becauſe, as the two walls were of equal height, there was ſcarce one dart without effect. Thus ended this campaign.

(*y*) During the winter quarters, Scipio endeavoured to overpower the enemy's troops without the city, who very much harraſſed the troops that brought his proviſions, and protected ſuch as were ſent to the beſieged. For this purpoſe he attacked a neighbouring fort, called Nepheris, where they uſed to ſhelter themſelves. In the laſt action, above ſeventy thouſand of the enemy, as well ſoldiers as peaſants who had been inliſted, were cut to pieces; and the fort was carried with great difficulty, after ſuſtaining a ſiege of two and twenty days. The ſeizure of this fort was followed by the ſurrender of almoſt all the ſtrong-holds in Africa; and contributed very much to the taking of Carthage itſelf, into which, from that time, it was almoſt impoſſible to bring any proviſions.

(*y*) Pag. 78.

(z) Early in the ſpring, Scipio attacked, at one and the ſame time, the harbour called Cothon, and the citadel. Having poſſeſſed himſelf of the wall which ſurrounded this port, he threw himſelf into the great ſquare of the city that was near it, from whence was an aſcent to the citadel, up three ſtreets, on each ſide of which were houſes, from the tops whereof a ſhower of darts were diſcharged upon the Romans, who were obliged, before they could advance farther, to force the houſes they came firſt to, and poſt themſelves in them, in order to diſlodge from thence the enemy who fought from the neighbouring houſes. The combat which was carried on from the tops and in every part of the houſes, continued ſix days, during which a dreadful ſlaughter was made. To clear the ſtreets, and make way for the troops, the Romans dragged aſide, with hooks, the bodies of ſuch of the inhabitants as had been ſlain, or precipitated headlong from the houſes; and threw them into pits, the greateſt part of them being ſtill alive and panting. In this toil, which laſted ſix days and as many nights, the ſoldiers were relieved from time to time, by freſh ones, without which they would have been quite ſpent. Scipio was the only perſon who did not take a wink of ſleep all this time; giving orders in all places, and ſcarce allowing himſelf leiſure to take the leaſt refreſhment.

(a) There was ſtill reaſon to believe, that the ſiege would laſt much longer, and occaſion a great effuſion of blood. But on the ſeventh day, there appeared a company of men in a ſuppliant poſture and habit, who deſired no other conditions, but that the Romans would pleaſe to ſpare the lives of all thoſe who ſhould be willing to leave the citadel: which requeſt was granted them, only the deſerters were excepted. Accordingly, there came out fifty thouſand men and women, who were ſent into the fields under a ſtrong guard. The deſerters, who were about nine hundred, finding they would not be allowed quarter, fortified

(z) Pag. 77. A. M. 3859. Rome 603. (a) Pag. 81.

themſelves

themſelves in the temple of Æſculapius, with Aſdrubal, his wife and two children: where, though their number was but ſmall, they might have held out a long time, becauſe the temple ſtood on a very high hill, upon rocks, to which the aſcent was by ſixty ſteps. But at laſt, exhauſted by hunger and watchings, oppreſſed with fear, and ſeeing their deſtruction at hand, they loſt all patience; when, abandoning the lower part of the temple, they retired to the uppermoſt ſtory, and reſolved not to quit it but with their lives.

In the mean time Aſdrubal, being deſirous of ſaving his own life, came down privately to Scipio; carrying an olive-branch in his hand, and threw himſelf at his feet. Scipio ſhowed him immediately to the deſerters, who, tranſported with rage and fury at the ſight, vented millions of imprecations againſt him, and ſet fire to the temple. Whilſt it was lighting, we are told, that Aſdrubal's wife, dreſſing herſelf as ſplendidly as poſſible, and placing herſelf with her two children in ſight of Scipio, addreſſed him with a loud voice: "I call not down, ſays ſhe, curſes upon thy head, O "Roman; for thou only takeſt the privilege allowed "by the laws of war. But may the gods of Carthage, "and thou in concert with them, puniſh, according "to his deſerts, the falſe wretch, who has betrayed "his country, his gods, his wife, his children!" Then, directing herſelf to Aſdrubal, "Perfidious wretch, "ſays ſhe; thou baſeſt of creatures! This fire will "preſently conſume both me and my children; but "as to thee, (too ſhameful general of Carthage) go— "adorn the gay triumph of thy conqueror—ſuffer, in "the ſight of all Rome, the tortures thou ſo juſtly "deſerveſt!" She had no ſooner pronounced theſe words, but ſeizing her children, ſhe cut their throats, threw them into the flames, and afterwards ruſhed into them herſelf, in which ſhe was imitated by all the deſerters.

(*a*) With regard to Scipio, when he ſaw this famous city, which had flouriſhed ſeven hundred years, and might have been compared to the greateſt empires, on account of the extent of its dominions both by ſea and land; its mighty armies; its fleets, elephants, and riches; and that the Carthaginians were even ſuperior to other nations, by their courage and greatneſs of ſoul; as notwithſtanding their being deprived of arms and ſhips, they had ſuſtained, for three whole years, all the hardſhips and calamities of a long ſiege: ſeeing, I ſay, this city entirely ruined, hiſtorians relate, that he could not refuſe his tears to the unhappy fate of Carthage. He reflected, that cities, nations, and empires, are liable to revolutions no leſs than particular men; that the like ſad fate had befallen Troy, antiently ſo powerful; and, in later times, the Aſſyrians, Medes, and Perſians, whoſe dominions were once of ſo great an extent; and laſtly, the Macedonians, whoſe empire had been ſo glorious throughout the world. Full of theſe mournful ideas, he repeated the following verſes of Homer,

Ἔσεται ἦμαρ ὅταν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἰλιος ἱρὴ,
Καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐϋμμελίω Πριάμοιο. *Il.* δ'. 164, 165.

The day ſhall come, that great avenging day,
Which Troy's proud glories in the duſt ſhall lay,
When Priam's pow'rs and Priam's ſelf ſhall fall,
And one prodigious ruin ſwallow all. POPE.

thereby denouncing the future deſtiny of Rome, as he himſelf confeſſed to Polybius, who deſired Scipio to explain himſelf on that occaſion.

Had the truth enlightened his ſoul, he would have diſcovered what we are taught in the ſcriptures, that (*b*) *becauſe of unrighteous dealings, injuries, and riches got by deceit, a kingdom is tranſlated from one people to another.* Carthage is deſtroyed, becauſe its avarice, perfidiouſneſs, and cruelty, have attained their utmoſt height. The like fate will attend Rome, when its luxury, ambition, pride, and unjuſt uſurpations, con-

(*a*) Pag. 82. (*b*) Eccleſ. x. 8.

cealed

cealed beneath a ſpecious and deluſive ſhew of juſtice and virtue, ſhall have compelled the ſovereign Lord, the diſpoſer of empires, to give the univerſe an important leſſon in its fall.

(*c*) Carthage being taken in this manner, Scipio gave the plunder of it, (the gold, ſilver, ſtatues, and other offerings which ſhould be found in the temples excepted) to his ſoldiers for ſome days. He afterwards beſtowed ſeveral military rewards on them, as well as on the officers, two of whom had particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves, *viz.* Tib. Gracchus, and Cai. Fannius, who firſt ſcaled the walls. After this, adorning a very ſmall ſhip (an excellent ſailor) with the enemy's ſpoils, he ſent it to Rome with the news of the victory.

(*d*) At the ſame time, he ordered the inhabitants of Sicily, to come and take poſſeſſion of the pictures and ſtatues which the Carthaginians had plundered them of in the former wars. When he reſtored, to the citizens of Agrigentum, Phalaris's famous bull *, he told them that this bull, which was, at one and the ſame time, a monument of the cruelty of their antient kings, and of the lenity of their preſent ſovereigns, ought to make them ſenſible, which would be moſt advantageous for them, to live under the yoke of Sicilians, or the government of the Romans.

Having expoſed to ſale part of the ſpoils of Carthage, he commanded, on the moſt ſevere penalties, his family not to take, or even buy any of them; ſo careful was he to remove from himſelf, and all belonging to him, the leaſt ſuſpicion of avarice.

(*e*) When the news of the taking of Carthage was brought to Rome, the people abandoned themſelves to the moſt immoderate tranſports of joy, as if the publick tranquillity had not been ſecured till that inſtant.

(*c*) Pag. 83. A. M. 3859. Carthage 701. Rome 693. Ant. J. C. 145.
(*d*) Pag. 83. (*e*) Appian. p. 83.

* Quem taurum Scipio cum redderet Agrigentinis, dixiſſe dicitur, æquum eſſe illos cogitare utrum eſſet Siculis utilius, ſuiſne ſervire, an populo R. obtemperare, cum idem monumentum & domeſticæ crudelitatis, & noſtræ manſuetudinis haberent. *Cicer. Verr.* 6. *n.* 73.

They revolved in their minds, all the calamities which the Carthaginians had brought upon them, in Sicily, in Spain, and even in Italy, for ſixteen years together; during which, Hannibal had plundered four hundred towns, deſtroyed three hundred thouſand men, and reduced Rome itſelf to the utmoſt extremity. Amidſt the remembrance of theſe paſt evils, the people in Rome would aſk one another, whether it were really true that Carthage was in aſhes. All ranks and degrees of men emulouſly ſtrove who ſhould ſhow the greateſt gratitude towards the gods; and the citizens were, for many days, employed wholly in ſolemn ſacrifices, in publick prayers, games and ſpectacles.

(*f*) After theſe religious duties were ended, the ſenate ſent ten commiſſioners into Africa, to regulate, in conjunction with Scipio, the fate and condition of that country, in times to come. Their firſt care was, to demoliſh whatever was ſtill remaining of Carthage *. Rome †, though miſtreſs of almoſt the whole world, could not believe herſelf ſafe as long as even the name of Carthage was in being: ſo true it is, that an inveterate hatred, fomented by long and bloody wars, laſts even beyond the time when all cauſe of fear is removed; and does not ceaſe, till the object that occaſions it is no more. Orders were given, in the name of the Romans, that it ſhould never be inhabited again; and dreadful imprecations were denounced againſt thoſe, who, contrary to this prohibition, ſhould attempt to rebuild any parts of it, eſpecially thoſe called Byrſa and Megara. In the mean time, every one who

(*f*) Pag. 84.

* *We may gueſs at the dimenſions of this famous city, by what Florus ſays,* viz. *that it was ſeventeen days on fire, before it could be all conſumed.* Quanta urbs deleta ſit, ut de cæteris taceam, vel ignium mora probari poteſt: Quippe per continuos decem & ſeptem dies vix potuit incendium extingui. *Lib.* 2. c. 15.

† Neque ſe Roma, jam terrarum orbe ſuperato, ſecuram ſperavit fore, ſi nomen uſquam maneret Carthaginis. Adeo odium certaminibus ortum, ultra metum durat, & ne in victis quidem deponitur, neque ante inviſum eſſe deſinit, quam eſſe deſiit. *Vel. Paterc.* l. 1. c. 12.

deſired

desired it, was admitted to see Carthage: Scipio being well pleased, to have people view the sad ruins of a city which had dared to contend with Rome for empire *. The commissioners decreed further, that those cities, which, during this war, had joined with the enemy, should all be razed, and their territories be given to the Roman allies; they particularly made a grant to the citizens of Utica, of the whole country lying between Carthage and Hippo. All the rest they made tributary, and reduced it into a Roman province, whither a prætor was sent annually.

(*g*) All matters being thus settled, Scipio returned to Rome, where he made his entry in triumph. So magnificent a one had never been seen before; the whole exhibiting nothing but statues, rare invaluable pictures, and other curiosities, which the Carthaginians had, for many years, been collecting, in other countries; not to mention the money carried into the publick treasury, that amounted to immense sums.

(*h*) Notwithstanding the great precautions which were taken, to hinder Carthage from being ever rebuilt, in less than thirty years after, and even in Scipio's life-time, one of the Gracchi, to ingratiate himself with the people, undertook to found it anew, and conducted thither a colony consisting of six thousand citizens for that purpose. The senate hearing, that the workmen had been terrified by many unlucky omens, at the time they were tracing the limits, and laying the foundations of the new city, would have suspended the attempt; but the tribune, not being over scrupulous in religious matters, carried on the work, notwithstanding all these bad presages, and finished it in a few days. This was the first Roman colony that ever was sent out of Italy.

It is probable, that only a kind of huts were built

(*g*) Ibid. (*h*) Appian. p. 85. Plutarch. in vit. Gracch. p. 839.

* Ut ipse locus eorum, qui cum hac urbe de imperio certarunt, vestigia calamitatis ostenderet. *Cic. Agrar.* 2. n. 50.

there, ſince we are told, * that when Marius retired hither, in his flight to Africa, he lived in a mean and poor condition amid the ruins of Carthage, conſoling himſelf by the ſight of ſo aſtoniſhing a ſpectacle; himſelf ſerving, in ſome meaſure, as a conſolation to that ill-fated city.

(*i*) Appian relates, that Julius Cæſar, after the death of Pompey, having croſſed into Africa, ſaw, in a dream, an army compoſed of a prodigious number of ſoldiers, who, with tears in their eyes, called him; and that, ſtruck with the viſion, he writ down in his pocket-book the deſign which he formed on this occaſion, of rebuilding Carthage and Corinth: but that having been murthered ſoon after by the conſpirators, Auguſtus Cæſar, his adopted ſon, who found this memorandum among his papers, rebuilt Carthage near the ſpot where it ſtood formerly, in order that the imprecations which had been vented, at the time of its deſtruction, againſt thoſe who ſhould preſume to rebuild it, might not fall upon him.

(*k*) I know not what foundation Appian has for this ſtory; but we read in Strabo, that Carthage and Corinth were rebuilt at the ſame time by Cæſar, to whom he gives the name of God, by which title, a little before (*l*), he had plainly intended Julius Cæſar; and Plutarch (*m*), in the life of that emperor, aſcribes expreſsly to him, the eſtabliſhment of theſe two colonies; and obſerves, that one remarkable circumſtance in theſe two cities is, that as both had been taken and deſtroyed together, they likewiſe were rebuilt and repeopled at the ſame time. However this be, Strabo affirms, that, in his time, Carthage was as populous as any city in Africa; and it roſe to be the capital of Africa, under the ſucceeding emperors. It exiſted,

(*i*) Pag. 85. (*k*) L. 17. p. 833. (*l*) Pag. 83.
(*m*) Pag. 733.

* Marius curſum in Africam direxit, inopemque vitam in tugurio ruinarum Carthaginienſium toleravit; cum Marius aſpiciens Carthaginem, illa intuens Marium, alter alteri poſſent eſſe ſolatio. *Vel. Paterc.* l. 2. c. 19.

for

for about ſeven hundred years after, in ſplendor, but at laſt was ſo compleatly deſtroyed by the Saracens, in the beginning of the ſeventh century, that neither its name, nor the leaſt footſteps of it are known, at this time, in the country.

A Digreſſion on the manners and character of the ſecond Scipio Africanus.

SCIPIO, the deſtroyer of Carthage, was ſon to the famous Paulus Æmilius, who conquered Perſeus, the laſt king of Macedon; and conſequently grandſon to that Paulus, who loſt his life in the battle of Cannæ. He was adopted by the ſon of the great Scipio Africanus, and called Scipio Æmilianus; the names of the two families being ſo united, purſuant to the law of adoptions. Our * Scipio ſupported with equal luſtre, the honour and dignity of both houſes, being poſſeſſed of all the exalted qualities of the ſword and gown. The whole tenor of his life, ſays an hiſtorian, whether with regard to his actions, his thoughts or words, was conſpicuous for its great beauty and regularity. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf particularly (a circumſtance ſeldom found at that time in perſons of the military profeſſion,) by his exquiſite taſte for polite literature, and all the ſciences; as well as by the uncommon regard he ſhowed to learned men. It is univerſally known, that he was reported to be the author of Terence's comedies, the moſt polite and elegant writings which the Romans could boaſt. We are told of Scipio †, that no man could blend more happily repoſe and action, nor employ his leiſure hours

* Scipio Æmilianus, vir avitis P. Africani paterniſque L. Pauli virtutibus ſimillimus, omnibus belli ac togæ dotibus, ingeniique ac ſtudiorum eminentiſſimus ſeculi ſui, qui nihil in vita niſi laudandum aut fecit aut dixit aut ſenſit. *Vel. Paterc.* l. 1. c. 12.

† Neque enim quiſquam hoc Scipione elegantius intervalla negotiorum otio diſpunxit: Semperque aut belli aut pacis ſerviit artibus, ſemper inter arma ac ſtudia verſatus, aut corpus periculis, aut animum diſciplinis exercuit. *Ibid.* c. 13.

with greater delicacy and taſte: Thus was he divided between arms and books, between the military labours of the camp, and the peaceful employment of the cabinet; in which he either exerciſed his body in toils of war, or his mind in the ſtudy of the ſciences. By this he ſhowed, that nothing does greater honour to a perſon of diſtinction, of what quality or profeſſion ſoever he be, than the adorning his ſoul with knowledge. Cicero, ſpeaking of Scipio, ſays, * that he always had Xenophon's works in his hands, which are ſo famous for the ſolid and excellent inſtructions they contain both in regard to war and policy.

(*n*) He owed this exquiſite taſte for polite learning and the ſciences, to the excellent education which Paulus Æmilius beſtowed on his children. He had put them under the ableſt maſters in every art; and did not ſpare any coſt on that occaſion, though his circumſtances were very narrow: P. Æmilius himſelf was preſent at all their leſſons, as often as the affairs of government would permit; becoming, by this means, their chief præceptor.

(*o*) The ſtrict union between Polybius and Scipio, finiſhed the exalted qualities which, by the ſuperiority of his genius and diſpoſition, and the excellency of his education, were already the ſubject of admiration. Polybius, with a great number of Achaians, whoſe fidelity the Romans ſuſpected during the war with Perſeus, was detained in Rome, where his merit ſoon attracted the eyes, and made his converſation the deſire of all perſons of the higheſt quality in that city. Scipio, when ſcarce eighteen, devoted himſelf entirely to Polybius; and conſidered, as the greateſt felicity of his life, the opportunity he had of being inſtructed by ſo great a maſter, whoſe ſociety he preferred to all

(*n*) Plut. in vit. Æmil. Paul. (*o*) Excerpt. è Polyb. p. 147—163.

* Africanus ſemper Socraticum Xenophontem in manibus habebat. *Tuſc. Quæſt.* l. 2. n. 62.

the vain and idle amuſements which are generally ſo eagerly purſued by young perſons.

Polybius's firſt care was, to inſpire Scipio with an averſion for thoſe equally dangerous and ignominious pleaſures, to which the Roman youth were ſo ſtrongly addicted; the greateſt part of them being already depraved and corrupted, by the luxury and licentiouſneſs which riches and new conqueſts had introduced in Rome. Scipio, during the firſt five years that he continued in ſo excellent a ſchool, made the greateſt improvement in it; and, deſpiſing the levity and wantonneſs, as well as the pernicious examples of perſons of the ſame age with himſelf, he was looked upon, even at that time, as a ſhining model of diſcretion and wiſdom.

From hence, the tranſition was eaſy and natural, to generoſity, to a noble diſregard of riches, and to a laudable uſe of them; all virtues ſo requiſite in perſons of illuſtrious birth, and which Scipio carried to the moſt exalted pitch, as appears from ſome inſtances of this kind related by Polybius, and highly worthy our admiration.

Æmilia *, wife of the firſt Scipio Africanus, and mother of him who had adopted the Scipio mentioned here by Polybius, had bequeathed, at her death, a great eſtate to the latter. This lady, beſides the diamonds and jewels which are worn by women of her high rank, poſſeſſed a great number of gold and ſilver veſſels uſed in ſacrifices, together with ſeveral ſplendid equipages, and a conſiderable number of ſlaves of both ſexes; the whole ſuited to the auguſt houſe into which ſhe had married. At her death, Scipio made over all thoſe rich poſſeſſions to Papiria his mother, who having been divorced a conſiderable time before by Paulus Æmilius, and not being in circumſtances to ſupport the dignity of her birth, lived in great obſcurity, and never appeared in the aſſemblies or publick ceremonies.

* *She was ſiſter of Paulus Æmilius, father of the ſecond Scipio Africanus.*

But

But when ſhe again frequented them with a magnificent train, this noble generoſity of Scipio did him great honour, eſpecially in the minds of the ladies, who expatiated on it in all their converſations, and in a city, whoſe inhabitants, ſays Polybius, were not eaſily prevailed upon to part with their money.

Scipio was no leſs admired on another occaſion. He was bound, by a condition in the will, to pay, at three different times, to the two daughters of Scipio his grandfather by adoption, half their portions, which amounted to fifty thouſand French crowns †. The time for the payment of the firſt ſum being expired, Scipio put the whole money into the hands of a banker. Tiberius Gracchus, and Scipio Naſica, who had married the two ſiſters, imagining that Scipio had made a miſtake, went to him, and obſerved, that the laws allowed him three years to pay this ſum in, and at three different times. Young Scipio anſwered, that he knew very well what the laws directed on this occaſion; that they might indeed be executed in their greateſt rigour with ſtrangers, but that friends and relations ought to treat one another with a more generous ſimplicity; and therefore he deſired them to receive the whole ſum. They were ſtruck with ſuch admiration at the generoſity of their kinſman, that in their return home, they reproached * themſelves for their narrow way of thinking, at a time when they made the greateſt figure, and had the higheſt regard paid to them, of any family in Rome. This generous action, ſays Polybius, was the more admired, becauſe no perſon in Rome, ſo far from conſenting to pay fifty thouſand crowns before they were due, would pay even a thouſand before the time for payment was elapſed.

It was from the ſame noble ſpirit, that, two years after, Paulus Æmilius his father being dead, he made over to his brother Fabius, who was not ſo wealthy as himſelf, the part of their father's eſtate which was his

† *Or*, 11250 l. *ſterling*.
* Κατεγνωκότες τῆς ἑαυτῶν μικρολογίας.

(Scipio's)

(Scipio's) due, (amounting to above threeſcore thouſand crowns *,) in order that there might not be ſo great a diſparity between his fortune and that of his brother.

This Fabius being deſirous to exhibit a ſhow of gladiators after his father's deceaſe, in honour of his memory, (as was the cuſtom in that age,) and not being able to defray the expences on this occaſion, which amounted to a very heavy ſum, Scipio made him a preſent of fifteen thouſand † crowns, in order to defray at leaſt half the charges of it.

The ſplendid preſents which Scipio had made his mother Papiria, reverted to him, by law as well as equity, after her demiſe; and his ſiſters, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, had not the leaſt claim to them. Nevertheleſs, Scipio thought it would have been diſhonourable in him, had he taken them back again. He therefore made over to his ſiſters, whatever he had preſented to their mother, which amounted to a very conſiderable ſum; and, by this freſh proof of his glorious diſregard of wealth, and the tender friendſhip he had for his family, acquired the applauſe of the whole city.

Theſe different benefactions, which amounted all together to a prodigious ſum, ſeem to have received a brighter luſtre from the age in which he beſtowed them, he being ſtill very young; and yet more from the circumſtances of the time when they were preſented, as well as the kind and obliging carriage he aſſumed on thoſe occaſions.

The incidents I have here given, are ſo repugnant to the maxims of this age, that there might be reaſon to fear, the reader would conſider them merely as the rhetorical flouriſhes of an hiſtorian, who was prejudiced in favour of his hero; if it was not well known, that the predominant characteriſtic of Polybius, by whom they are related, is a ſincere love for truth, and an utter averſion to adulation of every kind. In the very paſſage whence this relation is extracted, he

* *Or*, 13500 l. *ſterling*.

† *Or*, 5375 l. *ſterling*.

thought it would be neceſſary for him to be a little guarded, where he expatiates on the virtuous actions and rare qualities of Scipio; and he obſerves, that as his writings were to be peruſed by the Romans, who were perfectly well acquainted with all the particulars of this great man's life, he would certainly be animadverted upon by them, ſhould he venture to advance any falſhood: an affront, to which it is not probable that an author, who is ever ſo little tender of his reputation, would expoſe himſelf, eſpecially if no advantage was to accrue to him from it.

We have already obſerved, that Scipio had never given into the faſhionable debaucheries and exceſſes to which the young people at Rome ſo wantonly abandoned themſelves. But he was ſufficiently compenſated for this ſelf-denial of all deſtructive pleaſures, by the vigorous health he enjoyed all the reſt of his life, which enabled him to taſte pleaſures of a much purer and more exalted kind, and to perform the great actions that reflected ſo much glory upon him.

Hunting, which was his darling exerciſe, contributed alſo very much to invigorate his conſtitution, and enable him to endure the hardeſt toils. Macedonia, whither he followed his father, gave him an opportunity of indulging to the utmoſt of his deſire his paſſion in this reſpect; for the chace, which was the uſual diverſion of the Macedonian monarchs, having been laid aſide for ſome years on account of the wars, Scipio found there an incredible quantity of game of every kind. Paulus Æmilius, ſtudious of procuring his ſon virtuous pleaſures of every kind, in order to divert his mind from thoſe which reaſon prohibits, gave him full liberty to indulge himſelf in his favourite ſport, during all the time that the Roman forces continued in that country, after the victory he had gained over Perſeus. The illuſtrious youth employed his leiſure hours in an exerciſe, which ſuited ſo well his age and inclination; and was as ſucceſsful in this innocent war againſt the beaſts in Macedonia, as his father had been in that

which

which he had carried on againſt the inhabitants of the country.

It was at Scipio's return from Macedon, that he met with Polybius in Rome; and contracted the ſtrict friendſhip with him, which was afterwards ſo beneficial to our young Roman, and did him almoſt as much honour in after ages, as all his conqueſts. We find, by hiſtory, that Polybius lived with the two brothers. One day when himſelf and Scipio were alone, the latter vented himſelf freely to him, and complained, but in the mildeſt and moſt gentle terms, that he, in their converſations at table, always directed himſelf to his brother Fabius, and never to him. "I am ſenſible, "ſays he, that this indifference ariſes from your ſup-"poſing, with all our citizens, that I am a heedleſs "young man, and wholly averſe to the taſte which "now prevails in Rome, becauſe I do not plead at "the bar, nor ſtudy the graces of elocution. But "how ſhould I do this? I am told perpetually, that "the Romans expect a general, and not an orator, "from the houſe of the Scipios. I will confeſs to "you (pardon the ſincerity with which I reveal my "thoughts) that your coldneſs and indifference grieve "me exceedingly." Polybius ſurprized at theſe unexpected words, made Scipio the kindeſt anſwer; and aſſured the illuſtrious youth, that though he always directed himſelf to his brother, yet this was not out of diſreſpect to him, but only becauſe Fabius was the eldeſt; not to mention, (continued Polybius) that, knowing you poſſeſſed but one ſoul, I conceived that I addreſſed both when I ſpoke to either of you. He then aſſured Scipio, that he was entirely at his command: That with regard to the ſciences, for which he diſcovered the happieſt genius, he would have opportunities ſufficient to improve himſelf in them, from the great number of learned Grecians who reſorted daily to Rome: but that, as to the art of war, which was properly his profeſſion and his favourite ſtudy, he (Polybius) might be of ſome little ſervice to him. He had

had no ſooner ſpoke theſe words, but Scipio, graſping his hand in a kind of rapture: "Oh! when, ſays he, "ſhall I ſee the happy day, when, diſengaged from "all other avocations, and living with me, you will "be ſo much my friend, as to improve my under-"ſtanding and regulate my affections? It is then I "ſhall think myſelf worthy of my illuſtrious anceſ-"tors." From that time Polybius, overjoyed to ſee ſo young a man breathe ſuch noble ſentiments, devoted himſelf particularly to our Scipio, who for ever after paid him as much reverence as if he had been his father.

However, Scipio did not only eſteem Polybius as an excellent hiſtorian, but valued him much more, and reaped much greater advantages from him, by his being ſo able a warrior, and ſo profound a politician. Accordingly he conſulted him on every occaſion, and always took his advice even when he was at the head of his army; concerting in private with Polybius, all the operations of the campaign, all the movements of the forces, all enterprizes againſt the enemy, and the ſeveral meaſures proper for rendering them ſucceſsful. (*p*) In a word, it was the common report, that our illuſtrious Roman did not perform any great or good action but when he was adviſed to it by Polybius; nor ever commit an error, except when he acted without conſulting him.

I flatter my ſelf that the reader will excuſe this long digreſſion, which may be thought foreign to my ſubject, as I am not writing the Roman hiſtory. However, it appeared to me ſo well adapted to the general deſign I propoſe to my ſelf, in this work, *viz.* the cultivating and improving the minds of youth, that I could not forbear introducing it here, though I was ſenſible this is not directly its proper place. And indeed, theſe examples ſhow, how important it is, that young people ſhould receive a liberal and virtuous education; and the great benefit they reap, by frequenting and correſponding early with perſons of merit: for

(*p*) Pauſan. in Arcad. l. 8. p. 505.

theſe

theſe were the foundations whereon were built the fame and glory which have rendered Scipio immortal. But above all, how noble a model for our age, (in which the moſt inconſiderable and even trifling concerns often create feuds and animoſities between brothers and ſiſters, and diſturb the peace of families) is the generous diſintereſtedneſs of Scipio, who, whenever he had an opportunity of ſerving his relations, took a delight in beſtowing the largeſt ſums upon them! This excellent paſſage of Polybius had eſcaped me, by its not being inſerted in the folio edition of his works. It belongs indeed naturally to the book, where, treating of the taſte with regard to ſolid glory, I mentioned the contempt in which the antients held riches, and the excellent uſe they made of them. I therefore thought my ſelf indiſpenſably obliged, to reſtore, on this occaſion, to young ſtudents, what I afterwards could not but blame my ſelf for omitting.

The HISTORY of the family and poſterity of MASINISSA.

I promiſed, after finiſhing what related to the republic of Carthage, to return to the family and poſterity of Maſiniſſa. This piece of hiſtory forms a conſiderable part of that of Africa, and therefore is not quite foreign to my ſubject.

(*q*) From Maſiniſſa's having declared for the Romans in the time of the firſt Scipio, he had always adhered to that honourable alliance, with an almoſt unparallelled zeal and fidelity. Finding his end approaching, he wrote to the proconſul of Africa, under whoſe ſtandards the younger Scipio then fought, to deſire that Roman might be ſent to him; adding, that he ſhould die with ſatisfaction, if he could but expire in his arms, after having made him executor to his will. But believing that he ſhould be dead, before it could be poſſible for him to receive this conſolation, he ſent for his wife and children, and ſpoke to them as follows. "I

(*q*) App. p. 65. Val. Max. l. 5. c. 2. A. M. 3857. Rome 601.

"know

" know no other nation but the Romans, and, among " this nation, no other family but that of the Scipios. " I now, in my expiring moments, impower Scipio " Æmilianus, to diſpoſe in an abſolute manner of all " my poſſeſſions, and to divide my kingdom among " my children. I require that whatever Scipio may " decree, ſhall be executed as punctually, as if I my " ſelf had appointed it by my will." After ſaying theſe words, he breathed his laſt, being upwards of ninety years of age.

(*r*) This prince, during his youth, had met with ſtrange reverſes of fortune, having been diſpoſſeſſed of his kingdom, obliged to fly from province to province, and a thouſand times in danger of his life. Being ſupported, ſays the hiſtorian, by the divine protection, he was afterwards favoured, till his death, with a perpetual ſeries of proſperity, unruffled by any ſiniſter accident: for he not only recovered his own kingdom, but added to it that of Syphax his enemy; and extending his kingdom from Mauritania as far as Cyrene, he became the moſt powerful prince of all Africa. He was bleſſed, till he left the world, with the greateſt health and vigour, which doubtleſs was owing to his extreme temperance, and the toils he perpetually ſuſtained. Though ninety years of age, he performed all the exerciſes uſed by * young men, and always rode without a ſaddle: and Polybius obſerves (a circumſtance preſerved by (*s*) Plutarch) that the day after a great victory over the Carthaginians, Maſiniſſa was ſeen, ſitting at the door of his tent, eating a piece of brown bread.

(*t*) He left fifty-four ſons, of whom three only were legitimate,

(*r*) App. ibid. (*s*) An ſeni gerenda ſit Reſp. p. 791.

(*t*) Appian. Val. Max. l. 5. c. 2.

* *Cicero introduces Cato, ſpeaking as follows of Maſiniſſa's vigorous conſtitution.* Arbitror te audire Scipio, hoſpes tuus Maſiniſſa quæ faciat hodie nonaginta annos natus; cum ingreſſus iter pedibus ſit, in equum omnino non aſcendere; cum equo, ex equo non deſcendere; nullo imbre, nullo frigore adduci, ut capite operto ſit; ſummam eſſe in eo corporis ſiccitatem. Itaque exequi omnia regis officia et munera. *De Senectute.*

legitimate, *viz.* Micipſa, Guluſſa and Maſtanabal. Scipio divided the kingdom between theſe three, and gave conſiderable poſſeſſions to the reſt: But the two laſt dying ſoon after, Micipſa became ſole poſſeſſor of theſe extenſive dominions. He had two ſons, Adherbal and Hiempſal; whom he educated in his palace with Jugurtha his nephew, (Maſtanabal's ſon) of whom he took as much care as he did of his own children. * This laſt mentioned prince poſſeſſed ſeveral eminent qualities, which gained him univerſal eſteem. Jugurtha, who was finely ſhaped, and very handſome, of the moſt delicate wit and the moſt ſolid judgment, did not devote himſelf, as young men commonly do, to a life of luxury and pleaſure. He uſed to exerciſe himſelf with perſons of his age, in running, riding, throwing the javelin; and though he ſurpaſſed all his companions, there was not one of them but loved him. The chace was his only delight, but it was that of lions and other ſavage beaſts. To finiſh his character, he excelled in all things, and ſpoke very little of himſelf: *Plurimum facere, et minimum ipſe de ſe loqui.*

So conſpicuous an aſſemblage of fine talents and perfections, began to excite the jealouſy of Micipſa. He ſaw himſelf in the decline of life, and his children very young. † He knew the prodigious lengths which ambition is capable of going, when a crown is in view; and that a man, with talents much inferior to thoſe of Jugurtha, might be dazzled by ſo reſplendent a temptation, eſpecially when united with ſuch favourable circumſtances. In order therefore to remove a competitor, ſo dangerous with regard to his children, he gave Jugurtha the command of the forces which he ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Romans, who, at that time, were beſieging Numantia, under the conduct of Scipio.

* *All this hiſtory of Jugurtha is extracted from Salluſt.*

† Terrebat eum natura mortalium avida imperii, et præceps ad explendam animi cupidinem: præterea opportunitas ſuæ liberorumque ætatis, quæ etiam mediocres viros ſpe prædæ tranſverſos agit. *Salluſt.*

Knowing

Knowing Jugurtha was actuated by the moſt heroic bravery, he flattered himſelf, that he probably would ruſh upon danger, and loſe his life. However he was miſtaken. This young prince joined to an undaunted courage, the utmoſt calmneſs of mind; and, a circumſtance very rarely found in perſons of his age, he preſerved a juſt medium between a timorous foreſight, and an impetuous raſhneſs *. In this campaign, he won the eſteem and friendſhip of the whole army. Scipio ſent him back to his uncle with letters of recommendation, and the moſt advantageous teſtimonials of his conduct, after having given him very prudent advice with regard to it: For, knowing mankind ſo well, he, in all probability, had diſcovered certain ſparks of ambition in that prince, which he feared would one day break out into a flame.

Micipſa, pleaſed with the great character that was ſent him of his nephew, changed his behaviour towards him, and reſolved, if poſſible, to win his affection by kindneſs. Accordingly he adopted him; and by his will, made him joint-heir with his two ſons. Finding afterwards his end approaching, he ſent for all three, and bid them draw near his bed, where, in preſence of his whole court, he put Jugurtha in mind how good he had been to him; conjuring him, in the name of the gods, to defend and protect on all occaſions his children; who, being before related to him by the ties of blood, were now become his brethren, by his (Micipſa's) bounty. He told him, † that neither arms nor treaſure conſtitute the ſtrength of a kingdom, but friends, who are not won by arms nor gold, but by real ſervices and inviolable fidelity. Now where, (ſays he) can we find better friends than our brothers?

* Ac ſane, quod difficillimum imprimis eſt, et prælio ſtrenuus erat, et bonus conſilio: quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem adferre plerumque ſolet.

† Non exercitus, neque theſauri, præſidia regni ſunt, verum amici: Quos neque armis cogere, neque auro parare queas; officio et fide pariuntur. Quis autem amicior quàm frater fratri? aut quem alienum fidum invenies, ſi tuis hoſtis fueris?

And

And how can that man, who becomes an enemy to his relations, repoſe any confidence in, or depend on ſtrangers? He exhorted his ſons to pay the higheſt reverence to Jugurtha; and to diſpute no otherwiſe with him, than by their endeavour to equal, and, if poſſible, ſurpaſs his exalted merit. He concluded with intreating them to obſerve for ever an inviolable attachment with regard to the Romans; and to conſider them as their benefactor, their patron and maſter. (*u*) A few days after this Micipſa expired.

(*x*) But Jugurtha ſoon threw off the maſk, and began by ridding himſelf of Hiempſal, who had expreſſed himſelf to him with great freedom, and therefore he got him murdered. This bloody action proved but too evidently to Adherbal what he himſelf might naturally fear. Numidia is now divided, and ſides ſeverally with the two brothers. Mighty armies are raiſed by each party. Adherbal, after loſing the greateſt part of his fortreſſes, is vanquiſhed in battle, and forced to make Rome his aſylum. However, this gave Jugurtha no very great uneaſineſs, as he knew that money was all-powerful in that city. He therefore ſent deputies thither, with orders for them to bribe the chief ſenators. In the firſt audience to which they were introduced, Adherbal repreſents the unhappy condition to which he was reduced, the injuſtice and barbarity of Jugurtha, the murder of his brother, the loſs of almoſt all his fortreſſes; but the circumſtance on which he laid the greateſt ſtreſs was, the commands of his dying father, *viz.* to put his whole confidence in the Romans; declaring, that the friendſhip of this people would be a ſtronger ſupport both to himſelf and his kingdom, than all the troops and treaſures in the univerſe. His ſpeech was of a great length, and extremely pathetic. Jugurtha's deputies made only the following anſwer; that Hiempſal had been killed by the Numidians becauſe of his great cruelty; that Adherbal was the aggreſſor, and yet, after having been vanquiſhed,

(*u*) A. M. 3887. Rome 631.

(*x*) A. M. 3888. Rome 632.

was

was come to make complaints, becauſe he had not committed all the exceſſes he deſired to act; that their ſovereign intreated the ſenate to form a judgment of his behaviour and conduct in Africa, from that he had ſhown at Numantia; and to lay a greater ſtreſs on his actions, than on the accuſations of his enemies. But theſe embaſſadors had ſecretly employed an eloquence, much more prevalent than that of words, which had not proved ineffectual. The whole aſſembly was for Jugurtha, a few ſenators excepted, who were not ſo void of honour as to be corrupted by money. The ſenate came to this reſolution, that commiſſioners ſhould be ſent from Rome, to divide the provinces equally upon the ſpot between the two brothers. The reader will naturally ſuppoſe, that Jugurtha was not ſparing of his treaſure on this occaſion: The diviſion was made to his advantage; and yet a ſpecious appearance of equity was preſerved.

This firſt ſucceſs of Jugurtha augmented his courage and boldneſs. Accordingly he attacked his brother by open force; and whilſt the latter loſes his time in ſending deputations to the Romans, he ſtorms ſeveral fortreſſes, carries on his conqueſts; and after defeating Adherbal, beſieges him in Cirtha, the capital of his kingdom. During this interval, embaſſadors arrived from Rome, with orders, in the name of the ſenate and people, to the two kings, to lay down their arms, and ceaſe all hoſtilities. Jugurtha, after proteſting that he would obey, with the moſt profound reverence and ſubmiſſion, the commands of the Roman people, added, that he did not believe it was their intention, to hinder him from defending his own life, againſt the treacherous ſnares which his brother had laid for it. He concluded with ſaying, that he would ſend embaſſadors forthwith to Rome, to inform the ſenate of his conduct. By this random anſwer, he eluded their orders, and would not even permit the deputies to wait upon Adherbal.

Though the latter was ſo cloſely blocked up in his

capital *, he yet found means to ſend to Rome, to implore the aſſiſtance of the Romans againſt his brother, who had beſieged him five months, and intended to take away his life. Some ſenators were of opinion, that war ought to be proclaimed immediately againſt Jugurtha; but ſtill his credit prevailed; and the Romans only ordered an embaſſy to be ſent, compoſed of ſenators of the higheſt diſtinction, among whom was Æmilius Scaurus, a factious man, who had a great aſcendant over the nobility, and concealed the blackeſt vices, under the ſpecious appearance of virtue. Jugurtha was terrified at firſt; but he again found an opportunity to elude their demands, and accordingly ſent them back without coming to any concluſion. Upon this, Adherbal, who had loſt all hopes, ſurrendered, upon condition of having his life ſpared; nevertheleſs he was immediately murthered with a great number of Numidians.

But though the greateſt part of the people at Rome were ſtruck with horror at this news, Jugurtha's money again obtained him defenders in the ſenate. However, C. Memmius, the tribune of the people, an active man, and who hated the nobility, prevailed with the former, not to ſuffer ſo horrid a crime to go unpuniſhed; and accordingly war being proclaimed againſt Jugurtha, Calpurnius Beſtia the conſul was appointed to carry it on. (x) † He was endued with excellent qualities, but they were all depraved and rendred uſeleſs by his avarice. Scaurus ſet out with him. They at firſt took ſeveral towns; but Jugurtha's bribes checked

(x) A. M. 3894. Rome 683. Ant. J. C. 110.

* *He choſe two of the nimbleſt of thoſe who had followed him into Cirtha; and theſe, induced by the great rewards he promiſed them, and pitying his unhappy circumſtances, undertook to paſs through the enemy's camp, in the night, to the neighbouring ſhore, and from thence to Rome.* Ex iis qui una Cirtam profugerant, duos maxime impigros delegit: eos, multa pollicendo, ac miſerando caſum ſuum confirmat, uti per hoſtium munitiones noctu ad proximum mare, dein Romam pergerent. *Salluſt.*

† Multæ bonæque artes animi & corporis erant, quas omnes avaritia præpediebat.

the

the progreſs of theſe conqueſts; and Scaurus * himſelf, who, till now, had expreſſed the ſtrongeſt animoſity againſt this prince, could not reſiſt ſo powerful an attack. A treaty was therefore concluded; Jugurtha feigned to ſubmit to the Romans, and thirty elephants, ſome horſes, with a very inconſiderable ſum of money, were delivered to the quæſtor.

But now the indignation of the people in general at Rome diſplayed itſelf in the ſtrongeſt manner. Memmius the tribune fired them by his ſpeeches. He cauſed Caſſius, who was prætor, to be appointed to attend Jugurtha; and to engage him to come to Rome, under the gaurantee of the Romans, in order that an enquiry might be made in his preſence, who thoſe perſons were that had taken bribes. Accordingly, Jugurtha was forced to come to Rome. The ſight of him raiſed the anger of the people ſtill higher; but a tribune having been bribed, he prolonged the ſeſſion, and at laſt diſſolved it. A Numidian prince, grandſon of Maſiniſſa, called Maſſiva, being at that time in the city, was adviſed to ſollicit for Jugurtha's kingdom; which coming to the ears of the latter, he got him aſſaſſinated in the midſt of Rome. However, the murderer was ſeized, and delivered up to the civil magiſtrate, and Jugurtha was commanded to depart Italy. Upon leaving the city, he caſt back his eyes ſeveral times towards it and ſaid, "Rome wants only a purchaſer; and, were one "to be found, it were inevitably ruined †."

And now the war broke out anew. At firſt the indolence, or perhaps connivence of Albinus the conſul, made it go on very ſlowly; but afterwards, when he returned to Rome to hold the publick aſſemblies ‖, the Roman army, by the unſkilfulneſs of his brother Aulus, having marched into a defile from whence there was no getting out; it ſurrendered ignominiouſly to

* Magnitudine pecuniæ à bono honeſtoque in pravum abſtractus eſt.

† Poſtquam Roma egreſſus eſt, fertur ſæpe tacitus eò reſpiciens, poſtremò dixiſſe, *Urbem venalem & maturè perituram, ſi emptorem invenerit.*

‖ *For electing magiſtrates.* Sal.

the

the enemy, who forced the Romans to ſubmit to the ceremony of paſſing under the yoke, and made them engage to leave Numidia in ten days.

The reader will naturally ſuppoſe, that ſo ſhameful a peace, concluded without the authority of the people, was conſidered in a moſt odious light at Rome. They could not flatter themſelves with the hopes of being ſucceſsful in this war, till the conduct of it was given to L. Metellus the conſul. * To all the reſt of the virtues which conſtitute the great captain, he added a perfect diſregard of wealth; a quality moſt eſſentially requiſite againſt ſuch an enemy as Jugurtha, who hitherto had always been victorious, rather by money than his ſword. But the African monarch found Metellus as inacceſſible in this, as in all other reſpects. He therefore was forced to venture his life, and exert his utmoſt bravery, thro' the defect of an expedient which now began to fail him. Accordingly, he ſignalized himſelf in a ſurprizing manner; and ſhewed in this campaign, all that could be expected from the courage, abilities, and attention of an illuſtrious general, to whom deſpair adds new vigour, and ſuggeſts new lights: he was however unſucceſsful, becauſe oppoſed by a conſul, who did not ſuffer the moſt inconſiderable error to eſcape him, nor ever let ſlip an opportunity of taking advantage of the enemy.

Jugurtha's greateſt concern was, how to ſecure himſelf from traitors. From the time he had been told, that Bomilcar, in whom he repoſed the utmoſt confidence, had a deſign upon his life, he enjoyed no peace. He did not believe himſelf ſafe any where: but all things, by day as well as night, the citizen as well as foreigner, were ſuſpected by him; and the blackeſt terrors ſat for ever brooding over his mind. He never got a wink of ſleep, except by ſtealth; and often changed his bed, in a manner unbecoming his rank. Starting

* In Numidiam proficiſcitur, magna ſpe civium, cùm propter artes bonas, tum maximè quod adverſum divitias invictum animum gerebat.

ſometimes from his ſlumbers, he would ſnatch his ſword, and break into loud cries; ſo ſtrongly was he haunted by fear, and ſo ſtrangely did he act the madman.

Marius was Metellus's lieutenant. His boundleſs ambition induced him to endeavour to leſſen his general's character ſecretly in the minds of his ſoldiers; and becoming ſoon his profeſſed enemy and ſlanderer, he at laſt, by the moſt groveling and perfidious arts, prevailed ſo far, as to ſupplant Metellus, and get himſelf nominated in his room, to carry on the war againſt Jugurtha. *With what ſtrength of mind ſoever Metellus might be endued on other occaſions, he was totally dejected by this unforeſeen blow, which even forced tears from his eyes, and ſuch expreſſions, as were altogether unworthy ſo great a man. There was ſomething very dark and vile in Marius's procedure; a circumſtance that diſplays ambition in its native and genuine colours, and ſhows that it extinguiſhes, in thoſe who abandon themſelves to it, all ſenſe of honour and integrity. Metellus avoided a man whoſe ſight he could not bear, arrived in Rome, and was received there with univerſal acclamations. (z) A triumph was decreed him, and the ſirname of Numidicus conferred upon him.

I thought it would be proper to ſuſpend, till I came to the Roman hiſtory, an account of the events that happened in Africa, under Metellus and Marius, all which are very circumſtantially deſcribed by Salluſt, in his admirable hiſtory of Jugurtha. I therefore haſten to the concluſion of this war.

Jugurtha being greatly diſtreſſed in his affairs, had had recourſe to Bocchus king of Mauritania, whoſe daughter he had married. This country extends from Numidia, as far as beyond the ſhores of the Mediter-

(z) A. M. 3898. Rome 642.

* Quibus rebus ſupra bonum atque honeſtum perculſus, neque lacrymas tenere, neque moderari linguam: vir egregius in aliis artibus, nimis molliter ægritudinem pati.

ranean,

ranean, oppoſite to Spain *. The Roman name was ſcarce known in it, and the people as little known to the Romans. Jugurtha inſinuated to his father-in-law, that ſhould he ſuffer Numidia to he conquered, his kingdom would doubtleſs be involved in its ruin; eſpecially as the Romans, who were ſworn enemies to monarchy, ſeemed to have vowed the deſtruction of all the thrones in the univerſe. He therefore prevailed with Bocchus to enter into a league with him; and accordingly received, on different occaſions, very conſiderable ſuccours from that king.

This confederacy, which was cemented on either ſide by no other tie but that of intereſt, had never been ſtrong; and a laſt defeat which Jugurtha met with, broke at once all the bands of it. Bocchus now meditated the dark deſign of delivering up his ſon-in-law to the Romans. For this purpoſe, he had deſired Marius to ſend him a truſty perſon. Sylla, who was an officer of uncommon merit, and ſerved under him as quæſtor, was thought every way qualified for this negotiation. He was not afraid to put himſelf into the hands of the Barbarian king; and accordingly ſet out for his court. Being arrived, Bocchus, who, like the reſt of his countrymen, did not pride himſelf in ſincerity, and was for ever projecting new deſigns, debated within himſelf, whether it would not be his intereſt to deliver up Sylla to Jugurtha. He was a long time fluctuating with uncertainty, and between a contrariety of ſentiments; and the ſudden changes which diſplayed themſelves in his countenance, in his air, and his whole perſon, ſhowed evidently how ſtrongly his mind was affected. At length, returning to his firſt deſign, he made his terms with Sylla, and delivered up Jugurtha into his hands, who was ſent immediately to Marius.

(z) Sylla, ſays Plutarch †, acted, on this occaſion,

(z) Plut. in vit. Marii.

* *Now comprehending Fez, Morocco, &c.*

† Οἷα νέῳ φιλότιμῳ, ἄρτι δόξης γεγευμένῳ, οὐκ ἤνεγκε μετρίως τὸ εὐτύχημα. *Plut. Præcept. reip. gerend.* p. 806.

like a young man, fired with a ſtrong thirſt of glory, the ſweets of which he has juſt begun to taſte. Inſtead of aſcribing to the general under whom he fought, all the honour of this event, as his duty required, and which ought to be an inviolable maxim; he reſerved the greateſt part of it to himſelf, and had a ring made, which he always wore, wherein he was repreſented, receiving Jugurtha from the hands of Bocchus; and this ring he uſed ever after as his ſignet. But Marius was ſo highly exaſperated at this kind of inſult, that he could never forgive him; a circumſtance that gave riſe to the implacable hatred between theſe two Romans, which afterwards broke out with ſo much fury, and coſt the republic ſo much blood.

(*a*) Marius entered Rome in triumph, exhibiting ſuch a ſpectacle to the Romans, as they could ſcarce believe they ſaw, when it paſſed before their eyes; I mean, Jugurtha in chains; that ſo formidable enemy, during whoſe life they could not flatter themſelves with the hopes of being able to put an end to this war; ſo well was his courage ſuſtained by ſtratagem and artifice, and his genius ſo fruitful in finding new expedients, even when his affairs were moſt deſperate. We are told that Jugurtha run diſtracted, as he was walking in the triumph; that after the ceremony was ended, he was thrown into priſon; and that the lictors were ſo eager to ſeize his robe, that they rent it in ſeveral pieces, and tore away the tips of his ears, to get the rich jewels with which they were adorned. In this condition he was caſt, quite naked, and in the utmoſt terrors, into a deep dungeon, where he ſpent ſix days in ſtruggling with hunger and the fear of death, retaining a ſtrong deſire of life to his laſt gaſp; an end, continues Plutarch, worthy of his wicked deeds; Jugurtha having been always of opinion, that the greateſt

(*a*) Plut. ibid. A. M. 5901. Rome, 645. Ant. J. C. 103.

crimes

crimes might be committed to ſatiate his ambition, ingratitude, perfidy, black treachery, and inhuman barbarity.

Juba king of Mauritania reflected ſo much honour on polite literature and the ſciences, that I could not, without impropriety, omit him in the hiſtory of the family of Maſiniſſa, to whom his father, who alſo was named Juba, was great grandſon, and grandſon of Guluſſa. The elder Juba ſignalized himſelf in the war between Cæſar and Pompey, by his inviolable attachment to the party of the latter hero. He ſlew himſelf after the battle of Thapſus, in which his forces, and thoſe of Scipio, were entirely defeated. Juba, his ſon, then a child, was delivered up to the conqueror, and was one of the moſt conſpicuous ornaments of his triumph. It appears from hiſtory, that a noble education was beſtowed upon Juba in Rome, where he imbibed ſuch a variety of knowledge, as afterwards equalled him to the moſt learned Grecians. He did not leave that city, till he went to take poſſeſſion of his father's dominions. (*b*) Auguſtus reſtored them to him, when, by the death of Mark Antony, the provinces of the empire were abſolutely at his diſpoſal. Juba, by the lenity of his government, gained the hearts of all his ſubjects; who, out of a grateful ſenſe of the felicity they had enjoyed during his reign, ranked him in the number of their gods. Pauſanias ſpeaks of a ſtatue which the Athenians erected in his honour. It was indeed juſt, that a city, which had been conſecrated in all ages to the muſes, ſhould give publick teſtimonies of its eſteem for a king, who made ſo bright a figure among the learned. * Suidas aſcribes ſeveral works to this prince, of which only the fragments are now extant. He had writ the hiſtory of Arabia; the antiquities of Aſſyria, and thoſe of the

(*b*) A. M. 3974. Rome, 719. Ant. J. C. 30.

* In voce Ἰόβας.

Romans;

Romans; the hiſtory of theatres, of painting, and painters; of the nature and properties of different animals, and of grammar, &c. a catalogue of all which is given in Abbé Sevin's ſhort diſſertation on the life and works of the younger Juba *, whence I have extracted theſe few particulars.

* Vol. IV. *of the memoirs of the academy of Belles Lettres,* P. 457.

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GRECIANS.

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III. The HISTORY of the ORIGIN and firſt SETTLEMENT of the ſeveral States of Greece.

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THE

AUTHOR'S

ADVERTISEMENT.

I HAVE been ſomewhat puzzled in this volume, on account of ſome hiſtorical pieces, publiſhed by me in another work, † which come in very well here, as in their proper and natural place. The beſt way perhaps would have been, to new-model them, and put them in a different form; but I own I have neither ſufficient copiouſneſs of invention, nor variety of ſtile for ſuch a task; and, beſides, it would have been needleſs. To refer, on the other hand, the reader to the forementioned book, would have been to curtail this work, and make this hiſtory imperfect. I have therefore choſen, but not without conſulting proper judges, to borrow from that other work, ſuch paſſages as were neceſſary for the connexion of this hiſtory; and I deſign to follow the ſame method in the ſequel. The whole is but about the third part of a volume, which will be diſperſed in five or ſix. I imagine the public will give me leave to copy myſelf; and the rather, as they do not ſeem to condemn the liberty I have taken, of making uſe of other people's labours, and of adopting whatever ſuits my purpoſe. This liberty which I have taken, as diſhonourable as it is to ſelf-love, and favourable to idleneſs, greatly contributes to forward and

† *In the third volume* Of the manner of ſtudying, *under the article* Hiſtory.

adorn this preſent work, which is thereby filled with borrowed riches and beauties. But I may ſay, that the whole work is of that kind; for all my buſineſs conſiſts in extracting whatever is moſt remarkable and beautiful in antient authors, either with regard to facts or reflexions, without adding hardly any thing of my own.

I have been cenſured, in the Paris Journal of Literature, † for one thing, which does me too much honour not to take notice of it: and that is, my ſeeming to exclude, in my plan, the Roman hiſtory, which the authors of the Journal wiſh I had taken in. I muſt own, I have had no thought of undertaking it. It is not for want of taſte, or of eſteem for that part of antient hiſtory, which of all others is the moſt fruitful in great events, abounds moſt with variety, and is the moſt affecting. The numerous and infinitely valuable helps the antient writers afford for this hiſtory, would be alone capable of inducing an author to undertake that task, how laborious ſoever it be. But that would take up ſeveral years; and I do not know, whether it was altogether prudent in me to undertake, at my age, ſo long a work as the Grecian hiſtory, without any other previous preparation than a general ſtudy of the antient authors, as is uſual in perſons of my profeſſion, and without having a particular deſign in view. I am ſenſible, that to render this work entirely compleat, I ſhould have ſpent three or four years in carefully reading over again all the antient claſſical authors, and in making remarks ſuitable to my deſign. For a reader ſometimes meets, in obſcure places that have no manner of relation to the matter in hand, with very curious facts and important reflections. Theſe advantages I am deſtitute of; and yet I have not thought proper to ſuſpend my undertaking, till I was furniſhed with them. All I can ſay is, that

† *Journal of March* 1730.

out

out of reſpect and gratitude for the public, which ſeems not to diſlike this preſent work, I make as much haſte as I can to forward it, beſtowing upon it all my time and pains, and earneſtly ſhaking off whatever can tend to interrupt a labour, which I conſider as an eſſential part of my duty and profeſſion, in the happy leiſure providence has been pleaſed to favour me with for ſeveral years, and which I could have employed to much greater advantage, had I ſooner thought of undertaking the antient hiſtory.

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INTRO-

INTRODUCTION.

SECT. I. *Reflections on the different ſorts of govern-ment.*

THE multiplicity of governments, eſtabliſhed among the different nations, of whom I am to treat, exhibits at firſt view to the eye and to the underſtanding, a ſpectacle highly worthy our attention; and ſhews the aſtoniſhing variety, which the ſovereign of the world has conſtituted in the empires that divide it, by the diverſity of inclinations and manners obſervable in each of thoſe nations. We herein perceive the characteriſticks of the deity, who, ever reſembling himſelf in all the works of his creation, takes a pleaſure to paint and diſplay therein, under a thouſand ſhapes, an infinite wiſdom, by a wonderful fertility and an admirable ſimplicity: a wiſdom, that can form a ſingle work, and compoſe a whole perfectly regular, from all the different parts of the univerſe, and all the productions of nature, notwithſtanding the infinite manner in which they are multiplied and diverſified.

In the Eaſt, the form of government that prevails, is the monarchical, which being attended with a majeſtick pomp, and a haughtineſs almoſt inſeparable from ſupreme authority, naturally tends to exact a more diſtinguiſhed reſpect, and a more entire ſubmiſſion, from thoſe in ſubjection to its power. When we conſider Greece, one would be apt to conclude, that liberty and a republican ſpirit had breathed themſelves into every part of that country; and had inſpired almoſt all the different people who inhabit it, with a violent deſire of independence, diverſified however under various kinds of government, but all equally abhorrent of ſubjection and ſlavery. In one part of Greece, the ſupreme power is lodg'd in the people, and

is what we call *democracy*: in another, it is veſted in an aſſembly of the wiſemen, and thoſe advanced in years, to which the name of *ariſtocracy* is given; in a third republick, the government is lodg'd in the hands of a ſmall number of ſelect and powerful perſons, and is called *oligarchy*; in others, again, 'tis a mixture of all theſe parts, or of ſeveral of them, and ſometimes even of the regal power.

'Tis manifeſt, that this variety of governments, which all tend to the ſame point, though by different ways, contributes very much to the beauty of the univerſe; and that it can proceed from no other being, than him who governs it with infinite wiſdom; and who diffuſes univerſally an order and ſymmetry, of which the effect is to unite the ſeveral parts together, and by that means to form one work of the whole. For although, in this diverſity of governments, ſome are better than others, we nevertheleſs may very juſtly affirm, (*a*) that *there is no power but of God: and that the powers that be, are ordained of God.* But neither every uſe that is made of this power, nor every means for the attainment of it, are from God, though every power be of him: and when we ſee theſe governments degenerating, ſometimes to violence, factions, deſpotick ſway and tyranny, 'tis wholly to the paſſions of mankind, that we muſt aſcribe thoſe irregularities, which are directly oppoſite to the primitive inſtitution of ſtates, and which a ſuperior wiſdom afterwards reduces to order, always making them contribute to the execution of his deſigns, full of equity and juſtice.

This ſcene, or ſpectacle, as I before obſerved, highly deſerves our attention and admiration; and will diſplay itſelf gradually, in proportion as I advance in relating the antient hiſtory, of which it ſeems to me to form an eſſential part. It is with the view of making the reader attentive to this object, that I think it incumbent on me to add to the account of facts and events what regards the manners and cuſtoms of na-

(*a*) Rom. xiii. 1.

tions;

tions; becauſe theſe ſhew their genius and character, which we may call, in ſome meaſure, the ſoul of hiſtory. For to take notice only of æras and events, and confine our curioſity and reſearches to them, would be imitating the imprudence of a traveller, who, in viſiting many countries, ſhould content himſelf with knowing their exact diſtance from each other, and conſider only the ſituation of the ſeveral places, the manner of building, and the dreſſes of the people; without giving himſelf the leaſt trouble to converſe with the inhabitants, in order to inform himſelf of their genius, manners, diſpoſition, laws and government. Homer, whoſe deſign was to give, in the perſon of Ulyſſes, a model of a wiſe and intelligent traveller, tells us, at the very opening of his Odyſſey, that his hero inform'd himſelf very exactly in the manners and cuſtoms of the ſeveral people whoſe cities he viſited: in which he ought to be imitated by every perſon, who applies himſelf to the ſtudy of hiſtory.

SECT. II. *A geographical deſcription of Aſia.*

As Aſia will hereafter be the principal ſcene of the hiſtory we are now entering upon, it may not be improper to give the reader ſuch a general idea of it, as may at leaſt give him ſome knowledge of its moſt conſiderable provinces and cities.

The northern and eaſtern parts of Aſia are leſs known in antient hiſtory.

To the north, are ASIATIC SARMATIA and ASIATIC SCYTHIA, which anſwer to Tartary.

Sarmatia is ſituated between the river *Tanais*, which divides Europe and Aſia; and the river *Rha*, or *Volga*. Scythia is divided into two parts; the one on this, the other on t'other ſide of mount *Imaus*. The nations of Scythia beſt known to us are the *Sacæ* and the *Maſſagetæ*.

The moſt eaſtern parts are, SERICA, Cathay; SINARUM REGIO, China; and INDIA. This laſt country was better known anciently than the two former.

mer. 'Twas divided into two parts; the one on this ſide the river *Ganges*, included between that river and the *Indus*, which now compoſes the dominions of the great Mogul; the other part, was that on the other ſide the Ganges.

The remaining part of Aſia, of which much greater mention is made in hiſtory, may be divided into five or ſix parts taking it from eaſt to weſt.

I. The GREATER ASIA, which begins at the river Indus. The chief provinces are GEDROSIA, CARMANIA, ARACHOSIA, DRANGIANIA, BACTRIANA, the capital of which was *Bactria*; SOGDIANA; MARGIANA; HYRCANIA, near the Caſpian Sea; PARTHIA, MEDIA, the city *Ecbatana*; PERSIA, the cities of *Perſepolis* and *Elymais*; SUSIANA, the city of *Suſa*; ASSYRIA, the city of *Niniveh*, ſituated on the river *Tigris*; MESOPOTAMIA, between the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*; BABYLONIA, the city of *Babylon* on the river Euphrates.

II. ASIA BETWEEN PONTUS EUXINUS AND THE CASPIAN SEA. Therein we may diſtinguiſh four provinces. 1. COLCHIS, the river *Phaſis* and mount *Caucaſus*. 2. IBERIA. 3. ALBANIA; which two laſt mentioned provinces now form part of Georgia. 4. The greater ARMENIA. This is ſeparated from the leſſer by the Euphrates; from Meſopotamia by mount *Taurus*, and from Aſſyria by mount *Niphates*. Its cities are *Artaxata* and *Tigranocerta*, and the river *Araxes* runs through it.

III. ASIA MINOR. This may be divided into four or five parts, according to the different ſituation of its provinces.

1. *Northward*, on the ſhore of Pontus Euxinus: PONTUS, under three different names. Its cities are, *Trapezus*; not far from whence are the people call'd *Chalybes* or *Chaldæi*: *Themiſcyra*, a city on the river *Thermodoon*, and famous for having been the abode of the Amazons. PAPHLAGONIA. BITHYNIA; the

cities

cities of which are *Nicia*, *Pruſa*, *Nicomedia*, *Chalcedon* oppoſite to Conſtantinople, and *Heraclea*.

2. *Weſtward*, going down by the ſhores of the Ægean Sea; MYSIA, of which there are two. The LESSER, in which ſtood *Cyzicus*, *Lampſacus*, *Parium*, *Abydos* oppoſite to Seſtos, from which it's ſeparated only by the Dardanelles. *Dardanum*, *Sigæum*, *Ilion* or *Troy*; and almoſt on the oppoſite ſide, the little iſland of *Tenedos*. The rivers are, the *Arſepe*, the *Granicus*, the *Simois*. Mount *Ida*. This region is ſometimes called Phrygia Minor, of which *Troas* is part.

The GREATER MYSIA. *Antandros*. *Trajanopolis*. *Adramyttium*. *Pergamus*. Oppoſite to this Myſia is the iſland of LESBOS, the cities of which are *Methymna*, where the celebrated *Arion* was born; and *Mitylene*, whence the whole iſland was ſo call'd.

ÆOLIA. *Elea*. *Cuma*. *Phocæa*.

IONIA. *Smyrna*. *Clazomenæ*. *Teos*. *Lebedus*. *Colophon*. *Epheſus*. *Priene*. *Miletus*.

CARIA. *Laodicea*. *Antiochia*. *Magneſia*. *Alabanda*. The river *Mæander*.

DORIS. *Halicarnaſſus*. *Cnidos*.

Oppoſite to theſe four laſt countries, are the iſlands CHIOS, SAMOS, PATHMOS, COS; and lower towards the ſouth, RHODES.

3. *Southward*, along the Mediterranean:

LYCIA, the cities of which are, *Telmeſſus*. *Patara*. The river *Xanthus*. Here begins mount *Taurus*, which runs the whole length of Aſia, and aſſumes different names, according to the ſeveral countries through which it paſſes.

PAMPHYLIA. *Perga*. *Aſpendus*. *Sida*.

CILICIA. *Seleucia*. *Corycium*. *Tarſus*, on the river *Cydnus*. Oppoſite to Cilicia is the iſland of *Cyprus*. The cities are *Salamis*. *Amathus*. *Paphos*.

4. *Along the banks of the Euphrates*, going up northward:

The LESSER ARMENIA. *Comana*. *Arabyza*. *Melitene*.

Melitene. Satala. The river *Melas*, which empties itſelf into the Euphrates.

5. *Inlands.*

CAPPADOCIA. The cities whereof are, *Neocæſarea. Comana Pontica. Sebaſtia. Sebaſtopolis. Diocæſarea. Cæſarea*, otherwiſe call'd *Mazaca. Tyana.*

LYCAONIA and ISAURIA. *Iconium. Iſauria.*

PISIDIA. *Seleucia* and *Antiochia* of *Piſidia.*

LYDIA. Its cities are, *Thyatira. Sardis. Philadelphia.* The rivers are, *Cayſtrus* and *Hermus*, into which the *Pactolus* empties itſelf. Mount *Sipylus* and *Tmolus.*

PHRYGIA MAJOR. *Synnada. Apamia.*

IV. SYRIA, now nam'd *Suria*, called under the Roman emperors the *Eaſt*, the chief provinces of which are;

1. PALESTINE, by which name is ſometimes underſtood all Judea. Its cities are, *Jeruſalem. Samaria. Cæſarea Paleſtina.* The river *Jordan* waters it. The name of Paleſtine is alſo given to the land of Canaan, which extended along the Mediterranean; the chief cities of which are, *Gaza, Aſcalon, Azotus, Accaron*, and *Gath.*

2. PHOENICIA, whoſe cities are *Ptolemais. Tyre. Sidon. Berytus.* Its mountains, *Libanus* and *Antilibanus.*

3. SYRIA properly ſo called, or ANTIOCHENA; the cities whereof a.e *Antiochia. Apamia. Laodicea. Seleucia.*

4. COMAGENA. The city of *Samoſata.*

5. COELO-SYRIA. The cities *Zeugma. Thapſacus. Palmyra. Damaſcus.*

V. ARABIA PETRAEA. Its cities are, *Petra. Boſtra.* Mount *Caſius.* DESERTA. FOELIX.

BOOK

BOOK THE THIRD.

THE HISTORY OF THE ASSYRIANS.

This book will contain the hiſtory of the Aſſyrian empire, both of Nineveh and Babylon, the kingdom of the Medes, and the kingdom of the Lydians.

CHAP. I.

The firſt empire of the Aſſyrians.

SECT. I. *Duration of that empire.*

THE Aſſyrian empire was undoubtedly one of the moſt powerful in the world. As to the length of its duration, two particular opinions have chiefly prevail'd. Some authors, as Cteſias, whoſe opinion is followed by Juſtin, give it a duration of thirteen hundred years: Others reduce it to five hundred and twenty, of which number is Herodotus. The diminution, or rather the interruption of power, which happen'd in this vaſt empire, might poſſibly give occaſion to this difference of opinion, and may perhaps ſerve in ſome meaſure to reconcile it.

The hiſtory of thoſe early times is ſo obſcure, the monuments which convey it down to us ſo contrary to each other, and the ſyſtems of the * moderns upon that matter ſo different, that 'tis difficult to lay down any opinion about it, as certain and inconteſtable. But where certainty is not to be had, I ſuppoſe a reaſonable perſon will be ſatisfied with probability; and, in my opinion, a man can hardly be deceived, if he makes the Aſſyrian empire equal in antiquity with the city of Babylon, its capital. Now we learn from the holy ſcripture, that this was built by Nimrod, who certainly was a great conqueror, and in all appearance the firſt and moſt antient that ever aſpired after that denomination.

(*a*) The Babylonians, as Calliſthenes, a philoſopher in Alexander's retinue, wrote to Ariſtotle, reckoned themſelves to be at leaſt of 1903 years ſtanding, when that prince enter'd triumphant into Babylon; which makes their origin reach back to the year of the world 1771, that is to ſay, 115 years after the deluge. This computation comes within a few years of the time we ſuppoſe Nimrod to have founded that city. Indeed this teſtimony of Calliſthenes, as it does not agree with any other accounts of that matter, is not eſteemed authentick by the learned; but the conformity we find between that and the holy ſcriptures ſhould make us regard it.

Upon theſe grounds I think we may allow Nimrod to have been the founder of the firſt Aſſyrian empire, which ſubſiſted with more or leſs extent and glory upwards of † 1450 years, from the time of Nimrod to

(*a*) Porphyr. apud Simplic. in lib. 2. de cœlo.

* *They that are curious to ſee more of this matter may read the diſſertations of abbot Banier and Mr. Freret upon the Aſſyrian empire, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres; for the firſt, ſee Tome* 3, *and for the other, Tome* 5. *as alſo what father Tournemine has wrote upon this ſubject in his edition of Menochius.*

† *Here I depart from the opinion of biſhop Uſher, my ordinary guide, with reſpect to the duration of the Aſſyrian empire, which he ſuppoſes, with Herodotus, to have laſted but* 520 *years; but the time when Nimrod lived and Sardanapalus died I take from him.*

that

that of Sardanapalus, the laſt king, that is to ſay, from the year of the world 1800 to the year 3257.

(*b*) NIMROD. He is the ſame with † Belus, who was afterwards worſhipped as a god under that appellation.

He was the ſon of Chus, grandſon of Cham, and great grandſon of Noah. He was, ſays the ſcripture, *a mighty hunter before the Lord* (*c*). In applying himſelf to this laborious and dangerous exerciſe he had two things in view; the firſt was, to gain the people's affection, by delivering them from the fury and dread of wild beaſts; the next was, to train up numbers of young people by this exerciſe of hunting to endure labour and hardſhip, to form them to the uſe of arms, to inure them to a kind of diſcipline and obedience, that at a proper time, after they had been accuſtomed to his orders, and ſeaſoned in arms, he might make uſe of them for other purpoſes more ſerious than hunting.

In antient hiſtory we find ſome footſteps remaining of this artifice of Nimrod, whom the writers have confounded with Ninus, his ſon: (*d*) For Diodorus has theſe words; "Ninus, the moſt antient of the Aſſy-
"rian kings mentioned in hiſtory, performed great
"actions. Being naturally of a warlike diſpoſition, and
"ambitious of glory that reſults from valour, hearmed
"a conſiderable number of young men, that were
"brave and vigorous, like himſelf; trained them up
"a long time in laborious exerciſes and hardſhips, and
"by that means accuſtomed them to bear the fatigues
"of war patiently, and to face dangers with courage
"and intrepidity."

(*e*) What the ſame author adds, that Ninus enter'd into an alliance with the king of the Arabs, and joined forces with him, is a piece of antient tradition, which informs us, that the ſons of Chus, and by conſequence

(*b*) A. M. 1800. Ant. J. C. 2204. (*c*) Gen. x. 9.
(*d*) Lib. 2. p. 90. (*e*) Ibid.

† *Belus or Baal ſignifies Lord.*

the brothers of Nimrod, all ſettled themſelves in Arabia, along the Perſian gulf, from Havila to the Ocean; and lived near enough their brother to lend him ſuccours, or to receive them from him. And what the ſame hiſtorian further ſays of Ninus, That he was the firſt king of the Aſſyrians, agrees exactly with what the ſcripture ſays of Nimrod, *that he began to be mighty upon the earth*; that is, he procured himſelf ſettlements, built cities, ſubdued his neighbours, united different people under one and the ſame authority, by the band of the ſame polity and the ſame laws, and formed them into one ſtate; which for thoſe early times was of a conſiderable extent, tho' bounded by the rivers Euphrates and Tigris; and which in ſucceeding ages made new acquiſitions by degrees, and at length extended its conqueſts very far.

(*f*) *The capital city of his kingdom*, ſays the ſcripture, *was Babylon*. Moſt of the prophane hiſtorians aſcribe the founding of Babylon to * Semiramis, the reſt to Belus. 'Tis viſible that both the one and the other are miſtaken, if they ſpeak of the firſt founding of that city, for it owes its beginning neither to Semiramis, nor to Nimrod, but to the fooliſh vanity of thoſe perſons mentioned in ſcripture (*g*), who deſired to build a tower and a city, that ſhould render their memory immortal.

(*h*) Joſephus relates, upon the teſtimony of a Sibyl (which muſt have been very antient, and whoſe fictions cannot be imputed to the indiſcreet zeal of any Chriſtians) that the gods threw down the tower by an impetuous wind, or a violent hurricane. Had this been the caſe, Nimrod's temerity muſt have been ſtill the greater, to rebuild a city and a tower, which God himſelf had overthrown with ſuch marks of his diſpleaſure. But the ſcripture ſays no ſuch thing; and 'tis very probable, the building remained in the condition

(*f*) Gen. x. 10. (*g*) Gen. xi. 4. (*h*) Hiſt. Jud. lib. 1. c. 4.

* Semiramis eam condiderat, vel, ut plerique tradidere, Belus, cujus regia oſtenditur. *Q. Curt. lib.* 5. c. 1.

it

it was, when God put an end to the work by the confuſion of languages; and that the tower conſecrated to Belus, which is deſcribed by Herodotus (*i*), was this very tower, which the ſons of men pretended to raiſe to the clouds.

'Tis further probable, that this ridiculous deſign being defeated by ſuch an aſtoniſhing prodigy, as none could be the author of but God himſelf, every body abandon'd the place, which had given him offence; and that Nimrod was the firſt who encompaſſed it afterwards with walls, ſettled therein his friends and confederates, and ſubdued thoſe that lived round about it; beginning his empire in that place, but not confining it to ſo narrow a compaſs: *Fuit principium regni ejus Babylon.* The other cities, which the ſcripture ſpeaks of in the ſame place, were in the land of Shinar, which was certainly the province, of which Babylon became the metropolis.

From this country he went into that which has the name of Aſſyria, and there built Niniveh: (*k*) *De terra illa egreſſus eſt Aſſur, & ædificavit Niniven.* This is the ſenſe in which many learned men underſtand the word Aſſur, looking upon it as the name of a province, and not of the firſt man who poſſeſſed it: as if it were, *egreſſus eſt in Aſſur, in Aſſyriam.* And this ſeems to be the moſt natural conſtruction, for many reaſons not neceſſary to be recited in this place. The country of Aſſyria in one of the prophets (*l*) is deſcribed by the particular character of being the land of Nimrod: *Et paſcent terram Aſſur in gladio, & terram Nimrod in lanceis ejus; & liberabit ab Aſſur, cum venerit in terram noſtram.* It derived its name from Aſſur, the ſon of Shem, who without doubt had ſettled himſelf and family there, and was probably driven out, or brought under ſubjection by the uſurper Nimrod.

This conqueror, having poſſeſs'd himſelf of the provinces of Aſſur, (*m*) did not ravage them, like a tyrant,

(*i*) Lib. 1. c. 181. (*k*) Gen. x. 11. (*l*) Mic. v. 6.
(*m*) Gen. x. 11, 12.

but filled them with cities, and made himself as much beloved by his new subjects as he was by his old ones; so that the historians, (*n*) who have not examined into the bottom of this affair, have thought that he made use of the Assyrians to conquer the Babylonians. Among other cities he built one more large and magnificent than the rest, which he called Niniveh, from the name of his son Ninus, in order to immortalize his memory. The son in his turn, out of veneration for his father, was willing that they who had served him as their king should adore him as their god, and induce other nations to render him the same worship. For it appears plainly, that Nimrod is the famous Belus of the Babylonians, the first king whom the people deified for his great actions, and who shewed others the way to that sort of immortality, which may result from human accomplishments.

I intend to speak of the mighty strength and greatness of the cities of Babylon and Niniveh, under the kings to whom their building is ascribed by prophane authors, because the scripture says little or nothing on that subject. This silence of scripture, so little satisfactory to our curiosity, may become an instructive lesson for our piety. The holy pen-man has placed Nimrod and Abraham, as it were, in one view before us; and seems to have put them so near together on purpose, that we should see an example in the former of what is admired and coveted by men, and in the latter of what is acceptable and well-pleasing to God *. These two persons, so unlike one another, are the two first and chief citizens of two different cities, built on different motives, and with different principles; the one, self-love, and a desire of temporal advantages, carried even to the contemning of the Deity; the other, the love of God, even to the contemning of one's self.

(*n*) Diod. l. 2. p. 90.

* Fecerunt civitates duas amores duo: terrenam scilicet amor sui usque ad contemptum Dei; cœlestem vero amor Dei usque ad contemptum sui. *S. Aug. de Civ. Dei*, lib. 14. c. 28.

NINUS. I have already obſerved, that moſt of the prophane authors look upon him as the firſt founder of the Aſſyrian empire, and for that reaſon aſcribe to him a great part of his father Nimrod's or Belus's actions.

(o) Having a deſign to enlarge his conqueſts, the firſt thing he did was to prepare troops and officers capable of promoting his deſigns. And having received powerful ſuccours from the Arabians his neighbours, he took the field, and in the ſpace of ſeventeen years conquer'd a vaſt extent of country, from Egypt as far as India and Bactriana, which he did not then venture to attack.

At his return, before he enter'd upon any new conqueſts, he conceived the deſign of immortalizing his name by the building of a city anſwerable to the greatneſs of his power; he called it Niniveh, and built it on the eaſtern banks of the * Tigris. Poſſibly he did no more than finiſh the work his father had begun. His deſign, ſays Diodorus, was to make Niniveh the largeſt and nobleſt city in the world, and not leave it in the power of thoſe that came after him, ever to build, or hope to build, ſuch another. Nor was he deceived in his view, for never did any city come up to the greatneſs and magnificence of this: It was one hundred and fifty ſtadia (or eighteen miles three quarters) in length, and ninety ſtadia (or eleven miles and one quarter) in breadth; and conſequently was an oblong ſquare. Its circumference was four hundred and eighty ſtadia, or ſixty miles. For this reaſon we find it ſaid in the prophet Jonah, (p) *That Nineveh was an exceeding great city, of three days journey*; which is to be underſtood of the whole circuit, or compaſs of the city †. The walls of it were an hundred foot high,

(o) Diod. l. 2. p. 90--95.

* *Diodorus ſays it was on the bank of the Euphrates, and ſpeaks of it as if it was ſo, in many places; but he is miſtaken.*

† *'Tis hard to believe that Diodorus does not ſpeak of the bigneſs of Niniveh with ſome exaggeration; therefore ſome learned men have reduc'd the ſtadium to little more than one half, and reckon fifteen of them to the Roman mile inſtead of eight.*

(p) Jon. iii. 3.

and of ſo conſiderable a thickneſs, that three chariots might go a-breaſt upon them with eaſe. They were fortify'd and adorn'd with fifteen hundred towers two hundred foot high.

After he had finiſhed this prodigious work, he reſumed his expedition againſt the Bactrians. His army, according to the relation of Cteſias, conſiſted of ſeven-teen hundred thouſand foot, two hundred thouſand horſe, and about ſixteen thouſand chariots, arm'd with ſcythes. Diodorus adds, that this ought not to appear incredible, ſince, not to mention the innumerable armies of Darius and Xerxes, the ſingle city of Syracuſe, in the time of Dionyſius the tyrant, furniſhed one hundred twenty thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe, beſides four hundred veſſels well equip'd and provided: And a little before Hannibal's time, Italy, including the citizens and allies, was able to ſend into the field near a million of men. Ninus made himſelf maſter of a great number of cities, and at laſt laid ſiege to Bactria, the capital of the country. Here he would probably have ſeen all his attempts miſcarry, had it not been for the diligence and aſſiſtance of Semiramis, wife to one of his chief officers, a woman of an uncommon courage, and particularly exempt from the weakneſs of her ſex. She was born at Aſcalon, a city of Syria. I think it needleſs to recite the account Diodorus gives of her birth, and of the miraculous manner of her being nurſed and brought up by pigeons, ſince that hiſtorian himſelf looks upon it only as a fabulous ſtory. 'Twas Semiramis that directed Ninus how to attack the citadel, and by her means he took it, and then became maſter of the city, in which he found an immenſe treaſure. The husband of this lady having kill'd himſelf, to prevent the effects of the king's threats and indignation, who had conceived a violent paſſion for his wife, Ninus married Semiramis.

After his return to Niniveh, he had a ſon by her, whom he called Ninyas. Not long after this he died, and left the queen the government of the kingdom.

She

A. The Bridge.
B. The Old Palace.
C. The New Palace.
D. The Gardens.
E. The Temple of Belus.

NORTH

WEST

EAST

SOUTH

THE PLAN OF BABYLON.

She in honour of his memory erected him a magnificent monument, which remained a long time after the ruin of Niniveh.

(q) I find no appearance of truth in what ſome authors relate concerning the manner of Semiramis's coming to the throne. According to them, having ſecured the chief men of the ſtate, and attach'd them to her intereſt by her benefactions and promiſes, ſhe ſollicited the king with great importunity to put the ſovereign power into her hands for the ſpace of five days. He yielded to her intreaties, and all the provinces of the empire were commanded to obey Semiramis. Theſe orders were executed but too exactly for the unfortunate Ninus, who was put to death, either immediately, or after ſome years impriſonment.

SEMIRAMIS. (r) This princeſs applied all her thoughts to immortalize her name, and to cover the meanneſs of her extraction by the greatneſs of her deeds and enterprizes. She propoſed to herſelf to ſurpaſs all her predeceſſors in magnificence, and to that end ſhe undertook the * building of the mighty Babylon, in which work ſhe employed two millions of men, which were collected out of all the provinces of her vaſt empire. Some of her ſucceſſors endeavoured to adorn that city with new works and embelliſhments. I ſhall here ſpeak of them all together, in order to give the reader a more clear and diſtinct idea of that ſtupendous city.

The principal works, which rendered Babylon ſo famous, are the walls of the city; the keys and the bridge; the lake, banks, and canals made for the draining of the river; the palaces, hanging gardens, and the temple of Belus; works of ſuch a ſurprizing magnificence, as is ſcarce to be comprehended. Dr. Pri-

(q) Plut. in Mor. p. 753.

(r) Diod. l. 2. p. 95.

* *We are not to wonder, if we find the founding of a city aſcribed to different perſons. 'Tis common even among the prophane writers to ſay, Such a prince built ſuch a city, whether he was the perſon that firſt founded it, or that only embelliſh'd, or enlarg'd it.*

deaux

deaux having treated this matter with great extent and learning, I have only to copy or rather abridge him.

I. The WALLS.

(s) Babylon ſtood on a large flat or plain, in a very fat and deep ſoil. The walls were every way prodigious. They were in thickneſs eighty-ſeven foot, in height three hundred and fifty, and in compaſs four hundred and eighty furlongs, which make ſixty of our miles. Theſe walls were drawn round the city in the form of an exact ſquare, each ſide of which was one hundred and twenty furlongs, * or fifteen miles, in length, and all built of large bricks cemented together with bitumen, a glutinous ſlime ariſing out of the earth in that country, which binds in building much ſtronger and firmer than lime, and ſoon grows much harder than the bricks or ſtones themſelves which it cements together.

Theſe walls were ſurrounded on the outſide with a vaſt ditch, full of water, and lined with bricks on both ſides. The earth, that was dug out of it, made the bricks wherewith the walls were built; and therefore from the vaſt height and breadth of the walls may be infer'd the greatneſs of the ditch.

In every ſide of this great ſquare were twenty-five gates, that is, an hundred in all, which were all made of ſolid braſs; and hence it is, that when God promiſed to Cyrus the conqueſt of Babylon, he tells him, (t) *That he would break in pieces before him the gates of braſs.* Between every two of theſe gates were three towers, and four more at the four corners of this great ſquare, and three between each of theſe corners and the next gate on either ſide; every one of theſe towers was

(s) Her. l. 1. c. 178, 180. Diodor. l. 2. p. 95, 96. Q. C. l. 5. c. 1.
(t) Iſa. xlv. 2.

* *I relate things as I find them in the antient authors, which Dean Prideaux has alſo done; but I cannot help believing that great abatements are to be made in what they ſay as to the immenſe extent of Babylon and Niniveh.*

ten

ten foot higher than the walls. But this is to be underſtood only of thoſe parts of the wall, where there was need of towers.

From the twenty-five gates in each ſide of this great ſquare went twenty-five ſtreets, in ſtrait lines to the gates, which were directly over-againſt them, in the oppoſite ſide; ſo that the whole number of the ſtreets were fifty, each fifteen miles long, whereof twenty-five went one way, and twenty-five the other, directly croſſing each other at right angles. And beſides theſe, there were alſo four half ſtreets, which had houſes only on one ſide and the wall on the other; theſe went round the four ſides of the city next the walls, and were each of them two hundred foot broad; the reſt were about an hundred and fifty. By theſe ſtreets thus croſſing each other, the whole city was cut out into ſix hundred ſeventy-ſix ſquares, each of which was four furlongs and an half on every ſide, that is, two miles and a quarter in circumference. (*u*) Round theſe ſquares, on every ſide towards the ſtreets, ſtood the houſes (which were not contiguous, but had void ſpaces between them) all built three or four ſtories high, and beautified with all manner of ornaments towards the ſtreets. The ſpace within, in the middle of each ſquare, was likewiſe all void ground, employed for yards, gardens, and other ſuch uſes; ſo that Babylon was greater in appearance than reality, near one half of the city being taken up in gardens and other cultivated lands, as we are told by Q. Curtius.

II. The Keys and Bridge.

(*x*) A branch of the river Euphrates ran quite croſs the city, from the north to the ſouth ſide; on each ſide of the river was a key, and an high wall built of brick and bitumen, of the ſame thickneſs as the walls that went round the city. In theſe walls, over-againſt every ſtreet that led to the river, were gates of braſs,

(*u*) Q. C. l. 5. c. 1. (*x*) Her. l. 1. c. 180. & 186. Dio. l. 2. p. 96.

and

and from them deſcents by ſteps to the river, for the conveniency of the inhabitants, who uſed to paſs over from one ſide to the other in boats, having no other way of croſſing the river before the building of the bridge. Theſe brazen gates were always open in the day-time, and ſhut in the night.

The bridge was not inferior to any of the other buildings either in beauty or magnificence; it was a † furlong in length, and thirty foot in breadth, built with wonderful art, to ſupply the defect of a foundation in the bottom of the river, which was all ſandy. The arches were made of huge ſtones, faſtened together with chains of iron and melted lead. Before they begun to build the bridge, they turned the courſe of the river, and laid its channel dry, having another view in ſo doing, beſides that of laying the foundations more commodiouſly, as I ſhall explain hereafter. And as every thing was prepared before-hand, both the bridge and the keys, which I have already deſcribed, were built in that interval.

III. The LAKE, DITCHES, AND CANALS, MADE FOR THE DRAINING OF THE RIVER.

Theſe works, objects of admiration for the skilful in all ages, were ſtill more uſeful than magnificent. (*y*) In the beginning of the ſummer, on the ſun's melting the ſnow upon the mountains of Armenia, there ariſes a vaſt increaſe of waters, which running into the Euphrates in the months of June, July and Auguſt, makes it overflow its banks, and occaſions ſuch another inundation as the Nile does in Egypt. (*z*) To prevent the damage which both the city and country received from theſe inundations, at a very conſiderable diſtance above the town two artificial canals were cut,

(*y*) Strab. l. 16. p. 740. Plin. l. 5. c. 26. (*z*) Abyd. ap. Euſ. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

† *Diodorus ſays, this bridge was five furlongs in length, which can hardly be true, ſince the Euphrates was but one furlong broad.* Strab. l. 16. p. 758.

which

which turned the courſe of theſe waters into the Tigris, before they reach'd Babylon. (*a*) And to ſecure the country yet more from the danger of inundations, and to keep the river within its channel, they raiſed prodigious artificial banks on both ſides the river, built of brick cemented with bitumen, which begun at the head of the artificial canals, and extended below the city.

To facilitate the making of theſe works, it was neceſſary to turn the courſe of the river another way; for which purpoſe, to the weſt of Babylon, was dug a prodigious artificial lake, † forty miles ſquare, one hundred and ſixty in compaſs, and thirty-five foot deep according to Herodotus, and ſeventy-five according to Megaſthenes. Into this lake was the whole river turned, by an artificial canal cut from the weſt ſide of it, till the whole work was finiſhed, when it was made to flow in its former channel. But that the Euphrates in the time of its increaſe might not overflow the city, through the gates on its ſides, this lake, with the canal from the river, was ſtill preſerved. The water received into the lake at the time of theſe overflowings was kept there all the year, as in a common reſervoir, for the benefit of the country, to be let out by ſluices at all convenient times for the watering of the lands below it. The lake therefore was equally uſeful in defending the country from inundations and making it fertile. I relate the wonders of Babylon, as they are delivered down to us by the antients; but there are ſome of them which are ſcarce to be comprehended or believed, of which number is the lake I have deſcribed, I mean with reſpect to its vaſt extent.

Beroſus, Megaſthenes, and Abydenus, quoted by Joſephus and Euſebius, make Nebuchadnezzar the author of moſt of theſe works; but Herodotus aſcribes

(*a*) Abyd. ib. Her. l. 1. c. 185.

† *The author follows Herodotus, who makes it four hundred and twenty furlongs, or fifty-two miles ſquare; but I chuſe to follow Dean Prideaux, who in that prefers the account of Megaſthenes.*

the

the bridge, the two keys of the river, and the lake, to Nitocris, the daughter-in-law of that monarch. Perhaps Nitocris might only finiſh what her father left imperfect at his death, on which account that hiſtorian might give her the honour of the whole undertaking.

IV. The PALACES and the HANGING GARDENS.

(*b*) At the two ends of the bridge were two palaces, which had a communication with each other by a vault, built under the channel of the river, at the time of its being dry. The old palace, which ſtood on the eaſt ſide of the river, was thirty furlongs (or three miles and three quarters) in compaſs; near which ſtood the temple of Belus, of which we ſhall ſoon ſpeak. The new palace, which ſtood on the weſt ſide of the river, oppoſite to the other, was ſixty furlongs (or ſeven miles and an half) in compaſs. It was ſurrounded with three walls, one within another, with conſiderable ſpaces between them. Theſe walls, as alſo thoſe of the other palace, were embelliſhed with an infinite variety of ſculptures, repreſenting all kinds of animals, to the life. Amongſt the reſt was a curious hunting piece, in which Semiramis on horſeback was throwing her javelin at a leopard, and her husband Ninus piercing a lion.

(*c*) In this laſt or new palace were the Hanging Gardens, ſo celebrated among the Greeks. They contained a ſquare of four plethra (that is, of four hundred foot) on every ſide, and were carried up aloft into the air, in the manner of ſeveral large terraſſes, one above another, till the height equal'd that of the walls of the city. The aſcent was from terraſs to terraſs, by ſtairs ten foot wide. The whole pile was ſuſtained by vaſt arches, raiſed upon other arches, one above another, and ſtrengthened by a wall, ſurrounding it on every ſide, of twenty-two foot thickneſs. On the top of the

(*b*) Diod. l. 2. p. 96, 97. (*c*) Diod. p. 98, 99. Strab. l. 16. p. 738. Q. C. l. 5. c. 1.

arches

arches were firſt laid large flat ſtones, ſixteen foot long, and four broad: over theſe was a layer of reed, mixed with a great quantity of bitumen, upon which were two rows of bricks, cloſely cemented together with plaiſter. The whole was covered with thick ſheets of lead, upon which lay the mould of the garden. And all this floorage was contrived to keep the moiſture of the mould from running away through the arches. The mould, or earth, laid hereon was ſo deep that the greateſt trees might take root in it; and with ſuch the terraſſes were covered, as well as with all other plants and flowers, that were proper for a garden of pleaſure. In the upper terraſs there was an engine, or kind of pump, by which water was drawn up out of the river, and from thence the whole garden was watered. In the ſpaces between the ſeveral arches, upon which this whole ſtructure reſted, were large and magnificent apartments, that were very light, and had the advantage of a beautiful proſpect.

(*d*) Amytis, the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, having been bred in Media (for ſhe was the daughter of Aſtyages, the king of that country) had been much taken with the mountains and woody parts of that country. And as ſhe deſired to have ſomething like it in Babylon, Nebuchodonoſor, to gratify her, cauſed this prodigious edifice to be erected: Diodorus gives much the ſame account of the matter, but without naming the perſons.

V. The Temple of Belus.

(*e*) Another of the great works at Babylon was the temple of Belus, which ſtood, as I have mentioned already, near the old palace. It was moſt remarkable for a prodigious tower, that ſtood in the middle of it. At the foundation, according to Herodotus, it was a ſquare of a furlong on each ſide, that is, half a mile in the whole compaſs, and (according to Strabo) it was alſo a furlong in height. It conſiſted of eight towers, built one above the other; and becauſe it decreaſed

(*d*) Beroſ. ap. Joſ. con. App. l. 1. c. 6. Diod. l. 2. p. 98. Stra. l. 16. p. 738.

(*e*) Her. l. 1. c. 181.

gradually

gradually to the top, Strabo calls the whole a pyramid. 'Tis not only aſſerted, but proved, that this tower much exceeded the greateſt of the pyramids of Egypt in height. Therefore we have good reaſon to believe, as (*f*) Bochartus aſſerts, that this is the very ſame tower, which was built there at the confuſion of languages; and the rather, becauſe it is atteſted by ſeveral prophane authors, that this tower was all built of bricks and bitumen, as the ſcriptures tell us the tower of Babel was. The aſcent to the top was by ſtairs on the out-ſide round it; that is perhaps, there was an eaſy ſloping aſcent in the ſide of the outer wall, which turning by very ſlow degrees in a ſpiral line eight times round the tower from the bottom to the top, had the ſame appearance as if there had been eight towers placed upon one another. In theſe different ſtories were many large rooms, with arched roofs ſupported by pillars. Over the whole, on the top of the tower, was an obſervatory, by the benefit of which the Babylonians became more expert in aſtronomy than all other nations, and made in a ſhort time the great progreſs in it aſcribed to them in hiſtory.

But the chief uſe to which this tower was deſigned was the worſhip of the god Belus, or Baal, as alſo that of ſeveral other deities; for which reaſon there was a multitude of chapels in the different parts of the tower. The riches of this temple in ſtatues, tables, cenſers, cups, and other ſacred veſſels, all of maſſy gold, were immenſe. Among other images, there was one of forty foot high, which weighed a thouſand Babyloniſh talents. The Babyloniſh talent, according to Pollux in his *Onomaſticon*, contained ſeven thouſand Attic drachma's, and conſequently was a ſixth part more than the Attic talent, which contains but ſix thouſand drachma's.

According to the calculation, which Diodorus makes, of the riches contained in this temple, the ſum total

(*f*) Phal. part. 1. l. 1. c. 9.

amounts

amounts to ſix thouſand three hundred Babyloniſh talents of gold.

The ſixth part of ſix thouſand three hundred is one thouſand and fifty; conſequently ſix thouſand three hundred Babyloniſh talents of gold are equivalent to ſeven thouſand three hundred and fifty Attic talents of gold.

Now ſeven thouſand three hundred and fifty Attic talents of ſilver are worth upwards of two millions, and one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. The proportion between gold and ſilver among the antients we reckon as ten to one; therefore ſeven thouſand three hundred and fifty Attic talents of gold amount to above one and twenty millions ſterling.

(*g*) This temple ſtood till the time of Xerxes; but he, on his return from his Grecian expedition, demoliſhed it intirely, after having firſt plunder'd it of all its immenſe riches. Alexander, on his return to Babylon from his Indian expedition, purpoſed to have rebuilt it; and in order hereto, ſet ten thouſand men to work, to rid the place of its rubbiſh; but, after they had labour'd herein two months, Alexander died, and that put an end to the undertaking.

Such were the chief works which render'd Babylon ſo famous; ſome of them are aſcribed by prophane authors to Semiramis, to whoſe hiſtory 'tis now time to return.

(*h*) When ſhe had finiſhed all theſe great undertakings, ſhe thought fit to make a progreſs through the ſeveral parts of her empire; and, wherever ſhe came, left monuments of her magnificence by many noble ſtructures which ſhe erected, either for the conveniency, or ornament of her cities; ſhe applied herſelf particularly to have water brought by aqueducts to ſuch places as wanted it, and to make the highways eaſy, by cutting through mountains, and filling up valleys. In the time of Diodorus, there were ſtill

(*g*) Herod. l. 1. c. 183. Strab. l. 15. p. 738. Arrian. l. 7. p. 480.
(*h*) Diod. l. 2. p. 100--108.

monuments

monuments to be ſeen in many places, with her name inſcribed upon them.

(*i*) The authority this queen had over her people ſeems very extraordinary, ſince we find her preſence alone capable of appeaſing a ſedition. One day, as ſhe was dreſſing herſelf, word was brought her of a tumult in the city. Whereupon ſhe went out immediately, with her head half dreſs'd, and did not return till the diſturbance was entirely appeaſed. A ſtatue was erected in remembrance of this action, repreſenting her in that very attitude and the undreſs, which had not hindered her from flying to her duty.

Not ſatisfied with the vaſt extent of dominions left her by her husband, ſhe enlarged them by the conqueſt of a great part of Æthiopia. Whilſt ſhe was in that country, ſhe had the curioſity to viſit the temple of Jupiter Ammon, to enquire of the oracle how long ſhe had to live. According to Diodorus, the anſwer ſhe received was, that ſhe ſhould not die till her ſon Ninyas conſpired againſt her, and that after her death one part of Aſia would pay her divine honours.

Her greateſt and laſt expedition was againſt India; on this occaſion ſhe raiſed an innumerable army out of all the provinces of her empire, and appointed Bactra for the rendezvous. As the ſtrength of the Indians conſiſted chiefly in their great number of elephants, this artful queen had a multitude of camels accoutred in the form of elephants, in hopes of deceiving the enemy. 'Tis ſaid that Perſeus long after uſed the ſame ſtratagem againſt the Romans; but neither of them ſucceeded in this ſtratagem. The Indian king having notice of her approach, ſent ambaſſadors to ask her who ſhe was, and with what right, having never received any injury from him, ſhe came out of wantonneſs to attack his dominions; adding, that her boldneſs ſhould ſoon meet with the puniſhment it deſerved. Tell your maſter (replied the queen) that in a little time I myſelf will let him know who I am. She

(*i*) Val. Max. lib. 9. c. 3.

advanced

advanced immediately towards the * river, from which the country takes its name; and having prepared a ſufficient number of boats, ſhe attempted to paſs it with her army. Their paſſage was a long time diſputed, but after a bloody battle ſhe put her enemies to flight. Above a thouſand of their boats were ſunk, and above an hundred thouſand of their men taken priſoners. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, ſhe advanced directly into the country, leaving ſixty thouſand men behind to guard the bridge of boats, which ſhe had built over the river. This was juſt what the king deſired, who fled on purpoſe to bring her to an engagement in the heart of his country. Aſſoon as he thought her far enough advanced, he faced about, and a ſecond engagement enſued, more bloody than the firſt. The counterfeit elephants could not long ſuſtain the ſhock of the true ones: Theſe routed her army, cruſhing whatever came in their way. Semiramis did all that could be done, to rally and encourage her troops; but in vain. The king, perceiving her engaged in the fight, advanced towards her, and wounded her in two places, but not mortally. The ſwiftneſs of her horſe ſoon carried her beyond the reach of her enemies. As her men crouded to the bridge, to repaſs the river, great numbers of them periſh'd, through the diſorder and confuſion unavoidable on ſuch occaſions. When thoſe that could ſave themſelves were ſafely over, ſhe deſtroy'd the bridge, and by that means ſtopt the enemy; and the king likewiſe, in obedience to an oracle, had given orders to his troops not to paſs the river, nor purſue Semiramis any farther. The queen, having made an exchange of priſoners at Bactra, return'd to her own dominions with ſcarce one third of her army, which (according to Cteſias) conſiſted of three hundred thouſand foot, and fifty thouſand horſe, beſides the camels and chariots arm'd for war, of which ſhe had a very conſiderable number. She, and Alexander after

* Indus,

her, were the only perſons that ever ventur'd to carry the war beyond the river Indus.

I muſt own, I am ſomewhat puzzled with a difficulty which may be raiſed againſt the extraordinary things related of Ninus and Semiramis, as they don't ſeem to agree with the times ſo near the deluge: Such vaſt armies, I mean, ſuch a numerous cavalry, ſo many chariots arm'd with ſcythes, and ſuch immenſe treaſures of gold and ſilver; all which ſeem to be of a later date. The ſame thing may likewiſe be ſaid of the magnificence of the buildings, aſcrib'd to them. 'Tis probable the Greek hiſtorians, who came ſo many ages afterwards, deceiv'd by the likeneſs of names, through their ignorance in chronology, and the reſemblance of one event with another, may have aſcribed ſuch things to more antient princes, as belong'd to thoſe of a later date; or may have attributed a number of exploits and enterpriſes to one, which ought to be divided amongſt a ſeries of them ſucceeding one another.

Semiramis, ſome time after her return, diſcover'd that her ſon was plotting againſt her, and one of her principal officers had offer'd him his aſſiſtance. She then call'd to mind the oracle of Jupiter Ammon; and believing that her end approached, without inflicting any puniſhment on the officer, who was taken into cuſtody, ſhe voluntarily abdicated the throne, put the government into the hands of her ſon, and withdrew from the ſight of men, hoping ſpeedily to have divine honours paid to her according to the promiſe of the oracle. And indeed we are told, ſhe was worſhipped by the Aſſyrians, under the form of a dove. She lived ſixty-two years, of which ſhe reigned forty-two.

There are in the (*k*) memoirs of the academy of Belles Lettres two learned diſſertations upon the Aſſyrian empire, and particularly on the reign and actions of Semiramis.

What Juſtin (*l*) ſays of Semiramis, namely, that after her husband's deceaſe, not daring either to com-

(*k*) Vol. 3. p. 343, &c. (*l*) Lib. 1. c. 2.

mit

mit the government to her ſon, who was then too young, or openly to take it upon herſelf, ſhe governed under the name and habit of Ninyas; and that, after having reigned in that manner above forty years, falling paſſionately in love with her own ſon, ſhe endeavour'd to bring him to a criminal compliance, and was ſlain by him: All this, I ſay, is ſo void of all appearance of truth, that to go about to confute it would be but loſing time. It muſt however be own'd, that almoſt all the authors, who have ſpoken of Semiramis, give us but a diſadvantageous idea of her chaſtity.

I don't know but the glorious reign of this queen might partly induce (*m*) Plato to maintain, in his Commonwealth, that women as well as men ought to be admitted into the management of publick affairs, the conducting of armies, and the government of ſtates; and by neceſſary conſequence ought to be train'd up in the ſame exerciſes as men, as well for the forming of the body as the mind. (*n*) Nor does he ſo much as except thoſe exerciſes, wherein it was cuſtomary to fight ſtark-naked, alledging that the virtue of the ſex would be a ſufficient covering for them.

'Tis juſt matter of ſurpriſe to find ſo judicious a philoſopher, in other reſpects, openly combating the moſt common and moſt natural maxims of modeſty and decency, which virtues are the principal ornament of the ſex, and inſiſting ſo ſtrongly upon a principle, ſufficiently confuted by the conſtant practice of all ages, and of almoſt all nations in the world.

(*o*) Ariſtotle, wiſer in this than his maſter Plato, without doing the leaſt injuſtice to the real merit and eſſential qualities of the ſex, has with great judgment mark'd out the different ends, to which man and woman are ordained, from the different qualities of body and mind, wherewith they are endowed by the Author of nature, who has given the one ſtrength of body and intrepidity of mind, to enable him to under-

(*m*) Lib. 5. de Rep. p. 451--457.

(*n*) Ἐπείπερ ἀρετὴν ἀντὶ ἱματίων εἰμφιέσονται.

(*o*) De cura rei fam. l. 1. c. 3.

go the greateſt hardſhips, and face the moſt imminent dangers; whilſt the other on the contrary is of a weak and delicate conſtitution, accompanied with a natural ſoftneſs and modeſt timidity, which render her more fit for a ſedentary life, and diſpoſe her to keep within the precincts of the houſe, to employ herſelf in a prudent and induſtrious œconomy.

(p) Xenophon is of the ſame opinion with Ariſtotle; and in order to ſet off the occupation of the wife, who confines herſelf within her houſe, agreeably compares her to the mother-bee, commonly called the king of the bees, who alone governs and has the ſuperintendence of the whole hive, who diſtributes all their employments, encourages their induſtry, preſides over the building of their little cells, takes care of the nouriſhment and ſubſiſtence of her numerous family; regulates the quantity of honey appointed for that purpoſe, and at fixed and proper ſeaſons ſends abroad the new ſwarms in colonies, to eaſe and diſcharge the hive of its ſuperfluous inhabitants. He remarks, with Ariſtotle, the difference of conſtitution and inclinations, deſignedly given by the Author of nature to man and woman, to point out to each of them their proper and reſpective offices and functions.

This allotment, far from degrading or leſſening the woman, is really for her advantage and honour, in confiding to her a kind of domeſtic empire and government, adminiſter'd only by gentleneſs, reaſon, equity, and good-nature; and in giving her frequent occaſions to exert the moſt valuable and excellent qualites under the ineſtimable veil of modeſty and ſubmiſſion. For it muſt ingenuouſly be owned, that at all times, and in all conditions, there have been women, who by a real and ſolid merit have diſtinguiſhed themſelves above their ſex; as there have been innumerable inſtances of men, who by their defects have diſhonoured theirs. But theſe are only particular caſes, which form no rule, and which ought not to prevail againſt

(p) De adminiſtr. dom. p. 839.

an

an eſtabliſhment founded in nature, and preſcribed by the Creator himſelf.

(q) NINYAS. This prince was in no reſpect like thoſe, from whom he received life, and to whoſe throne he ſucceeded. Wholly intent upon his pleaſures, he kept himſelf ſhut up in his palace, and ſeldom ſhew'd himſelf to his people. To keep them in their duty, he had always at Niniveh a certain number of regular troops, furniſhed every year from the ſeveral provinces of his empire, at the expiration of which term they were ſucceeded by the like number of other troops on the ſame conditions; the king putting a commander at the head of them, on whoſe fidelity he could depend. He made uſe of this method, that the officers might not have time to gain the affections of the ſoldiers, and ſo form any conſpiracies againſt him.

His ſucceſſors for thirty generations followed his example, and even out-did him in indolence. Their hiſtory is abſolutely unknown, there remaining no footſteps of it.

(r) In Abraham's time the ſcripture ſpeaks of Amraphael, king of Sennaar, the country where Babylon was ſituated, who with two other princes follow'd Chedarlaomer, king of the Elamites, whoſe tributary he probably was, in the war carried on by the latter againſt five kings of the land of Canaan.

(s) 'Twas under the goverment of theſe inactive princes, that Seſoſtris, king of Egypt, extended his conqueſts ſo far in the Eaſt. But as his power was of a ſhort duration, and not ſupported by his ſucceſſors, the Aſſyrian empire ſoon return'd to its former ſtate.

(t) Plato, a curious obſerver of antiquities, makes the kingdom of Troy, in the time of Priamus, dependant on the Aſſyrian empire. And Cteſias ſays, that Teutamus, the twentieth king after Ninyas, ſent a conſiderable body of troops to the aſſiſtance of the

(q) Diod. l. 2. p. 108.
(r) A. M. 2092. Ant. J. C. 1912.
(s) A. M. 2513. Ant. J. C. 1491.
(t) De Leg. l. 3. p. 685.
A. M. 2320. Ant. J. C. 1184.

Trojans, under the conduct of Memnon, the ſon of Tithonus, at a time when the Aſſyrian empire had ſubſiſted above a thouſand years; which agrees exactly with the time, wherein I have placed the foundation of that empire. But the ſilence of Homer concerning ſo mighty a people, and which muſt needs have been well known, renders this fact exceeding doubtful. And it muſt be own'd, that whatever relates to the times of the antient hiſtory of the Aſſyrians is attended with great difficulties, into which my plan does not permit me to enter.

(*u*) PUL. The ſcripture informs us, that Pul, king of Aſſyria, being come into the land of Iſrael, had a thouſand talents of ſilver given him by Menahem, king of the ten tribes, to engage him to lend him aſſiſtance, and ſecure him on his throne.

This Pul is ſuppoſed to be the king of Niniveh, who repented with all his people, at the preaching of Jonah.

He is alſo thought to be the father of Sardanapalus, the laſt king of the Aſſyrians, call'd, according to the cuſtom of the eaſtern nations, Sardan-pul, that is to ſay, Sardan, the ſon of Pul.

(*x*) SARDANAPALUS. This prince ſurpaſſed all his predeceſſors in effeminacy, luxury, and cowardiſe. He never went out of his palace, but ſpent all his time amongſt a company of women, dreſs'd and painted like them, and employ'd like them at the diſtaff. He placed all his happineſs and glory in the poſſeſſion of immenſe treaſures, in feaſting and rioting, and indulging himſelf in all the moſt infamous and criminal pleaſures. He order'd two verſes to be put upon his tomb, when he died, which imported, that he carry'd away with him all that he had eaten, and all the pleaſures he had enjoy'd, but left all the reſt behind him.

(*u*) A. M. 3233. Ant. J. C. 771. 2 Kings xv. 19. (*x*) Diod. l. 2. p. 109-115. Ath. l. 12. p. 529--530. Juſt. l. 1. c. 3.

Hæc

* *Hæc habeo quæ edi, quæque exaturata libido*
Hauſit : at illa jacent multa & præclara relicta.

An epitaph, ſays Ariſtotle, fit for a hog.

Arbaces, governour of Media, having found means to get into the palace, and with his own eyes ſeen Sardanapalus in the midſt of an infamous ſeraglio, enraged at ſuch a ſpectacle, and not able to eudure, that ſo many brave men ſhould be ſubject to a prince more ſoft and effeminate than the women themſelves, immediately form'd a conſpiracy againſt him. Beleſis, governour of Babylon, and ſeveral others, enter'd into it. On the firſt rumour of this revolt, the king hid himſelf in the inmoſt part of his palace. Being obliged afterwards to take the field with ſome forces which he had aſſembled, he was overcome, and purſued to the gates of Niniveh; wherein he ſhut himſelf, in hopes the rebels would never be able to take ſo well-fortified a city, and ſtored with proviſions for a conſiderable time: The ſiege proved indeed of very great length. It had been declar'd by an antient oracle, that Niniveh could never be taken, unleſs the river became an enemy to the city. Theſe words buoy'd up Sardanapalus, becauſe he look'd upon the thing as impoſſible. But when he ſaw, that the Tigris by a violent inundation had thrown down twenty † ſtadia of the city-wall, and by that means open'd a paſſage to the enemy, he underſtood the meaning of the oracle, and thought himſelf loſt. He reſolv'd, however, to die in ſuch a manner as, according to his opinion, ſhould cover the infamy of his ſcandalous and effeminate life. (*y*) He order'd a pile of wood to be made in his palace, and ſetting fire to it, burnt himſelf, his

(*y*) A. M. 3257. Ant. J. C. 747.

* Κεῖν' ἔχω ὅσσ' ἔφαγον, καὶ ἐφύβρισα, καὶ μετ' ἔρωτος Τέρπν' ἔπαθον· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια πάντα λέλειπται. Quid aliud, inquit Ariſtoteles, in bovis, non in regis ſepulchro, inſcriberes? Hæc habere ſe mortuum dicit, quæ ne vivus quidem diutius habebat, quam fruebatur. *Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. lib.* 5. *n.* 101.

† *Two miles and an half.*

eunuchs, his women and his treaſures. Athenæus makes theſe treaſures amount to a * thouſand myriads of talents of gold, and to ten times as many talents of ſilver, which, without reckoning any thing elſe, is a ſum that exceeds all credibility. A myriad contains ten thouſand; and one ſingle myriad of talents of ſilver is worth thirty millions, French money, or about one million four hundred thouſand pound ſterling. A man is loſt, if he attempts to ſum up the whole value; which induces me to believe, that Athenæus muſt have very much exaggerated in his computation; however, we may be aſſured from his account, that the treaſures were immenſely great.

(z) Plutarch, in his ſecond treatiſe, dedicated to the praiſe of Alexander the great, wherein he examines in what the true greatneſs of princes conſiſts, after having ſhewn, that it can ariſe from nothing but their own perſonal merit, confirms it by two very different examples, taken from the hiſtory of Aſſyrians, which we are upon. Semiramis and Sardanapalus (ſays he) both governed the ſame kingdom; both had the ſame people, the ſame extent of country, the ſame revenues, the ſame forces, and number of troops; but they had not the ſame diſpoſitions, nor the ſame views. Semiramis, raiſing herſelf above her ſex, built magnificent cities, equip'd fleets, arm'd legions, ſubdued neighbouring nations, penetrated into Arabia and Ethiopia, and carried her victorious arms to the extremities of Aſia, ſpreading conſternation and terror every-where. Whereas Sardanapalus, as if he had entirely renounc'd his ſex, ſpent all his time in the heart of his palace, perpetually ſurrounded with a company of women, whoſe habit and even manners he had taken, applying himſelf with them to the ſpindle and the diſtaff, neither underſtanding nor doing any other thing than ſpinning, eating and drinking, and wallowing in all manner of infamous pleaſure. Accordingly, a ſtatue

(z) Pag. 335, & 336.
* *About fourteen hundred millions ſterling.*

was

was erected to him, after his death, which represented him in the posture of a dancer, with an inscription upon it, in which he addressed himself to the spectator in these words, (a) *Eat, drink, and be merry; every thing else is nothing.* An inscription very suitable to the epitaph he himself had order'd to be put upon his monument.

Plutarch in this place judges of Semiramis, as almost all the prophane historians do of the glory of conquerors. But, if we would make a true judgment of things, was the unbounded ambition of that queen much less blameable, than the dissolute effeminacy of Sardanapalus? which of the two vices did most mischief to mankind?

We are not to wonder that the Assyrian empire should fall under such a prince; but undoubtedly it was not till after having pass'd through various augmentations, diminutions, and revolutions, common to all states, even to the greatest, during the course of several ages. This empire had subsisted above 1450 years.

Of the ruins of this vast empire were form'd three considerable kingdoms; that of the Medes, which Arbaces, the principal head of the conspiracy, restored to its liberty; that of the Assyrians of Babylon, which was given to Belesis, governour of that city; and that of the Assyrians of Niniveh, the first king whereof took the name of Ninus the younger.

In order to understand the history of the second Assyrian empire, which is very obscure, and of which little is said by historians, 'tis proper, and even absolutely necessary, to compare what is said of it by prophane authors with what we find of it in holy scripture; that by the help of that double light we may have the clearer idea of the two empires of Niniveh and Babylon, which for some time were separate and distinct, and afterwards united and confounded together. I shall first treat of this second Assyrian empire, and then return to the kingdom of the Medes.

(a) Ἔσθιε, πῖνε, ἀφροδισίαζε· τἄλλα οὐδέν.

CHAP. II.

The second Assyrian empire, both of Niniveh and Babylon.

THIS second Assyrian empire continued two hundred and ten years, reckoning to the year in which Cyrus, who was become absolute master of the east by the death of his father Cambyses, and his father-in-law Cyaxares, publish'd the famous edict, whereby the Jews were permitted to return into their own country, after a seventy years captivity at Babylon.

Kings of Babylon.

(*b*) BELESIS. He is the same as Nabonassar, from whose reign began the famous astronomical epocha at Babylon, call'd from his name the æra of Nabonassar. In the holy scriptures he is call'd Baladan. He reign'd but twelve years, and was succeeded by his son,

(*c*) MERODACH-BALADAN. This is the prince, who sent embassadors to king Hezekiah, to congratulate him on the recovery of his health, of which we shall speak hereafter. After him there reign'd several other kings at Babylon, (*d*) with whose story we are entirely unacquainted. I shall therefore proceed to the kings of Niniveh.

Kings of Niniveh.

(*e*) TIGLATH-PILESER. This is the name given by the holy scripture to the king, who is supposed to be the first that reign'd at Niniveh, after the destruction of the antient Assyrian empire. He is call'd Thilgamus by Ælian. He is said to have taken the name of Ninus the younger, in order to honour and distinguish his reign by the name of so antient and illustrious a prince.

Ahaz, king of Judah, whose incorrigible impiety could not be reclaim'd, either by the divine favours or

(*b*) A. M. 3257. Ant. J. C. 747. 2 Kings xx. 12. (*c*) Ibid. (*d*) Can. Ptol. (*e*) A. M. 3257. Ant. J. C. 747. Lib. 12. hist. anim. c. 21. Castor. apud Euseb. Chron. p. 49. 2 Kings xvi. 7, &c.

chastisements,

chaſtiſements, finding himſelf attack'd at once by the kings of Syria and Iſrael, robb'd the temple of part of its gold and ſilver, and ſent it to Tiglath-Pileſer, to purchaſe his friendſhip and aſſiſtance; promiſing him beſides to become his vaſſal, and to pay him tribute. The king of Aſſyria, finding ſo favourable an opportunity of adding Syria and Paleſtine to his empire, readily accepted the propoſal. Advancing that way with a numerous army, he beat Rezin, took Damaſcus, and put an end to the kingdom erected there by the Syrians, as God had foretold by his prophets Iſaiah (*f*) and Amos. From thence he marched againſt Phacæa, and took all that belong'd to the kingdom of Iſrael beyond Jordan, or in Galilee. But he made Ahaz pay very dear for his protection, ſtill exacting of him ſuch exorbitant ſums of money, that for the payment of them he was obliged not only to exhauſt his own treaſures, but to take all the gold and ſilver of the temple. Thus this alliance ſerv'd only to drain the kingdom of Judah, and to bring into its neighbourhood the powerful kings of Niniveh, who became ſo many inſtruments afterwards in the hand of God for the chaſtiſement of his people.

(*g*) SALMANASER. Sabacus, the Ethiopian, whom the ſcripture calls So, having made himſelf maſter of Egypt, Hoſea, king of Samaria, enter'd into an alliance with him, hoping by that means to ſhake off the Aſſyrian yoke. To this end he withdrew from his dependance upon Salmanaſer, refuſing to pay him any further tribute, or make him the uſual preſents.

Salmanaſer, to puniſh him for his preſumption, march'd againſt him with a powerful army; and after having ſubdued all the plain country, ſhut him up in Samaria, where he kept him cloſely beſieg'd for three years; at the end of which he took the city, loaded Hoſea with chains, and threw him into priſon for the reſt of his days; carry'd away the people

(*f*) Iſ. viii. 4. Am. i. 5. (*g*) A. M. 3276, Ant. J. C. 728. 2 Kings xvii.

captive,

captive, and planted them in Halah and Habor, cities of the Medes. And thus was the kingdom of Iſrael, or of the ten tribes, deſtroy'd, as God had often threaten'd by his prophets. This kingdom, from the time of its ſeparation from that of Judah, laſted about two hundred and fifty years.

(*b*) 'Twas at this time that Tobit, with Ann his wife, and his ſon Tobias, was carried captive into Aſſyria, where he became one of the principal officers to king Salmanaſer.

Salmanaſer died, after having reign'd fourteen years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon,

(*i*) SENNACHERIB. He is alſo call'd Sargon in ſcripture.

Aſſoon as this prince was ſettled on the throne, he renew'd the demand of the tribute, exacted by his father from Hezekiah. Upon his refuſal, he declared war againſt him, and enter'd into Judea with a mighty army. Hezekiah, griev'd to ſee his kingdom pillaged, ſent embaſſadors to him, to deſire peace upon any terms he would preſcribe. Sennacherib, ſeemingly mollify'd, enter'd into treaty with him, and demanded a very great ſum of gold and ſilver. The holy king exhauſted both the treaſures of the temple, and his own coffers, to pay it. The Aſſyrian, regarding neither the ſanction of oaths nor treaties, ſtill continued the war, and puſh'd on his conqueſts more vigorouſly than ever. Nothing was able to withſtand his power, and of all the ſtrong places of Judah, none remain'd untaken but Jeruſalem, which was likewiſe reduc'd to the utmoſt extremity. (*k*) At this very juncture Sennacherib was inform'd, that Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, who had join'd forces with the king of Egypt, was coming up to ſuccour the beſieged city. Now 'twas contrary to the expreſs command of God, as well as the remonſtrances of Iſaiah and Hezekiah, that the chief rulers at Jeruſalem had requir'd any fo-

(*b*) Tob. c. i. 2 Kings c. xviii. and xix.

(*i*) A. M. 3287. Ant. J. C. 717. Iſ. xx. 1.

(*k*) 2 Kings xix. 9.

reign

reign assistance. The Assyrian prince marched immediately to meet the approaching enemy, after having writ a letter to Hezekiah, full of blasphemy, against the God of Israel, whom he insolently boasted he would speedily vanquish, as he had done all the gods of the other nations round about him. In short, he discomfited the Egyptians, and pursued them even into their own country, which he ravaged, and return'd laden with spoil.

(*l*) It was probably during Sennacherib's absence, which was pretty long, or at least some little time before, that Hezekiah fell sick, and was cured after a miraculous manner; and that (as a sign of God's fulfilling the promise he had made him of curing him so perfectly, that within three days he should be able to go to the temple) the shadow of the sun went ten degrees backwards upon the dial of the palace. Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon, being inform'd of the miraculous cure of king Hezekiah, sent embassadors to him with letters and presents, to congratulate him upon that occasion, and to acquaint themselves with the miracle that had happen'd upon earth at this juncture, with respect to the sun's retrogradation ten degrees. Hezekiah was extremely sensible of the honour done him by that prince, and very forward to shew his embassadors the riches and treasures he possess'd, and to let them see the whole magnificence of his palace. Humanly speaking, there was nothing in this proceeding but what was allowable and commendable; but in the eyes of the supreme judge, which are infinitely more piercing and delicate than ours, this action discover'd a lurking pride, and secret vanity, with which his righteousness was offended. Accordingly he instantly advertised the king by his prophet Isaiah, that the riches and treasures he had been shewing to those embassadors with so much ostentation, should one day be transported to Babylon; and that his children should be carried thither, to become servants in the palace of

(*l*) 2 Kings xx. 2 Chron. xxxii. 24--31.

that monarch. This was then utterly improbable; for Babylon, at the time we are ſpeaking of, was in friendſhip and alliance with Jeruſalem, as appears by her having ſent embaſſadors thither: nor did Jeruſalem then ſeem to have any thing to fear, but from Niniveh; whoſe power was at that time formidable, and had intirely declar'd againſt her. But the fortune of thoſe two cities was to change, and the word of God was literally accompliſhed.

(*m*) But to return to Sennacherib; after he had ravag'd Egypt, and taken a vaſt number of priſoners, he came back with his victorious army, encamp'd before Jeruſalem, and beſieg'd it anew. The city ſeem'd to be inevitably loſt: 'twas without reſource, and without hope from the hands of men; but had a powerful protector in heaven, whoſe jealous ears had heard the impious blaſphemies utter'd by the king of Niniveh againſt his ſacred name. In one ſingle night an hundred and eighty five thouſand men of his army periſh'd by the ſword of the deſtroying angel. After ſo terrible a blow this pretended king of kings (for ſo he call'd himſelf) this triumpher over nations, and conqueror of gods, was obliged to return to his own country with the miſerable remnant of his army, cover'd with ſhame and confuſion: nor did he ſurvive his defeat a few months, but only to make a kind of an honourable amande to God, whoſe ſupreme majeſty he had preſumed to inſult, and who now, to uſe the ſcripture terms, having *put a ring into his noſe, and a bit into his mouth*, as a wild beaſt, made him return in that humbled, afflicted condition, through thoſe very countries, which a little before had beheld him ſo haughty and imperious.

Upon his return to Niniveh, being enraged at his diſgrace, he treated his ſubjects after a moſt cruel and tyrannical manner. (*n*) The effects of his fury fell more heavily upon the Jews and Iſraelites, of whom he had great numbers maſſacred every day, ordering

(*m*) 2 Kings xix. 35--37. (*n*) Tob. c. i, 18--24.

their

their bodies to be left expoſed in the ſtreets, and ſuffering no man to give them burial. Tobit, to avoid his cruelty, was obliged to conceal himſelf for ſome time, and ſuffer all his effects to be confiſcated. In ſhort, the king's ſavage temper render'd him ſo inſupportable to his own family, that his two eldeſt ſons conſpired againſt him, (*o*) and killed him in the temple, in the preſence of his god Niſroch, as he lay proſtrate before him. But theſe two princes, being obliged after this parricide to fly into Armenia, left the kingdom to Eſarhaddon, their youngeſt brother.

(*p*) ESARHADDON. We have already obſerved, that after Merodach-Baladan there was a ſucceſſion of kings at Babylon, of whom hiſtory has tranſmitted nothing but the names. The royal family becoming extinct, there was an eight years interregnum, full of troubles and commotions. Eſarhaddon, taking advantage of this juncture, made himſelf maſter of Babylon; and annexing it to his former dominions, reigned over the two united empires thirteen years.

After having re-united Syria and Paleſtine to the Aſſyrian empire, which had been rent from it in the preceding reign, he enter'd the land of Iſrael, where he took captive as many as were left there, and carried them into Aſſyria, except an inconſiderable number that eſcaped his purſuit. And that the country might not become a deſart, he ſent colonies of idolatrous people, taken out of the countries beyond the Euphrates, to dwell in the cities of Samaria. (*q*) The prediction of Iſaiah was then fulfilled; *within threeſcore and five years ſhall Ephraim be broken, that it be no more a people.* This was exactly the ſpace of time elapſed between the prediction and the event; and the people of Iſrael did then truly ceaſe to be a viſible nation, what was left of them being altogether mixed and confounded with other nations.

(*r*) This prince, having poſſeſſed himſelf of the land

(*o*) 2 Kings xix. 37. (*p*) A. M. 3294. Ant. J. C. 710. Can. Ptol.
(*q*) Iſ. vii. 8. (*r*) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11, 13.

of Iſrael, ſent ſome of his generals with part of his army into Judea, to reduce that country likewiſe under his ſubjection. Theſe generals defeated Manaſſeh, and having taken him priſoner, brought him to Eſarhaddon, who put him in chains, and carried him with him to Babylon. But Manaſſeh, having afterwards appeaſed the wrath of God by a ſincere and lively repentance, obtained his liberty, and return'd to Jeruſalem.

(*s*) Mean time the colonies, that had been ſent into Samaria, in the room of its antient inhabitants, were grievouſly infeſted with lions. The king of Babylon being told, the cauſe of that calamity was their not worſhipping the God of the country, ordered an Iſraelitiſh prieſt to be ſent to them from among the captives taken in that country, to teach them the worſhip of the God of Iſrael. But theſe idolaters, contented with admitting the true God amongſt their antient divinities, worſhipped him jointly with their falſe deities. This corrupt worſhip continued afterwards, and was the ſource of the averſion entertain'd by the Jews againſt the Samaritans.

Eſarhaddon, after a proſperous reign of thirty-nine years over the Aſſyrians, and thirteen over the Babylonians, was ſucceeded by his ſon,

(*t*) SAOSDUCHINUS. This prince is call'd in ſcripture Nabuchodonoſor, which name was common to the kings of Babylon. To diſtinguiſh this from the others, he is call'd Nabuchodonoſor the firſt.

(*u*) Tobit was ſtill alive at this time, and dwelt among other captives at Niniveh. Perceiving his end approaching, he foretold his children the ſudden deſtruction of that city; of which at that time there was not the leaſt appearance. He adviſed them to quit the city, before its ruin came on, and to depart aſſoon as they had buried him and his wife.

The ruin of Niniveh is at hand, ſays the good old

(*s*) 2 Kings xvii. 25--41. (*t*) A. M. 3335. Ant. J. C. 669.
(*u*) Tob. xiv. 5--13.

man, *abide no longer here, for I perceive the wickedneſs of the city will occaſion its deſtruction.* Theſe laſt words are very remarkable, *the wickedneſs of the city will occaſion its deſtruction.* Men will be apt to impute the ruin of Niniveh to any other reaſon, but we are taught by the Holy Ghoſt, that her unrighteouſneſs was the true cauſe of it, as it will be with all other ſtates, that imitate her crimes.

(*x*) Nabuchodonoſor defeated the king of the Medes, in a pitch'd battle fought the twelfth year of his reign upon the plain of Ragau, took Ecbatana, the capital of his kingdom, and return'd triumphant to Niniveh. When we come to treat of the hiſtory of the Medes, we ſhall give a more particular account of this victory.

'Twas immediately after this expedition, that Bethulia was beſieged by Holoſernes, one of Nabuchodonoſor's generals; and that the famous enterpriſe of Judith was accompliſhed.

(*y*) SARACUS, otherwiſe call'd CHYNA-LADANUS. This prince ſucceeded Saoſduchinus; and having rendered himſelf contemptible to his ſubjects, by his effeminacy, and the little care he took of his dominions, Nabopolaſſar, a Babylonian by birth, and general of his army, uſurped that part of the Aſſyrian empire, and reigned over it one and twenty years.

(*z*) NABOPOLASSAR. This prince, the better to maintain his uſurp'd ſovereignty, made an alliance with Cyaxares, king of the Medes. With their joint forces they beſieged and took Niniveh, kill'd Saracus, and utterly deſtroy'd that great city. We ſhall ſpeak more largely of this great event, when we come to the hiſtory of the Medes. From this time forwards the city of Babylon became the only capital of the Aſſyrian empire.

The Babylonians and the Medes, having deſtroy'd Niniveh, became ſo formidable, that they drew upon themſelves the jealouſy of all their neighbours. Necho,

(*x*) Judith i. 5, 6. Alex. Polyhiſt.
(*y*) A. M. 3356. Ant. J. C. 648.
(*z*) A. M. 3378. Ant. J. C. 626.

king

king of Egypt, was ſo alarm'd at their power, that to ſtop their progreſs he march'd towards the Euphrates at the head of a powerful army, and made ſeveral conſiderable conqueſts. See the hiſtory of the Egyptians (*a*) for what concerns this expedition, and the conſequences that attended it.

(*b*) Nabopolaſſar finding, that after the taking of Carchemiſh by Necho, all Syria and Paleſtine had revolted from him, and neither his age nor infirmities permitting him to go in perſon to recover them, he made his ſon Nabuchodonoſor partner with him in the empire, and ſent him with an army, to reduce thoſe countries to their former ſubjection.

(*c*) From this time the Jews begin to reckon the years of Nabuchodonoſor, *viz.* from the end of the third year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, or rather from the beginning of the fourth. But the Babylonians compute the reign of this prince only from the death of his father, which happened two years later.

(*d*) NABUCHODONOSOR II. This prince defeated Necho's army near the Euphrates, and retook Carchemiſh. From thence he march'd towards Syria and Paleſtine, and re-united thoſe provinces to his dominions.

(*e*) He likewiſe enter'd Judea, beſieg'd Jeruſalem, and took it: He caus'd Jehoiakim to be put in chains, with a deſign to have him carry'd to Babylon; but being moved with his repentance and affliction, he reſtored him to his throne. Great numbers of the Jews, and, among the reſt, ſome children of the royal family, were carried captive to Babylon, whither all the treaſures of the king's palace, and a part of the ſacred veſſels of the temple were likewiſe tranſported. Thus was the judgment God had denounc'd by the prophet Iſaiah to king Hezekiah accompliſhed. From this famous epocha, which was the fourth year of Je-

(*a*) Vol. I. (*b*) Beroſ. apud Joſeph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. & con. Ap. l. 1. (*c*) A. M. 3398. Ant. J. C. 606. (*d*) Jer. xlvi. 2. 2 Kings xxiv. 7. (*e*) Dan. i. 1--7. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7.

hoiakim,

hoiakim, king of Judah, we are to date the captivity of the Jews at Babylon, ſo often foretold by Jeremiah. Daniel, then but eighteen years old, was carried captive among the reſt; and Ezekiel ſometime afterwards.

(*f*) Towards the end of the fifth year of Jehoiakim died Nabopolaſſar, king of Babylon, after having reign'd one and twenty years. Aſſoon as his ſon Nabuchodonoſor had news of his death, he ſet out with all expedition for Babylon, taking the neareſt way through the deſart, attended only with a ſmall retinue, leaving the bulk of his army with his generals, to be conducted to Babylon with the captives and ſpoils. On his arrival, he received the government from the hands of thoſe that had carefully preſerv'd it for him, and ſo ſucceeded (*g*) to all the dominions of his father, which comprehended Chaldea, Aſſyria, Arabia, Syria, and Paleſtine, over which, according to Ptolomy, he reign'd forty-three years.

(*h*) In the fourth year of his reign he had a dream, at which he was greatly terrified, though he could not call it again to mind. He thereupon conſulted the wiſe men and diviners of his kingdom, requiring of them to make known to him the ſubſtance of his dream. They all anſwer'd, that it was beyond the reach of their art to divine the thing itſelf; and that the utmoſt they could do, was to give the interpretation of his dream, when he had made it known to them. As abſolute princes are not accuſtomed to meet with oppoſition, but will be obey'd in all things, Nabuchodonoſor, imagining they dealt inſincerely with him, fell into a violent rage, and condemned them all to die. Now Daniel and his three companions were included in the ſentence, as being ranked among the wiſe men. But Daniel, having firſt invoked his God, deſired to be introduced to the king, to whom he revealed the whole ſubſtance of his dream. "The thing "thou ſaweſt (ſays he to Nebuchadnezzar) was an

(*f*) Can. Ptol. Beroſ. apud Joſeph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. & con. Ap. l. 10. (*g*) A. M. 3401. Ant. J. C. 603. (*h*) Dan. c. ii.

"image

" image of an enormous ſize, and a terrible counte-
" nance. The head thereof was of gold, the breaſt
" and arms of ſilver, the belly and thighs of braſs,
" and the feet part of iron and part of clay. And as
" the king was attentively looking upon that viſion,
" behold a ſtone was cut out of a mountain without
" hands, and the ſtone ſmote the image upon his feet,
" and brake them to pieces; the whole image was
" ground as ſmall as duſt, and the ſtone became a
" great mountain, and filled the whole earth." When Daniel had related the dream, he gave the king likewiſe the interpretation thereof, ſhewing him how it ſignified the three great empires, which were to ſucceed that of the Aſſyrians, namely, the Perſian, the Grecian, and the Roman, or (according to ſome) that of the ſucceſſors of Alexander the great. " After theſe
" kingdoms (continued Daniel) ſhall the God of hea-
" ven ſet up a kingdom, which ſhall never be de-
" ſtroyed; and this kingdom ſhall not be left to other
" people, but ſhall break in pieces and conſume all
" theſe kingdoms, and ſhall ſtand for ever." By which Daniel plainly foretold the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt. Nebuchadnezzar, quite raviſh'd with admiration and aſtoniſhment, after having acknowledged and loudly declared, that the God of the Iſraelites was really the God of gods, advanced Daniel to the higheſt offices in the kingdom, made him chief of the governours over all the wiſe men, ruler of the whole province of Babylon, and one of the principal lords of the council, that always attended the court. His three friends were alſo promoted to honours and dignities.

(*b*) At this time Jehoiakim revolted from the king of Babylon, whoſe generals, that were ſtill in Judea, march'd againſt him, and committed all kinds of hoſtilities upon his country. *He ſlept with his fathers*, is all the ſcripture ſays of his death. Jeremiah had propheſied, that he ſhould neither be regretted nor lamented; but ſhould *be buried with the burial of an aſs*,

(*b*) 2 Kings xxiv. 1, 2.

drawn

drawn and caſt forth beyond the gates of Jeruſalem: This was no doubt fulfilled, tho' it is not known in what manner.

* Jechonias ſucceeded both to the throne and iniquity of his father. Nebuchadnezzar's lieutenants continuing the blockade of Jeruſalem, in three months time he himſelf came at the head of his army, and made himſelf maſter of the city. He plundered both the temple and the king's palace of all their treaſures, and ſent them away to Babylon, together with all the golden veſſels remaining, which Solomon had made for the uſe of the temple: he carried away likewiſe a vaſt number of captives, amongſt whom was king Jechonias, his mother, his wives, with all the chief officers and great men of his kingdom. In the room of Jechonias, he ſet upon the throne his uncle Mattaniah, who was otherwiſe call'd Zedekiah.

(*i*) This prince had as little religion and proſperity as his fore-fathers. Having made an alliance with Pharaoh, king of Egypt, he broke the oath of fidelity he had taken to the king of Babylon. The latter ſoon chaſtiſed him for it, and immediately laid ſiege to Jeruſalem. The king of Egypt's arrival at the head of an army gave the beſieged ſome hopes; but their joy was very ſhort-liv'd; the Egyptians were defeated, and the conqueror return'd againſt Jeruſalem, and renew'd the ſiege, which laſted near a twelvemonth. (*k*) At laſt the city was taken by ſtorm, and a terrible ſlaughter enſued. Zedekiah's two ſons were by Nebuchadnezzar's orders kill'd before their father's face, with all the nobles and principal men of Judah. Zedekiah himſelf had both his eyes put out, was loaded with fetters, and carried to Babylon, where he was confined in priſon as long as he lived. The city and temple were pillaged and burnt, and all their fortifications demoliſh'd.

(*i*) 2 Kings xxiv. 17--20, and xxi. 1--10. (*k*) A. M. 3415. Ant. J. C. 589.

* *Al.* Jehoiakim. 2 Kings xxiv. 6--18.

Upon

(*l*) Upon Nebuchadnezzar's return to Babylon, after his ſucceſsful war againſt Judea, he order'd a golden ſtatue to be made ſixty * cubits high, aſſembled all the great men of the kingdom to celebrate the dedication of it, and commanded all his ſubjects to worſhip it, threatning to caſt thoſe that ſhould refuſe into the midſt of a burning fiery furnace. Upon this occaſion it was, that the three young Hebrews, Ananias, Miſael, and Azarias, who with an invincible courage refuſed to comply with the king's impious ordinance, were preſerved after a miraculous manner, in the midſt of the flames. The king, himſelf a witneſs of this aſtoniſhing miracle, publiſhed an edict, whereby all perſons whatſoever were forbid, upon pain of death, to ſpeak any thing amiſs againſt the God of Ananias, Miſael, and Azarias: He likewiſe promoted theſe three young men to the higheſt honours and employments.

Nebuchadnezzar, in the twenty-firſt year of his reign, and the fourth after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, march'd again into Syria, and beſieg'd Tyre, at the time when Ithobal was king thereof. Tyre was a ſtrong and opulent city, which had never been ſubject to any foreign power, and was then in great repute for its commerce; (*m*) by which many of its citizens were become like ſo many princes in wealth and magnificence. It was built by the Sidonians two hundred and forty years before the temple of Jeruſalem. For Sidon being taken by the Philiſtines of Aſcalon, many of its inhabitants made their eſcape in ſhips, and founded the city of Tyre. And for this reaſon we find it call'd in Iſaiah, (*n*) *the daughter of Sidon.* But the daughter ſoon ſurpaſs'd the mother in grandeur, riches, and power. Accordingly, at the time we are ſpeaking of, ſhe was in a condition to reſiſt thirteen years together a monarch, to whoſe yoke all the reſt of the eaſt had ſubmitted.

(*l*) Dan. iii.
(*n*) Iſ. xxiii. 12.
* 90 *feet.*

(*m*) Ezek. xxvi. 27. Iſ. xxiii. 8. Juſt. l. 18. c. 3.

(o) It was not till after so many years, that Nebuchadnezzar made himself master of Tyre. His troops suffer'd incredible hardships before it; so that, according to the prophet's expression, (p) *every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled.* Before the city was reduced to the last extremity, its inhabitants retired, with the greatest part of their effects, into a neighbouring isle, half a mile from the shore, where they built a new city; the name and glory whereof extinguished the remembrance of the old one, which from thenceforward became a mere village, retaining the name of antient Tyre.

(q) Nebuchadnezzar and his army having undergone the utmost fatigues during so long and difficult a siege, and having found nothing in the place to requite them for the service they had render'd almighty God ('tis the expression of the prophet) in executing his vengeance upon that city, to make them amends, God was pleased to promise by the mouth of Ezekiel, that he would give them the spoils of Egypt. And indeed Nebuchadnezzar conquered Egypt soon after, as I have more fully related in the history of the Egyptians (r).

When this prince had happily finished all his wars, and was in a state of perfect peace and tranquillity, he put the last hand to the building, or rather to the embellishing of Babylon. The reader may see in Josephus (s) an account of the magnificent structures ascrib'd to this monarch by several writers. I have mentioned a great part of them in the description already given of that stately city.

(t) Whilst nothing seemed wanting to compleat Nebuchadnezzar's happiness, a frightful dream disturb'd his repose, and fill'd him with great anxiety. He dreamed, "He saw a tree in the midst of the earth, "whose height was great: The tree grew, and was

(o) Jos. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. & con. Ap. l. 1. (p) Ez. xxix. 18, 19. (q) Ez. xxix. 18--20. (r) Vol. I. (s) Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. (t) Dan. c. iv.

"strong,

" ſtrong, and the height of it reached unto heaven,
" and the ſight thereof to the end of the earth. The
" leaves were fair, and the fruit much; and in it was
" meat for all: The beaſts of the field had ſhadow
" under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the
" boughs thereof; and all fleſh was fed of it. Then
" a watcher and an holy one came down from heaven,
" and cry'd; Hew down the tree, and cut off his
" branches, ſhake off his leaves, and ſcatter his fruit;
" let the beaſts get away from under it, and the
" fowls from his branches. Nevertheleſs leave the
" ſtump of his roots in the earth, even with a band of
" iron and braſs, in the tender graſs of the field; and
" let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let his
" portion be with the beaſts in the graſs of the earth.
" Let his heart be changed from man's; and let a
" beaſt's heart be given unto him; and let ſeven times
" paſs over him. This matter is by the decree of the
" watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy
" ones, to the intent that the living may know, that
" the moſt High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and
" giveth it to whomſoever he will, and ſetteth up
" over it the baſeſt of men."

The king, juſtly terrified at this terrible dream, conſulted all his wiſe men and magicians, but to no purpoſe. He was obliged to have recourſe to Daniel, who expounded the dream, and applied it to the king's own perſon, plainly declaring to him, " That he ſhould
" be driven from the company of men for ſeven years,
" ſhould be reduced to the condition and fellowſhip
" of the beaſts of the field, and feed upon graſs like a
" bullock; that his kingdom nevertheleſs ſhould be
" preſerv'd for him, and he ſhould re-poſſeſs his throne,
" when he ſhould have learnt to know and acknow-
" ledge, that all power is from above, and cometh
" from heaven. After this he exhorted him to break
" off his ſins by righteouſneſs, and his iniquities by
" ſhewing mercy to the poor."

All

All theſe things came to paſs upon Nebuchadnezzar, as the prophet had foretold. At the end of twelve months, as he was walking in his palace, and admiring the beauty and magnificence of his buildings, he ſaid, "Is not this great Babylon, which I have "built for the houſe of the kingdom, by the might "of my power, and for the honour of my majeſty?" Would a ſecret impulſe of complacency and vanity in a prince, at the ſight of ſuch noble ſtructures erected by himſelf, appear to us ſo very criminal? And yet, hardly were the words out of his mouth, when a voice came down from heaven, and pronounced this ſentence: "In the ſame hour his underſtanding went "from him; he was driven from men, and did eat "graſs like oxen, and his body was wet with the dew "of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles fea-"thers, and his nails like birds claws."

After the expiration of the appointed time, he recover'd his ſenſes, and the uſe of his underſtanding: "He lifted up his eyes unto heaven (ſays the ſcrip-"ture) and bleſſed the Moſt High; he praiſed and "honoured him that liveth for ever, whoſe dominion "is an everlaſting dominion, and his kingdom is "from generation to generation:" Confeſſing, "That "all the inhabitants of the earth are as nothing be-"fore him, and that he doeth according to his will, "in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants "of the earth; and none can ſtay his hand, or ſay "unto him, What doſt thou?" Now he recover'd his former countenance and form. His courtiers went out to ſeek him; he was reſtored to his throne, and became greater and more powerful than ever. Being affected with the heartieſt gratitude, he cauſed by a ſolemn edict to be publiſhed, through the whole extent of his dominions, what aſtoniſhing and miraculous things God had wrought in his perſon.

One year after this Nebuchadnezzar died, having reign'd forty-three years, reckoning from the death of his father. He was one of the greateſt monarchs

that ever reigned in the eaſt. He was ſucceeded by his ſon,

(a) EVIL-MERODACH. As ſoon as he was ſettled in the throne, he releas'd Jechonias, king of Judah, out of priſon, where he had been confin'd near ſeven and thirty years.

In the reign of this Evil-merodach, which laſted but two years, the learned place Daniel's detection of the fraud practiſed by the prieſts of Bel; the innocent artifice, by which he contriv'd to kill the dragon, which was worſhip'd as a god; and the miraculous deliverance of the ſame prophet out of the den of lions, where he had victuals brought him by the prophet Habakkuk.

(b) Evil-merodach render'd himſelf ſo odious by his debauchery, and other extravagancies, that his own relations conſpired againſt him, and put him to death.

(c) NERIGLISSAR, his ſiſter's husband, and one of the chief conſpirators, reigned in his ſtead.

Immediately on his acceſſion to the crown, he made great preparations for war againſt the Medes, which made Cyaxares ſend for Cyrus out of Perſia to his aſſiſtance. This ſtory will be more particularly related by and by, where we ſhall find that this prince was ſlain in battle, in the fourth year of his reign.

(d) LABOROSOARCHOD, his ſon, ſucceeded to the throne. This was a very wicked prince. Being born with the moſt vicious inclinations, he indulg'd them without reſtraint when he came to the crown; as if he had been inveſted with ſovereign power, only to have the privilege of committing with impunity the moſt infamous and barbarous actions. He reigned but nine months; his own ſubjects conſpiring againſt him put him to death. His ſucceſſor was

(e) LABYNIT, or NABONID. This prince had likewiſe other names, and in ſcripture that of Belſhazzar.

(a) A. M. 3441. Ant. J. C. 562. 2 Kings xxv. 27—30.
(b) Beroſ. Megaſthen. (c) A. M. 3444. Ant. J. C. 560. Cyrop. l. 1.
(d) A. M. 3448. Ibid. (e) A. M. 3449.

'Tis

'Tis reaſonably ſuppoſed that he was the ſon of Evilmerodach, by his wife Nitocris, and conſequently grand-ſon to Nebuchadnezzar, to whom, according to Jeremiah's prophecy, the nations of the eaſt were to be ſubject, as alſo to his ſon, and his grand-ſon after him: (*f*) *All nations ſhall ſerve him, and his ſon, and his ſon's ſon, until the very time of his land ſhall come.*

(*g*) Nitocris is that queen who raiſed ſo many noble edifices in Babylon. She cauſed her own monument to be placed over one of the moſt remarkable gates of the city, with an inſcription, diſſuading her ſucceſſors from touching the treaſures laid up in it, without the moſt urgent and indiſpenſable neceſſity. The tomb remain'd unopen'd till the reign of Darius, who, upon his breaking it open, inſtead of thoſe immenſe treaſures he had flatter'd himſelf with, found nothing but the following inſcription:

IF THOU HADST NOT AN INSATIABLE THIRST AFTER MONEY, AND A MOST SORDID, AVARICIOUS SOUL, THOU WOULD'ST NEVER HAVE BROKEN OPEN THE MONUMENTS OF THE DEAD.

(*h*) In the firſt year of Belſhazzar's reign, Daniel had the viſion of the four beaſts, which repreſented the four great monarchies, and the kingdom of the Meſſiah, which was to ſucceed them. (*i*) In the third year of the ſame reign he had the viſion of the ram and the he-goat, which pre-figur'd the deſtruction of the Perſian empire by Alexander the great, and the perſecution which Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, ſhould bring upon the Jews. I ſhall hereafter make ſome reflections upon theſe prophecies, and give a larger account of them.

(*k*) Belſhazzar, whilſt his enemies were beſieging Babylon, gave a great entertainment to his whole court, upon a certain feſtival, which was annually celebrated with great rejoicing. The joy of this feaſt was great-

(*f*) Jer. xxvii. 7. (*g*) Her. l. 1. c. 185, &c. (*h*) Dan. c. vii. (*i*) c. viii. (*k*) Dan. c. v.

ly disturb'd by a vision, and still more so by the explication, which Daniel gave of it to the king. The sentence written upon the wall imported, that his kingdom was taken from him, and given to the Medes and Persians. That very night the city was taken, and Belshazzar kill'd.

(*l*) Thus ended the Babylonian empire, after having subsisted two hundred and ten years from the destruction of the great Assyrian empire.

The particular circumstances of the siege, and the taking of Babylon, shall be related in the history of Cyrus.

CHAP. III.

The history of the kingdom of the Medes.

(*m*) I TOOK notice, in speaking of the destruction of the antient Assyrian empire, that Arbaces, general of the Medes, was one of the chief authors of the conspiracy against Sardanapalus: And several writers believe, that he then immediately became sovereign master of Media, and many other provinces, and assum'd the title of king. Herodotus is not of this opinion. I shall relate what that celebrated historian says upon the subject.

(*n*) The Assyrians, who had for many ages held the empire of Asia, began to decline in their power by the revolt of several nations. The Medes first threw off their yoke, and maintain'd for some time the liberty they had acquired by their valour: but that liberty degenerating into licentiousness, and their government not being well established, they fell into a kind of anarchy, worse than their former subjection. Injustice, violence, and rapine, prevailed every-where, because there was no-body that had either power enough to restrain them, or sufficient authority to punish the offenders. But all these disorders induced the people to

(*l*) A. M. 3468. Ant. J. C. 536. (*m*) A. M. 3257. Ant. J. C. 747. (*n*) Herod. l. 1. c. 95.

settle

ſettle a form of government, which render'd the ſtate more flouriſhing than ever it was before.

The nation of the Medes was then divided into tribes. Almoſt all the people dwelt in villages, when Dejoces, the ſon of Phraortes, a Mede by birth, erected the ſtate into a monarchy. This perſon ſeeing the great diſorders that prevailed throughout all Media, reſolved to take advantage of thoſe troubles, and make them ſerve to exalt him to the royal dignity. He had a great reputation in his own country, and paſs'd for a man, not only regular in his own conduct, but poſſeſs'd of all the prudence and equity neceſſary for a governor.

As ſoon as he had form'd the deſign of obtaining the throne, he laboured to make the good qualities that had been obſerved in him more conſpicuous than ever: he ſucceeded ſo well, that the inhabitants of the village where he lived made him their judge. In this office he acquitted himſelf with great prudence; and his cares had all the ſucceſs expected from them; for he brought the people of that village to a ſober and regular life. The inhabitants of other villages, whom perpetual diſorders ſuffer'd not to live in quiet, obſerving the good order Dejoces had introduced in the place where he preſided as judge, began to addreſs themſelves to him, and make him arbitrator of their differences. The fame of his equity daily increaſing, all ſuch as had any affair of conſequence, brought it before him, expecting to find that equity in Dejoces, which they could meet with no-where elſe.

When he found himſelf thus far advanc'd in his deſigns, he judg'd it a proper time to ſet his laſt engines to work for the compaſſing his point. He therefore retired from buſineſs, pretending to be over-fatigued with the multitude of people, that reſorted to him from all quarters; and would not exerciſe the office of judge any longer, notwithſtanding all the importunity of ſuch as wiſhed well to the publick tranquillity. Whenever any perſons addreſs'd themſelves to him,

he told them, that his own domeſtic affairs would not allow him to attend thoſe of other people.

The licentiouſneſs, which had been for ſome time reſtrain'd by the management of Dejoces, began to prevail more than ever, as ſoon as he had withdrawn himſelf from the adminiſtration of affairs; and the evil increas'd to ſuch a degree, that the Medes were oblig'd to aſſemble, and deliberate upon the means of curing ſo dangerous a diſorder.

There are different ſorts of ambition: Some violent and impetuous, carry every thing as it were by ſtorm, ſticking at no kind of cruelty or murder: Another ſort more gentle, like that we are ſpeaking of, puts on an appearance of moderation and juſtice, working under ground (if I may uſe that expreſſion) and yet arrives at her point as ſurely as the other.

Dejoces, who ſaw things ſucceeding according to his wiſh, ſent his emiſſaries to the aſſembly, after having inſtructed them in the part they were to act. When expedients for ſtopping the courſe of the public evils came to be propoſed, theſe emiſſaries, ſpeaking in their turn, repreſented, that unleſs the face of the republic was entirely chang'd, their country would become uninhabitable; that the only means to remedy the preſent diſorders was to elect a king, who ſhould have authority to reſtrain violence, and make laws for the government of the nation. Then every man could proſecute his own affairs in peace and ſafety; whereas the injuſtice, that now reign'd in all parts, would quickly force the people to abandon the country. This opinion was generally approv'd; and the whole company was convinc'd, that no expedient could be devis'd more effectual for curing the preſent evil, than that of converting the ſtate into a monarchy. The only thing then to be done, was to chuſe a king; and about this their deliberations were not long. They all agreed, there was not a man in Media ſo capable of governing as Dejoces; ſo that he was immediately with common conſent elected king.

If we reflect in the leaſt on the firſt eſtabliſhment of kingdoms, in any age or country whatſoever, we ſhall find, that the maintenance of order, and the care of the public good, was the original deſign of monarchy. Indeed there would be no poſſibility of eſtabliſhing order and peace, if all men were reſolv'd to be independent, and would not ſubmit to an authority, which takes from them a part of their liberty, in order to preſerve the reſt. Mankind muſt be perpetually at war, if they will always be ſtriving for dominion over others, or refuſe to ſubmit to the ſtrongeſt. For the ſake of their own peace and ſafety they muſt have a maſter, and muſt conſent to obey him. This is the human origin of government. (*o*) And the ſcripture teacheth us, that the divine providence has not only allow'd of the project, and the execution of it, but conſecrated it likewiſe by an immediate communication of his own power.

There is nothing certainly nobler or greater, than to ſee a private perſon, eminent for his merit and virtue, and fitted by his excellent talents for the higheſt employments, and yet through inclination and modeſty preferring a life of obſcurity and retirement; than to ſee ſuch a man ſincerely refuſe the offer made to him, of reigning over a whole nation, and at laſt conſent to undergo the toil of government, upon no other motive than that of being ſerviceable to his fellow citizens. His firſt diſpoſition, by which he declares that he is acquainted with the duties, and conſequently with the dangers annex'd to a ſovereign power, ſhews him to have a ſoul more elevated and great than greatneſs itſelf; or, to ſpeak more juſtly, a ſoul ſuperior to all ambition: Nothing can ſhew him ſo perfectly worthy of that important charge, as the opinion he has of his not being ſo, and his fears of being unequal to it. But when he generouſly ſacrifices his own quiet and ſatisfaction to the welfare and tranquillity of the public, 'tis plain he underſtands what that ſovereign

(*o*) Rom. xiii. 1, 2.

power has in it really good, or truly valuable; which is, that it puts a man in a condition of becoming the defender of his country, of procuring it many advantages, and of redreſſing various evils; of cauſing law and juſtice to flouriſh, of bringing virtue and probity into reputation, and of eſtabliſhing peace and plenty: And he comforts himſelf for the cares and troubles, to which he is expoſed, by the proſpect of the many benefits reſulting from them to the public. Such a governor was Numa at Rome, and ſuch have been ſome other emperors, whom the people have conſtrain'd to accept the ſupreme power.

It muſt be own'd (I can't help repeating it) that there is nothing nobler or greater than ſuch a diſpoſition. But to put on the mask of modeſty and virtue, in order to ſatisfy one's ambition, as Dejoces did; to affect to appear outwardly what a man is not inwardly; to refuſe for a time, and then accept with a ſeeming repugnancy what a man earneſtly deſires, and what he has been labouring by ſecret under-hand practices to obtain; this double-dealing has ſo much meanneſs in it, that it neceſſarily leſſens our opinion of the perſon, and extremely eclipſes his merit, be his talents at the ſame time never ſo extraordinary.

(p) DEJOCES reign'd fifty-three years. When Dejoces had aſcended the throne, he endeavour'd to convince the people, that they were not miſtaken in the choice they had made of him, for reſtoring of order. At firſt he reſolv'd to have his dignity of king attended with all the marks that could inſpire an awe and reſpect for his perſon. He oblig'd his ſubjects to build him a magnificent palace in the place he appointed. This palace he ſtrongly fortified, and choſe out from among his people ſuch perſons as he judg'd fitteſt to be his guards.

After having thus provided for his own ſecurity, he apply'd himſelf to poliſh and civilize his ſubjects, who having been accuſtomed to live in the country, and in

(p) A. M. 3294. Ant. J. C. 710. Her. l. 1. c. 96—101.

villages,

villages, almoſt without laws and without polity, had contracted a ſavage diſpoſition. To this end he commanded them to build a city, marking out himſelf the place and circumference of the walls. This city was compaſſed about with ſeven diſtinct walls, all diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, that the outermoſt did not hinder the parapet of the ſecond from being ſeen, nor the ſecond that of the third, and ſo of all the reſt. The ſituation of the place was extremely favourable for ſuch a deſign, for it was a regular hill, whoſe aſcent was equal on every ſide. Within the laſt and ſmalleſt enclоſure ſtood the king's palace, with all his treaſures: In the ſixth, which was next to that, there were ſeveral apartments for lodging the officers of his houſhold; and the intermediate ſpaces, between the other walls, were appointed for the habitation of the people: The firſt and largeſt enclоſure was about the bigneſs of Athens. The name of this city was Ecbatana.

The proſpect of it was magnificent and beautiful; for, beſides the diſpoſition of the walls, which formed a kind of amphitheatre, the different colours wherewith the ſeveral parapets were painted formed a delightful variety.

After the city was finiſhed, and Dejoces had obliged part of the Medes to ſettle in it, he turned all his thoughts to compoſing of laws for the good of the ſtate. But being perſuaded, that the majeſty of kings is moſt reſpected afar off [*major ex longinquo reverentia*, Tacit.] he began to keep himſelf at a diſtance from his people; was almoſt inacceſſible and inviſible to his ſubjects, not ſuffering them to ſpeak, or communicate their affairs to him, but only by petitions, and the interpoſition of his officers. And even thoſe, that had the privilege of approaching him, might neither laugh nor ſpit in his preſence.

This great ſtateſman acted in this manner, in order the better to ſecure to himſelf the poſſeſſion of the crown. For, having to deal with men, yet unciviliz'd,

and no very good judges of true merit, he was afraid, that too great a familiarity with him might induce contempt, and occaſion plots and conſpiracies againſt growing power, which is generally look'd upon with invidious and diſcontented eyes. But by keeping himſelf thus conceal'd from the eyes of the people, and making himſelf known only by the wiſe laws he made, and the ſtrict juſtice he took care to adminiſter to every one, he acquired the reſpect and eſteem of all his ſubjects.

'Tis ſaid, that from the innermoſt part of his palace he ſaw every thing that was done in his dominions, by means of his emiſſaries, who brought him accounts, and inform'd him of all tranſactions. By this means no crime eſcaped either the knowledge of the prince, or the rigour of the law; and the puniſhment treading upon the heels of the offence, kept the wicked in awe, and ſtop'd the courſe of violence and injuſtice.

Things might poſſibly paſs in this manner to a certain degree during his adminiſtration: but there is nothing more obvious, than the great inconveniencies neceſſarily reſulting from the cuſtom introduced by Dejoces, and wherein he has been imitated by the reſt of the Eaſtern potentates; the cuſtom, I mean, of living concealed in his palace, of governing by ſpies diſperſed throughout his kingdom, of relying ſolely upon their ſincerity for the truth of facts; of not ſuffering truth, the complaints of the oppreſſed, and the juſt reaſons of innocent perſons to be conveyed to him any other way, than through foreign channels, that is, by men liable to be prejudiced or corrupted; men that ſtop'd up all avenues to remonſtrances, or the reparation of injuries, and that were capable of doing the greateſt injuſtice themſelves, with ſo much the more eaſe and aſſurance, as their iniquity remained undiſcovered, and conſequently unpuniſhed. But beſides all this, methinks, that very affectation in princes of being inviſible ſhews them to be conſcious of their ſlender

der merit, which ſhuns the light, and dares not ſtand the teſt of a near examination.

Dejoces was ſo wholly taken up in humanizing and ſoftening the manners, and in making laws for the good government of his people, that he never engaged in any enterpriſe againſt his neighbours, tho' his reign was very long, for he did not die till after having reign'd fifty-three years.

(q) PHRAORTES reign'd 22 years. After the death of Dejoces, his ſon Phraortes, called otherwiſe * Aphraartes, ſucceeded. The ſole affinity between theſe two names would make one believe, that this is the king called in ſcripture Arphaxad: but that opinion has many other ſubſtantial reaſons to ſupport it, as may be ſeen in father Montfaucon's learned diſſertation, of which I have made great uſe in this treatiſe. The paſſage in Judith, *That Arphaxad built a very ſtrong city, and call'd it Ecbatana*, has deceived moſt authors, and made them believe, that Arphaxad muſt be Dejoces, who was certainly the founder of that city. But the Greek text of Judith, which the vulgar tranſlation renders *ædificavit*, ſays only, (r) *That Arphaxad added new buildings to Ecbatana*. And what can be more natural, than that the father not having entirely perfected ſo conſiderable a work, the ſon ſhould put the laſt hand to it, and make ſuch additions as were wanting?

(s) Phraortes, being of a very warlike temper, and not contented with the kingdom of Media, left him by his father, attack'd the Perſians; and defeating them in a deciſive battle, brought them under ſubjection to his empire. Then ſtrengthen'd by the acceſſion of their troops, he attack'd other neighbouring nations, one after another, till he made himſelf maſter of almoſt all the upper Aſia, which comprehends all

(q) A. M. 3347. Ant. J. C. 657. Her. c. 102. (r) Ἐπωκοδόμησε ἐπὶ Ἐκβατάνοις. (s) Judith, Text. Gr. Her. l. 1. c. 102.

* *He is called ſo by Euſebius, Chron. Graec. and by Geor. Syncel.* Judith i. 1.

that lies north of mount Taurus, from Media as far as the river Halys.

Elate with this good ſucceſs, he ventured to turn his arms againſt the Aſſyrians, at that time indeed weaken'd thro' the revolt of ſeveral nations, but yet very powerful in themſelves. Nabuchodonoſor, their king, otherwiſe call'd Saoſduchinus, rais'd a great army in his own country, and * ſent embaſſadors to ſeveral other nations of the eaſt, to require their aſſiſtance. They all refuſed him with contempt, and ignominiouſly treated his embaſſadors, letting him ſee, that they no longer dreaded that empire, which had formerly kept the greateſt part of them in a ſlaviſh ſubjection.

The king, highly enraged at ſuch inſolent treatment, ſwore by his throne and his reign, that he would be revenged of all thoſe nations, and put them every one to the ſword. He then prepared for battle, with what forces he had, in the plain of Ragau. A great battle enſued there, which prov'd fatal to Phraortes. He was defeated, his cavalry fled, his chariots were overturned and put into diſorder, and Nabuchodonoſor gained a compleat victory. Then taking advantage of the defeat and confuſion of the Medes, he entered their country, took their cities, puſh'd on his conqueſts even to Ecbatana, forced the towers and the walls by ſtorm, and gave the city to be pillaged by his ſoldiers, who plunder'd it, and ſtripp'd it of all its ornaments.

The unfortunate Phraortes, who had eſcaped into the mountains of Ragau, fell at laſt into the hands of Nabuchodonoſor, who cruelly caus'd him to be ſhot to death with darts. After that, he return'd to Nineveh with all his army, which was ſtill very numerous; and for four months together did nothing but feaſt and divert himſelf with thoſe that had accompanied him in this expedition.

In Judith we read that the king of Aſſyria ſent

* *The Greek text places theſe embaſſies before the battle.*

Holophernes

Holophernes with a powerful army, to revenge himſelf of thoſe that had refuſed him ſuccours; the progreſs and cruelty of that commander, the general conſternation of all the people, the courageous reſolution of the Iſraelites to withſtand him, in hopes that their God would defend them, the extremity to which Bethulia and the whole nation was reduced, the miraculous deliverance of that city by the courage and conduct of the brave Judith, and the compleat overthrow of the Aſſyrian army are all related in the ſame book.

(*t*) CYAXARES I. reign'd 40 years. This prince ſucceeded to the throne immediately after his father's death. He was a very brave, enterprizing prince, and knew how to make his advantage of the late overthrow of the Aſſyrian army. He firſt ſettled himſelf well in his kingdom of Media, and then conquered all upper Aſia. But what he had moſt at heart was, to go and attack Niniveh, to revenge the death of his father by the deſtruction of that great city.

The Aſſyrians came out to meet him, having only the remains of that great army, which was deſtroy'd before Bethulia. A battle enſued, wherein the Aſſyrians were defeated, and driven back to Niniveh. Cyaxares, purſuing his victory, laid ſiege to the city, which was upon the point of falling inevitably into his hands, but that the time was not yet come when God deſigned to puniſh that city for her crimes, and for the calamities ſhe had brought upon his people, as well as other nations. It was delivered from its preſent danger in the following manner.

A formidable army of Scythians, from the neighbourhood of the Palus Mæotis, had driven the Cimmerians out of Europe, and was ſtill marching under the conduct of king Madyes in purſuit of them. The Cimmerians had found means to eſcape from the Scythians, who were advancing into Media. Cyaxares, hearing of this eruption, raiſed the ſiege from before Niniveh, and marched with all his forces againſt that

(*t*) A. M. 3369. Ant. J. C. 635. Herod. l. 1. c. 103—106.

mighty army, which, like an impetuous torrent, was going to over-run all Asia. The two armies engaged, and the Medes were vanquished. The Barbarians, finding no other obstacle in their way, over-spread not only Media, but almost all Asia. After that, they march'd towards Egypt, from whence Psammiticus diverted their course by presents. They then return'd into Palestine, where some of them plunder'd the temple of Venus at Ascalon, the most ancient temple dedicated to that goddess. Some of these Scythians settled at Bethshean, a city in the tribe of Manasseh, on this side Jordan, which from them was afterwards call'd Scythopolis.

The Scythians for the space of twenty-eight years were masters of the upper Asia, namely, the two Armenia's, Cappadocia, Pontus, Colchis, and Iberia; during which time they spread desolation wherever they came. The Medes had no way of getting rid of them, but by a treacherous stratagem. Under pretence of cultivating and strengthening the alliance they had made together, they invited the greatest part of them to a general feast, which was made in every family. Each master of the feast made his guests drunk, and in that condition were the Scythians massacred. The Medes then repossess'd themselves of the provinces they had lost, and once more extended their empire to the banks of the Halys, which was their antient boundary westward.

(*u*) The remaining Scythians, who were not at the banquets, having heard of the massacre of their countrymen, fled into Lydia, to king Halyattes, who receiv'd them with great humanity. This occasion'd a war between those two princes. Cyaxares immediately led his troops to the frontiers of Lydia. Many battles were fought during the space of five years with almost equal advantage on both sides. The battle fought in the sixth year was very remarkable, on account of an eclipse of the sun, which happened during

(*u*) Her. l. 1. c. 74.

the

the engagement, when on a ſudden the day was turned into a dark night. Thales, the Mileſian, had foretold this eclipſe. The Medes and Lydians, who were then in the heat of the battle, equally terrified with this unforeſeen event, which they look'd upon as a ſign of the anger of the gods, immediately retreated on both ſides, and made peace. Syenneſis, king of Cilicia, and * Nabuchodonoſor, king of Babylon, were the mediators. To render the friendſhip more firm and inviolable, the two princes agreed to ſtrengthen it by the tie of marriage, and agreed, that Halyattes ſhould give his daughter Aryenis to Aſtyages, eldeſt ſon of Cyaxares.

The manner theſe people had of contracting alliance with one another, is very remarkable. Beſides other ceremonies, which they had in common with the Greeks, they had this in particular; the two contracting parties made themſelves inciſions in the arms, and lick'd one another's blood.

(*x*) Cyaxares's firſt care, as ſoon as he found himſelf again in peace, was to reſume the ſiege of Niniveh, which the eruption of the Scythians had obliged him to raiſe. Nabopolaſſar, king of Babylon, with whom he had lately contracted a particular alliance, join'd with him in a league againſt the Aſſyrians. Having therefore united their forces, they beſieged Niniveh, took it, kill'd Saracus the king, and utterly deſtroy'd that mighty city.

God had foretold by his prophets, above an hundred years before, that he would bring vengeance upon that impious city for the blood of his ſervants, wherewith the kings thereof had gorged themſelves, like ravenous lions; that he himſelf would march at the head of the troops that ſhould come to beſiege it; that he would cauſe conſternation and terror to go before them; that he would deliver the old men, the mothers, and their children, into the mercileſs hands of the ſoldiers; that

(*x*) A. M. 3378. Ant. J. C. 626. Her. l. 1. c. 206.

* *In Herodotus he is called Labynetus.*

all

all the treaſures of the city ſhould fall into the hands of rapacious and inſatiable plunderers; and that the city itſelf ſhould be ſo totally and utterly deſtroy'd, that not ſo much as a footſtep of it ſhould be left; and that the people ſhould ask hereafter, Where did the proud city of Niniveh ſtand?

But let us hear the language of the prophets themſelves: (*y*) Woe to the bloody city (cries Nahum) it is all full of lies and robbery: (*z*) he that daſheth in pieces is come up before thy face. The Lord cometh to avenge the cruelties done to Jacob and to Iſrael. (*a*) I hear already the noiſe of the whip, and the noiſe of the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horſes, and of the bounding chariots. The horſeman lifteth up both the bright ſword, and the glittering ſpear. (*b*) The ſhield of his mighty men is made red: the valiant men are in ſcarlet. They ſhall ſeem like torches, they ſhall run like the lightning. (*c*) God is jealous; the Lord revengeth, and is furious. The mountains quake at him, and the hills melt, and the earth is burnt at his preſence: who can ſtand before his indignation? and who can abide in the fierceneſs of his anger? (*d*) Behold, I am againſt thee, ſaith the Lord of hoſts: I will ſtrip thee of all thy ornaments. (*e*) Take ye the ſpoil of ſilver, take the ſpoil of gold; for there is no end of the ſtore and glory out of all the pleaſant furniture. She is empty, and void, and waſte. Niniveh is deſtroy'd; ſhe is overthrown; ſhe is deſolate. (*f*) The gates of the rivers ſhall be open'd, and the * palace ſhall be diſſolv'd. And Huzzab ſhall be led away captive; ſhe ſhall be brought up, and her maids ſhall lead her as with the voice of doves tabring upon their breaſts. (*g*) I ſee a multitude of ſlain, and a great number of carcaſſes; and there is no end of their

(*y*) Nahum iii. 1. (*z*) ii. 1, 2. (*a*) iii. 2, 3. (*b*) ii. 3, 4. (*c*) i. 2, 5, 6. (*d*) iii. 5. (*e*) ii. 9, 10. (*f*) ii. 6. (*g*) iii. 3.

* *The author in this place renders it,* Her temple is deſtroy'd to the foundations. *But I have choſen to follow our Engliſh bible, tho' in the Latin 'tis* templum.

corpſes;

corpſes: they ſtumble upon their corpſes. * (*b*) Where is the dwelling of the lions, and the feeding-place of the young lions, where the lion, even the old lion walked, and the lion's whelp, and none made them afraid: where the lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and ſtrangled for his lioneſſes, and filled his holes with prey, and his dens with rapine? (*i*) The Lord ſhall deſtroy Aſſur. He ſhall depopulate that city, which was ſo beautiful, and turn it into a land where no man cometh, and into a deſart. It ſhall be a dwelling-place for wild beaſts, and the birds of night ſhall lurk therein. Behold, ſhall it be ſaid, ſee that proud city, which was ſo ſtately, and ſo exalted; which ſaid in her heart, I am the only city, and beſides me there is no other. All they that paſs by her ſhall ſcoff at her, and ſhall inſult her with hiſſings and contemptuous geſtures.

The two armies enrich'd themſelves with the ſpoils of Niniveh: and Cyaxares proſecuting his victories made himſelf maſter of all the cities of the kingdom of Aſſyria, except Babylon and Chaldea, which belong'd to Nabopolaſſar.

After this expedition Cyaxares died, and left his dominions to his ſon Aſtyages.

(*k*) ASTYAGES reign'd 35 years. This prince is call'd in ſcripture Ahaſuerus. Tho' his reign was very long, no leſs than thirty-five years, yet have we no particulars of it recorded in hiſtory. He had two children, whoſe names are famous, namely Cyaxares, by his wife Aryenis, and Mandana, by a former marriage. In his father's life-time he married Mandana to Cambyſes, the ſon of Achemenes, king of Perſia: From this marriage ſprung Cyrus, who was born but one year after the birth of his uncle Cyaxares. The latter ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of the Medes.

(*b*) ii. 11, 12. (*i*) Zephan. ii. 13—15. (*k*) A. M. 3409. Ant. J. C. 595.

* *This is a noble image of the cruel avarice of the Aſſyrian kings, who pillaged and plundered all their neighbouring nations, eſpecially Judea, and carried away the ſpoils of them to Niniveh.*

CYAXARES

CYAXARES II. This is the prince whom the ſcripture calls Darius the Mede.

Cyrus, having taken Babylon, in conjunction with his uncle Cyaxares, left it under his government. After the death of his uncle, and his father Cambyſes, he united the kingdoms of the Medes and the Perſians into one: In the ſequel therefore of this diſcourſe they will be conſidered only as one empire. I ſhall begin the hiſtory of that empire with the reign of Cyrus: which will include alſo what is known of the reigns of his two predeceſſors, Cyaxares and Aſtyages. But I ſhall previouſly give ſome account of the kingdom of Lydia, becauſe Crœſus, its king, has a conſiderable ſhare in the events of which I am to ſpeak.

CHAP. IV.

The hiſtory of the Lydians.

(*l*) THE kings, who firſt reigned over the Lydians, are by Herodotus called Atyades, that is, deſcendants from Atys. Theſe, he tells us, derived their origin from Lydus, the ſon of Atys; and Lydus gave the name of Lydians to that people, who before his time were called Mœonians.

Theſe Atyades were ſucceeded by the Heraclidæ, or deſcendants of Hercules, who poſſeſs'd this kingdom for the ſpace of five hundred and five years.

(*m*) ARGO, great grandſon of Alcæus, ſon of Hercules, was the firſt of the Heraclides, who reigned in Lydia.

The laſt was

CANDAULES. This prince was married to a lady of exquiſite beauty; and, being infatuated by his paſſion for her, was perpetually boaſting of her charms to others. Nothing would ſerve him, but Gyges, one of his chief officers, ſhould ſee, and judge of them by his own eyes; * as if the huſband's own knowledge of

(*l*) Herod. l. 1. c. 7—13. (*m*) A. M. 2781. Ant. J. C. 1223.

* Non contentus voluptatum ſuarum tacita conſcientia--prorſus quaſi ſilentium damnum pulchritudinis eſſet. *Juſtin.* l. 1. c. 7.

them

them was not ſufficient for his happineſs, or the beauty of his wife would have been impaired by his ſilence. The king to this end placed Gyges ſecretly in a convenient place: but notwithſtanding that precaution, the queen perceived him when he retired, yet took no manner of notice of it; judging, as the hiſtorian preſents it, that the moſt valuable treaſure of a woman is her modeſty, ſhe ſtudied a ſignal revenge for the injury ſhe had received; and, to puniſh the fault of her husband, committed a ſtill greater crime. Poſſibly a ſecret paſſion for Gyges had as great ſhare in that action, as her reſentment for the diſhonour done her. Be that as it will, ſhe ſent for Gyges, and obliged him to expiate his crime either by his own death or the king's, at his own option. After ſome remonſtrances to no purpoſe, he reſolved upon the latter, and by the murder of Candaules (*n*) became maſter of his queen and his throne. By this means the kingdom paſſed from the family of the Heraclidæ into that of the Mermnades.

Archilochus, the poet, liv'd at this time, and, as Herodotus informs us, ſpoke of this adventure of Gyges in his poems.

I can't forbear mentioning in this place what is related by Herodotus, that amongſt the Lydians, and almoſt all other Barbarians, it was reckoned ſhameful and infamous, even for a man to appear naked. Theſe footſteps of modeſty, which are met with amongſt pagans, ought to be reckoned valuable. † We are aſſured, that among the Romans a ſon, who was come to the age of maturity, never went into the baths with his father, nor even a ſon-in-law with his father-in-law; and this modeſty and decency were looked upon by them as a law of nature, the violation whereof was criminal. 'Tis aſtoniſhing, that

(*n*) A. M. 3286. Ant. J. C. 718.

† Noſtro quidem more cum parentibus puberes filii, cum ſoceris generi, non lavantur. Retinenda eſt igitur hujus generis verecundia, præſertim natura ipſa magiſtra & duce. *Cic. l.* 1. *de offic. n.* 129.

Nudare ſe nefas eſſe credebatur, *Val. Max. l.* 2. *cap.* 1.

amongſt

amongſt us our magiſtrates take no care to prevent this diſorder, which, in the midſt of Paris, at the ſeaſon of bathing, is openly committed with impunity; a diſorder ſo viſibly contrary to the rules of common decency, ſo dangerous to young perſons of both ſexes, and ſo ſeverely condemn'd by paganiſm itſelf.

(o) Plato relates the ſtory of Gyges in a different manner from Herodotus. He tells us, that Gyges wore a ring, the ſtone of which, when turn'd towards him, render'd him inviſible; ſo that he had the advantage of ſeeing others, without being ſeen himſelf; and that by means of this ring, with the concurrence of the queen, he deprived Candaules of his life and throne. This probably ſignifies, that, in order to compaſs his criminal deſign, he uſed all the tricks and ſtratagems, the world calls ſubtle and refined policy, which penetrates into the moſt ſecret purpoſes of others, without making the leaſt diſcovery of its own. This ſtory thus explained carries in it a greater appearance of truth, than what we read in Herodotus.

Cicero, after having related this fable of Gyges's famous ring, adds, * that if a wiſe man had ſuch a ring, he would not uſe it to any wicked purpoſe; becauſe virtue conſiders what is honourable and juſt, and has no occaſion for darkneſs.

(p) GYGES reign'd 38 years. The murder of Candaules raiſed a ſedition among the Lydians. The two parties, inſtead of coming to blows, agreed to refer the matter to the deciſion of the Delphick oracle, which declared in favour of Gyges. The king made large preſents to the temple of Delphos, which undoubtedly preceded, and had no little influence upon the oracle's anſwer. Among other things of value Herodotus mentions ſix golden cups, weighing thirty talents, amount-

(o) Plato de Rep. l. 2. p. 359. Her. l. 1. c. 13, 14.

(p) A. M. 3286. Ant. J. C. 718.

* Hunc ipſum annulum ſi habeat ſapiens, nihilo plus ſibi licere putet peccare, quam ſi non haberet. Honeſta enim bonis viris, non occulta quæruntur. *Lib.* 3. *de offic. n.* 38.

ing

ing to near a million of French money, which is about forty eight thouſand pounds ſterling.

As ſoon as he was in peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne, he made war againſt Miletos, Smyrna, and Colophon, three powerful cities belonging to the neighbouring ſtates.

After having reigned thirty-eight years, he died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon,

(q) ARDYS reign'd 49 years. 'Twas in the reign of this prince, that the Cimmerians, driven out of their country by the Scythæ Nomades, went into Aſia, and took the city of Sardis, but not the citadel.

(r) SADYATTES reign'd 12 years. This prince declared war againſt the Mileſians, and laid ſiege to their city. In thoſe days the ſieges, which were generally nothing more than blockades, were carried on very ſlowly, and laſted many years. This king died before he had finiſh'd that of Miletos, and was ſucceeded by his ſon,

(s) HALYATTES reign'd 57 years. This is the prince, who made war againſt Cyaxares, king of Media. He likewiſe drove the Cimmerians out of Aſia. He attack'd, and took the cities of Smyrna and Clazomenæ. He vigorouſly proſecuted the war againſt the Mileſians, begun by his father; and continued the ſiege of their city, which had laſted ſix years under his father, and continued as many under him. It ended at length in the following manner: Halyattes, upon an anſwer he received from the Delphic oracle, had ſent an embaſſador into the city, to propoſe a truce for ſome months. Thraſybulus, tyrant of Miletos, having notice of his coming, order'd all the corn and other proviſions, aſſembled by him and his ſubjects for their ſupport, to be brought into the public market; and commanded the citizens, at the ſight of a ſignal that ſhould be given, to be all in a general humour of

(q) Her. c. 15. A. M. 3324. Ant. J. C. 680. (r) A. M. 3373. Ant. J. C. 621. (s) Her. c. 16. 22. A. M. 3385. Ant. J. C. 619. Her. l. 1. c. 21, 22.

feaſting

feasting and jollity. The thing was executed according to his orders. The Lydian embassador at his arrival was in the utmost surprise to see such a plenty in the market, and such chearfulness in the city. His master, to whom he gave an account of what he had seen, concluding that his project of reducing the place by famine would never succeed, prefer'd peace to so fruitless a war, and immediately raised the siege.

(*t*) CROESUS. His very name, which is become a proverb, carries in it an idea of immense riches. The wealth of this prince, to judge of it only by the presents he made to the temple of Delphos, must have been excessively great. Most of those presents were still to be seen in the time of Herodotus, and were worth several millions. (*u*) We may partly account for the treasures of this prince, from certain mines that he had, situate, according to Strabo, between Pergamus and Atarnes; as also from the little river Pactolus, the sand of which was gold. But in Strabo's time this river had not the same advantage.

(*x*) This uncommon affluence, which is a thing extraordinary, did not enervate or soften the courage of Crœsus. He thought it unworthy of a prince to spend his time in idleness and pleasure. For his part, he was perpetually in arms, made several conquests, and enlarged his dominions by the addition of all the contiguous provinces, as Phrygia, Mysia, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Pamphylia, and all the country of the Carians, Ionians, Dorians, and Æolians. Herodotus observes, that he was the first conqueror of the Greeks, who till then had never been subject to a foreign power. Doubtless he must mean the Greeks, settled in Asia Minor.

But, what is still more extraordinary in this prince, tho' he was so immensely rich, and so great a warriour, yet his chief delight was in literature and the sciences. His court was the ordinary residence of those

(*t*) A. M. 3442. Ant. J. C. 562. (*u*) Strab. l. 13. p. 625. & l. 14. p. 680. (*x*) Her. l. 1. c. 26--28.

famous

famous learned men, ſo revered by antiquity, and diſtinguiſhed by the name of the ſeven wiſe men of Greece.

(y) Solon, one of the moſt celebrated amongſt them, after having eſtabliſhed new laws at Athens, thought he might abſent himſelf for ſome years, and improve that time by travelling. He went to Sardis, where he was received in a manner ſuitable to the reputation of ſo great a man. The king, attended with a numerous court, appear'd in all his regal pomp and ſplendor, dreſs'd in the moſt magnificent apparel, which was all over enrich'd with gold, and glitter'd with diamonds. Notwithſtanding the novelty of this ſpectacle to Solon, it did not appear that he was the leaſt moved at it, or that he utter'd a word which diſcovered the leaſt ſurprize or admiration; on the contrary, people of ſenſe might ſufficiently diſcern from his behaviour, that he look'd upon all this outward pomp, as an indication of a little mind, which knows not in what true greatneſs and dignity conſiſts. This coldneſs and indifference in Solon's firſt approach gave the king no favourable opinion of his new gueſt.

He afterwards order'd all his treaſures, his magnificent apartments, and coſtly furniture ſhould be ſhew'd him; as if he expected by the multitude of his fine veſſels, diamonds, ſtatues, and paintings, to conquer the philoſopher's indifference. But theſe things were not the king; and 'twas the king that Solon was come to viſit, and not the walls or chambers of his palace. He had no notion of making a judgment of the king, or an eſtimate of his worth, by theſe outward appendages, but by himſelf and his own perſonal qualities. Were we to judge at preſent by the ſame rule, we ſhould find many of our great men wretchedly naked and deſolate.

When Solon had ſeen all, he was brought back to the king. Crœſus then ask'd him, which of mankind in all his travels he had found the moſt truly happy.

(y) Her. l. 1, c. 29--33. Plut. in Sol. p. 93, 94.

" One

" One Tellus (replied Solon) a citizen of Athens, a " very honeſt and good man, who had liv'd all his " days without indigence, had always ſeen his coun- " try in a flouriſhing condition, had children that were " univerſally eſteemed, with the ſatisfaction of ſeeing " thoſe childrens children, and at laſt died glorioufly " in fighting for his country."

Such an anſwer as this, in which gold and ſilver were accounted as nothing, ſeemed to Crœſus to argue a ſtrange ignorance and ſtupidity. However, as he flatter'd himſelf of being rank'd in the ſecond degree of happineſs, he asked him, " who, of all thoſe he had " ſeen, was the next in felicity to Tellus." Solon anſwer'd, " Cleobis and Biton, of Argos, two bro- " thers, † who had left behind them a perfect pat- " tern of fraternal affection, and of the reſpect due " from children to their parents. Upon a ſolemn " feſtival, when their mother, a prieſteſs of Juno, " was to go to the temple, the oxen that were to " draw her not being ready, the two ſons put them- " ſelves to the yoke, and drew their mother's chariot " thither, which was above five miles diſtant. All " the mothers of the place, raviſhed with admiration, " congratulated the prieſteſs on the piety of her ſons. " She in the tranſports of her joy and thankfulneſs " earneſtly intreated the goddeſs to reward her chil- " dren with the beſt thing that heaven can give to " man. Her prayers were heard. When the ſa- " crifice was over, her two ſons fell aſleep in the " very temple, and there ‖ died in a ſoft and peace- " ful ſlumber. In honour of their piety, the people " of Argos conſecrated ſtatues to them in the temple " of Delphos."

" What then (ſays Crœſus, in a tone that ſhewed " his diſcontent) you don't reckon me in the number " of the happy?" Solon, who was not willing either to flatter, or exaſperate him any further, reply'd calm-

† Φιλαδελφὸς καὶ φιλομήτορας ἀγαφερόντως ἄνδρας.

‖ *The fatigue of drawing the chariot might be the cauſe of it.*

ly;

ly; "King of Lydia, beſides many other advantages, "the gods have given us Grecians a ſpirit of modera-"tion and reſerve, which has produced amongſt us a "plain, popular kind of philoſophy, accompanied "with a certain generous freedom, void of pride or "oſtentation, and therefore not well ſuited to the "courts of kings: This philoſophy, conſidering what "an infinite number of viciſſitudes and accidents the "life of man is liable to, does not allow us either to "glory in any proſperity we enjoy ourſelves, or to "admire happineſs in others, which perhaps may "prove only tranſient, or ſuperficial." From hence he took occaſion to repreſent to him further, "That "the life of man ſeldom exceeds ſeventy years, which "make up in all ſix thouſand two hundred and fifty "days, of which two are not exactly alike: ſo that "the time to come is nothing but a ſeries of various "accidents which cannot be foreſeen. Therefore, in "our opinion (continued he) no man can be eſteemed "happy, but he whoſe happineſs God continues to "the end of his life: As for others, who are perpe-"tually expoſed to a thouſand dangers, we account "their happineſs as uncertain, as the crown is to a "perſon that is ſtill engaged in battle, and has not "yet obtained the victory." Solon retired, when he had ſpoken theſe words, * which ſerved only to mortify Crœſus, but not to reform him.

Æſop, the author of the fables, was then at the court of this prince, by whom he was very kindly entertained. He was concerned at the unhandſome treatment Solon received, and ſaid to him by way of advice; † "Solon, we muſt either not come near "princes at all, or ſpeak things that are agreeable to "them.

* Λυπήσας μὲν, οὐ νουθετήσας δὲ τὸν Κροῖσον.

† Ὦ Σόλων (ἔφη) τοῖς βασιλεῦσι δεῖ ὡς ἥκιστα ἢ ὡς ἥδιστα ὁμιλεῖν. Καὶ ὁ Σόλων· Μὰ Δί' (εἶπεν) ἀλλ' ὡς ἥκιστα ἢ ὡς ἄριστα. *The jingle of the words* ὡς ἥκιστα ἢ ὡς ἥδιστα, *which is a beauty in the original, becauſe 'tis founded in the ſenſe, cannot be render'd into any other language.*

" them. Say rather (reply'd Solon) that we ſhould " either never come near them at all, or elſe ſpeak " ſuch things as may be for their good."

In Plutarch's time, ſome of the learned were of opinion, that this interview between Solon and Crœſus did not agree with the dates of chronology. But as thoſe dates are very uncertain, that judicious author did not think this objection ought to prevail againſt the authority of ſeveral credible writers, by whom this ſtory is atteſted.

What we have now related of Crœſus is a very natural picture of the behaviour of kings and great men, who for the moſt part are ſeduced by flattery; and ſhews us at the ſame time the two ſources from whence that blindneſs generally proceeds. The one is, a ſecret inclination which all men have, but eſpecially the great, of receiving praiſe without any precaution, and of judging favourably of all that admire them, or ſhew an unlimited ſubmiſſion and complaiſance to their humours. The other is, the great reſemblance there is between flattery and a ſincere affection, or a reaſonable reſpect; which is ſometimes counterfeited ſo exactly, that the wiſeſt may be deceived, if they are not very much upon their guard.

Crœſus, if we judge of him by the character he bears in hiſtory, was a very good prince, and worthy of eſteem in many reſpects. He had a great deal of good-nature, affability and humanity. His palace was a receptacle for men of wit and learning; which ſhews, that he himſelf was a perſon of learning, and had a taſte for the ſciences. His weakneſs was, that he laid a great ſtreſs upon riches and magnificence, thought himſelf great and happy in proportion to his poſſeſſions, miſtook regal pomp and ſplendor for true and ſolid greatneſs, and fed his vanity with the exceſſive ſubmiſſions of thoſe, that ſtood in a kind of adoration before him.

Thoſe learned men, thoſe wits and other courtiers, that ſurrounded this prince, eat at his table, partook

of

of his pleaſures, ſhared his confidence, and enriched themſelves by his bounty and liberality; took care not to differ from the prince's taſte, and never thought of undeceiving him, with reſpect to his errors, or falſe ideas. On the contrary, they made it their buſineſs to cheriſh and fortify them in him, extolling him perpetually as the moſt opulent prince of his age, and never ſpeaking of his wealth, or the magnificence of his palace, but in terms of admiration and rapture; becauſe they knew this was the ſure way to pleaſe him, and to ſecure his favour. For flattery is nothing elſe but a commerce of falſhood and lying, founded upon intereſt on one ſide, and vanity on the other. The flatterer deſires to advance himſelf, and make his fortune; the prince to be praiſed and admired, becauſe he is his own firſt flatterer, and carries within himſelf a more ſubtle and better prepared poiſon than any adulation gives him.

That ſaying of Æſop, who had formerly been a ſlave, and ſtill retained ſomewhat of the ſpirit and character of ſlavery, tho' he had varniſhed it over with the addreſs of an artful courtier; that ſaying of his, I ſay, to Solon, "That we ſhould either not come "near kings, or ſay what is agreeable to them," ſhews us with what kind of men Cræſus had filled his court, and by what means he had baniſhed all ſincerity, integrity, and duty, from his preſence. Therefore we ſee he could not bear that noble and generous freedom in the philoſopher, upon which he ought to have ſet an infinite value; as he would have done, had he but underſtood the worth of a friend, who, attaching himſelf to the perſon, and not to the fortune of a prince, has the courage to tell him diſagreeable truths; truths unpalatable, and bitter to ſelf-love at the preſent, but that may prove very ſalutary and ſerviceable for the future. *Dic illis, non quod volunt audire, ſed quod audiſſe ſemper volent.* Theſe are Seneca's words, where he is endeavouring to ſhew, of what great uſe a faithful and ſincere friend may be to a prince: and what

he adds further ſeems to be writ on purpoſe for Crœſus: * "Give him (ſays he) wholeſome advice. Let "a word of truth once reach thoſe ears, which are "perpetually fed and entertained with flattery. You'll "ask me, what ſervice can be done to a perſon ar-"rived at the higheſt pitch of felicity? It will teach "him not to truſt in his proſperity; it will remove "that vain confidence he has in his power and great-"neſs, as if they were to endure for ever; make him "underſtand, that every-thing, which belongs to and "depends upon fortune, is as unſtable as herſelf; and "that there is often but the ſpace of a moment be-"tween the higheſt elevation and the moſt unhap-"py downfal."

(*b*) It was not long before Crœſus experienced the truth of what Solon had told him. He had two ſons; one of which being dumb, was a perpetual ſubject of affliction to him; the other, named Atys, was diſtinguiſhed by every good quality, and his great conſolation and delight. The father dream'd one night, which made a great impreſſion upon his mind, that this beloved ſon of his was to periſh by iron. This became a new ſource of anxiety and trouble, and care is taken to remove out of the young prince's way every thing made of iron, as partizans, lances, javelins, &c. No mention is made of armies, wars, or ſieges, before him. But one day there was to be an extraordinary hunting-match, for the killing of a wild boar, which had committed great ravage in the neighbourhood. All the young lords of the court were to be at this hunting. Atys very earneſtly importuned his father, that he would give him leave to be preſent, at leaſt as a ſpectator. The king could not refuſe him that requeſt,

(*b*) Her. l. 1. c. 34—45.

* Plenas aures adulationibus aliquando vera vox intret: da conſilium utile. Quæris, quid felici præſtare poſſis? Effice, ne felicitati ſuæ credat. Parum in illum contuleris, ſi illi ſemel ſtultam fiduciam permanſuræ ſemper potentiæ excuſſeris, docueriſque mobilia eſſe quæ dedit caſus; ac ſæpe inter fortunam maximam & ultimam nihil intereſſe. *Sen. de benef.* l. 6. c. 33.

but

but let him go under the care of a diſcreet young prince, who had taken refuge in his court, and was named Adraſtus. And this very Adraſtus, as he was aiming to fling his javelin at the boar, unfortunately killed Atys. 'Tis impoſſible to expreſs either the affliction of the father, when he heard of this fatal accident, or of the unhappy prince, the innocent author of the murder, who expiated his fault with his blood, ſtabbing himſelf in the breaſt with his own ſword, upon the funeral-pile of the unfortunate Atys.

(c) Two years were ſpent on this occaſion in deep mourning, the afflicted father's thoughts being wholly taken up with the loſs he had ſuſtained. But the growing reputation, and great qualities of Cyrus, who began to make himſelf known, rouzed him out of his lethargy. He thought it behoved him to put a ſtop to the power of the Perſians, which was enlarging itſelf every day. As he was very religious in his way, he would never enter upon any enterpriſe, without conſulting the gods. But, that he might not act blindly, and to be able to form a certain judgment of the anſwers he ſhould receive, he was willing to aſſure himſelf before-hand of the truth of the oracles. For which purpoſe, he ſent meſſengers to all the moſt celebrated oracles both of Greece and Africa, with orders to enquire, every one at his reſpective oracle, what Crœſus was doing on ſuch a day, and ſuch an hour, before agreed on. His orders were punctually obſerved; and of all the oracles, none gave a true anſwer but that of Delphos. The anſwer was given in Greek hexameter verſes, and was in ſubſtance as follows: *I know the number of the grains of ſand on the ſea-ſhore, and the meaſure of the ocean's vaſt extent. I can hear the dumb, and him that has not yet learnt to ſpeak. A ſtrong ſmell of a tortoiſe boiled in braſs, together with ſheep's fleſh, has reached my noſtrils, braſs beneath, braſs above.* And indeed the king, thinking to invent ſomething that could not poſſibly be gueſs'd at, had em-

(c) Herod. c. 46—56.

ployed himſelf, on the day and hour ſet down, in boiling a tortoiſe and a lamb in a braſs pot, which had a braſs cover. St. Auſtin obſerves in ſeveral places, that God, to puniſh the blindneſs of the Pagans, ſometimes permitted the devils to give anſwers conformable to the truth.

Crœſus, thus aſſured of the god's veracity, whom he deſigned to conſult, offered three thouſand victims to his honour, and ordered an infinite number of veſſels, tripods, and golden tables, to be melted down, and converted into ingots of gold, to the number of an hundred and ſeventeen, to augment the treaſures of the Delphic temple. Each of theſe ingots weighed at leaſt two talents; beſides which, he made ſeveral other preſents: amongſt others, Herodotus, mentions a golden lion, weighing ten talents, and two veſſels of an extraordinary bigneſs, one of gold, which weighed eight talents and an half, and twelve mina's; the other of ſilver, which contained ſix hundred of the meaſures called amphora's. All theſe preſents, and many more, which for brevity's ſake I omit, were to be ſeen in the time of Herodotus.

The meſſengers were order'd to conſult the god upon two points; firſt, whether Crœſus ſhould undertake a war againſt the Perſians; ſecondly, if he did, whether he ſhould require the ſuccour of any auxiliary troops. The oracle anſwered upon the firſt article, that if he carried his arms againſt the Perſians, he would ſubvert a great empire; upon the ſecond, that he would do well to make alliances with the moſt powerful ſtates of Greece. He conſulted the oracle again, to know how long the duration of his empire would be. The anſwer was; it ſhould ſubſiſt till a mule came to poſſeſs the throne of Media; which he conſtrued to ſignify the perpetual duration of his kingdom.

Purſuant to the direction of the oracle, Crœſus enter'd into alliance with the Athenians, who at that time had Piſiſtratus at their head, and with the Lacedemonians,

demonians, who were indiſputably the two moſt powerful ſtates of Greece.

(*d*) A certain Lydian, much eſteemed for his prudence, gave Crœſus on this occaſion very judicious advice. "O prince, (ſays he to him) why do you "think of turning your arms againſt ſuch a people as "the Perſians, who, being born in a wild, rugged "country, are inur'd from their infancy to every kind "of hardſhip and fatigue, who being coarſely clad, "and coarſely fed, can content themſelves with bread "and water; who are abſolute ſtrangers to all the de-"licacies and conveniencies of life; who, in a word, "have nothing to loſe, if you conquer them, and "every-thing to gain, if they conquer you; and whom "it would be very difficult to drive out of our coun-"try, if they ſhould once come to taſte the ſweets "and advantages of it? So far therefore from think-"ing of beginning a war againſt them, 'tis my opi-"nion we ought to thank the gods, that they have "never put it into the heads of the Perſians to come "and attack the Lydians." But Crœſus had taken his reſolution, and would not be diverted from it.

What remains of the hiſtory of Crœſus will be found in that of Cyrus, which I am now going to begin.

(*d*) Herod. l. 1. c. 71.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

THE FOUNDATION of the EMPIRE OF THE PERSIANS and MEDES, By CYRUS:

Containing the reigns of CYRUS, of CAMBYSES, and SMERDIS the Magus.

These three reigns will be the ſubject matter of the fourth book. But as the two latter are very ſhort, and contain few important facts, this book, properly ſpeaking, may be call'd the hiſtory of Cyrus.

CHAP. I.

The hiſtory of Cyrus.

THE hiſtory of this prince is differently related by Herodotus and Xenophon. I follow the latter, as judging him infinitely more worthy of credit in this reſpect than the former. As to thoſe facts wherein they differ, I ſhall briefly relate what Herodotus ſays of them. 'Tis well known, that Xenophon ſerved a long time under Cyrus the younger, who had in his troops a great number of Perſian noblemen,

men, with whom undoubtedly this writer, considering how curious he was, did often converse, that he might acquaint himself by their means with the manners and customs of the Persians, with their conquests in general, but more particularly with those of the prince, who had founded their monarchy, and whose history he proposed to write. This he tells us himself, in the beginning of his Cyropædia: "Having always "look'd upon this great man as worthy of admira- "tion, I took a pleasure to inform myself of his birth, "his natural temper, and education, that I might "know by what means he became so great a prince: "and herein I advance nothing but what has been "told me."

As to what Cicero says, in his first letter to his brother Quintus, "That † Xenophon's design, in "writing the history of Cyrus, was not so much to "follow truth, as to give a model of a just govern- "ment;" this ought not to lessen the authority of that judicious historian, or make us give the less credit to what he relates. All that can be inferred from thence is, that the design of Xenophon, who was a great philosopher, as well as a great captain, was not merely to write Cyrus's history, but to represent him as a model and example to princes, for their instruction in the arts of reigning, and of gaining the love of their subjects, notwithstanding the pomp and elevation of their stations. With this view he may possibly have lent his hero some thoughts, some sentiments, or discourses of his own. But the substance of the facts and events he relates are to be deemed true; and of this their conformity with the holy scripture is of itself a sufficient proof. The reader may see the dissertation of the abbot Banier upon this subject, in the (*e*) Memoirs of the academy of polite literature.

(*e*) Vol. 6. p. 400.

† Cyrus ille à Xenophonte, non ad historiæ fidem scriptus, sed ad effigiem justi imperii,

For the greater clearneſs, I divide the hiſtory of Cyrus into three parts. The firſt will reach from his birth to the ſiege of Babylon: The ſecond will comprehend the deſcription of the ſiege, and the taking of that city, with every-thing elſe that relates to that great event: The third will contain that prince's hiſtory, from the taking of Babylon to his death.

ARTICLE I.

The hiſtory of Cyrus from his infancy to the ſiege of Babylon.

THIS interval, beſides his education, and the journey he made to his grand-father Aſtyages in Media, includes the firſt campaigns of Cyrus, and the important expeditions ſubſequent to them.

SECT. I. *Cyrus's education.*

(*f*) CYRUS was the ſon of Cambyſes, king of Perſia, and of Mandana, daughter to Aſtyages, king of the Medes. (*g*) He was born one year after his uncle Cyaxares, the brother of Mandana.

The Perſians conſiſted at this time of twelve tribes, and inhabited only one province of that vaſt country, which has ſince borne the name of Perſia, and were not in all above an hundred and twenty thouſand men. But this people having afterwards, thro' the wiſdom and valour of Cyrus, acquir'd the empire of the eaſt, the name of Perſia extended itſelf with their conqueſts and fortune, and comprehended all that vaſt tract of land, which reaches from eaſt to weſt, from the river Indus to the Tigris; and from north to ſouth, from the Caſpian ſea to the ocean. And ſtill to this day the country of Perſia has the ſame extent.

Cyrus was beautiful in his perſon, and ſtill more lovely for the qualities of his mind; was of a very ſweet diſpoſition, full of good-nature and humanity, had a great deſire to learn, and a noble ardor for glory. He was never afraid of any danger, or diſcouraged by any hardſhip

(*f*) Xen. Cyrop. l. 1. p. 3. (*g*) A. M. 3405. Ant. J. C. 99.

hardſhip or difficulty, where honour was to be acquired. He was brought up according to the laws and cuſtoms of the Perſians, which were excellent in thoſe days, with reſpect to education.

(*b*) The public good, the common benefit of the nation, was the only principle and end of all their laws. The education of children was look'd upon as the moſt important duty, and the moſt eſſential part of government: It was not left to the care of fathers and mothers, whoſe blind affection and fondneſs often render them incapable of that office; but the ſtate took it upon themſelves. Boys were all brought up in common, after one uniform manner; where every-thing was regulated, the place and length of their exerciſes, the times of eating, the quality of their meat and drink, and their different kinds of puniſhment. The only food allowed either the children, or the young men, was bread, creſſes, and water; for their deſign was to accuſtom them early to temperance and ſobriety: Beſides, they conſider'd, that a plain frugal diet, without any mixture of ſauces or ragoo's, would ſtrengthen the body, and lay ſuch a foundation of health, as would enable them to undergo the hardſhips and fatigues of war to a good old-age.

Here boys went to ſchool, to learn juſtice and virtue, as they do in other places to learn arts and ſciences; and the crime moſt ſeverely puniſh'd amongſt them, was ingratitude.

The deſign of the Perſians, in all theſe wiſe regulations, was to prevent evil, being convinced how much better it is to prevent faults, than to puniſh them: And whereas in other ſtates the legiſlators are ſatisfied with eſtabliſhing puniſhments for criminals, the Perſians endeavoured ſo to order it, as to have no criminals amongſt them.

Till ſixteen or ſeventeen years of age the boys remain'd in the claſs of children; and here it was they learnt to draw the bow, and to fling the dart or jave-

(*b*) Cyrop. l. 1. p. 3—8.

lin ;

lin; after which they were received into the claſs of young men. In this they were more narrowly watch'd, and kept under, than before, becauſe that age requires the narroweſt inſpection, and has the greateſt need of reſtraint. Here they remained ten years; during which time they paſſed all their nights in keeping guard, as well for the ſafety of the city, as to inure them to fatigue. In the day-time they waited upon their governors, to receive their orders, attended the king when he went a hunting, or improved themſelves in their exerciſes.

The third claſs conſiſted of men grown up, and form'd; and in this they remained five and twenty years. Out of theſe all the officers that were to command in the troops, and all ſuch as were to fill the different poſts and employments in the ſtate, were choſen. When they were turned of fifty, they were not obliged to carry arms out of their own country.

Beſides theſe, there was a fourth or laſt claſs, from whence men of the greateſt wiſdom and experience were choſen, for forming the publick council, and preſiding in the courts of judicature.

By this means every citizen might aſpire at the chief poſts in the government; but not one could arrive at them, till he had paſſed through all theſe ſeveral claſſes, and made himſelf capable of them by all theſe exerciſes. The claſſes were open to all; but generally ſuch only, as were rich enough to maintain their children without working, ſent them thither.

(*i*) Cyrus himſelf was educated in this manner, and ſurpaſſed all of his age, not only in aptneſs to learn, but in courage and addreſs in executing whatever he undertook.

SECT. II. *Cyrus's journey to his grandfather Aſtyages, and his return into Perſia.*

WHEN Cyrus was twelve years old, his mother Mandana took him with her into Media, to his

(*i*) Cyrop. l. 1. p. 8—12.

grand-

grandfather Aſtyages, who, from the many things he had heard ſaid in favour of that young prince, had a great deſire to ſee him. In this court young Cyrus found very different manners from thoſe of his own country. Pride, luxury, and magnificence reign'd here univerſally. Aſtyages himſelf was richly cloath'd, had his † eyes colour'd, his face painted, and his hair embelliſh'd with artificial locks. For the Medes affected an effeminate life, to be dreſt in ſcarlet, and to wear necklaces and bracelets; whereas the habits of the Perſians were very plain and courſe. All this finery did not affect Cyrus, who, without criticiſing or condemning what he ſaw, was contented to live as he had been brought up, and adhered to the principles he had imbibed from his infancy. He charmed his grandfather with his ſprightlineſs and wit, and gained everybody's favour by his noble and engaging behaviour. I ſhall only mention one inſtance, wereby we may judge of the reſt.

Aſtyages, to make his grandſon unwilling to return home, made a ſumptuous entertainment, in which there was a vaſt plenty, and profuſion of every thing that was nice and delicate. All this exquiſite cheer and magnificent preparation Cyrus look'd upon with great indifference; at which obſerving Aſtyages to be ſurpriſed: "The Perſians (ſays he to the king) inſtead of going ſuch a round-about way to appeaſe "their hunger, have a much ſhorter to the ſame end; "a little bread and creſſes with them anſwer the pur-"poſe." Aſtyages deſiring Cyrus to diſpoſe of all the meats as he thought fit, the latter immediately

† *The ancients, in order to ſet off the beauty of the face, and to give more life to their complexions, uſed to form their eye-brows into perfect arches, and to colour them with black. To give the greater luſtre to their eyes, they made their eye-laſhes of the ſame blackneſs. This artifice was much in uſe among the Hebrews. 'Tis ſaid of Jezebel*; Depinxit oculos ſuos ſtibio, 2 *Kings* ix. 30. *This drug had an aſtringent quality, which ſhrunk up the eye-lids, and made the eyes appear the larger, which at that time was reckon'd a beauty*, Plin. l. 33. c. 6. *From hence comes that epithet, which Homer ſo often gives to his goddeſſes:* βοῶπις Ἥρη, *great-eyed Juno.*

diſtributed

distributed them to the king's officers in waiting; to one, because he taught him to ride; to another, because he waited well upon his grandfather; and to a third, because he took great care of his mother. Sacas, the king's cup-bearer, was the only person to whom he gave nothing. This officer, besides the post of cup-bearer, had that likewise of introducing those who were to have audience of the king; and as he could not possibly grant that favour to Cyrus as often as he desired it, he had the misfortune to displease the prince, who took this occasion to shew his resentment. Astyages testifying some concern at the neglect of this officer, for whom he had a particular consideration, and who deserved it, as he said, on account of the wonderful dexterity with which he served him: "Is "that all, papa? (replied Cyrus) if that be sufficient "to merit your favour, you shall see I'll quickly ob-"tain it; for I'll take upon me to serve you better "than he." Immediately Cyrus is equip'd as a cup-bearer, and advancing gravely with a serious countenance, a napkin upon his shoulder, and holding the cup nicely with three of his fingers, he presented it to the king with a dexterity and a grace, that charm'd both Astyages and Mandana. When he had done, he flung himself upon his grandfather's neck, and kissing him, cry'd out with great joy; * "O Sacas, poor "Sacas, thou art undone; I shall have thy place." Astyages embraced him with great fondness, and said: "I am mighty well pleased, my dear child: no-"body can serve with a better grace: but you have "forgot one essential ceremony, which is that of "tasting." And indeed the cup-bearer was used to pour some of the liquor into his left-hand, and to taste it, before he presented it to the king. "No (reply'd "Cyrus) it was not through forgetfulness that I omit-"ted that ceremony. Why then (says Astyages) "for what reason did you do it? Because I appre-"hended there was poison in the liquor. Poison,

* Ὦ Σάκα, ἀπόλωλας· ἐκβαλῶ σε τῆ τιμῆς.

"child?

" child? how could you think ſo? Yes; poiſon,
" papa: for not long ago, at an entertainment you
" gave to the lords of your court, after the gueſts had
" drank a little of that liquor, I perceived all their
" heads were turn'd: they ſung, made a noiſe, and
" talk'd they did not know what: you yourſelf ſeem'd
" to have forgot you were king, and they that they
" were ſubjects; and when you would have danced,
" you could not ſtand upon your legs. Why (ſays
" Aſtyages) have you never ſeen the ſame thing
" happen to your father? No, never (ſays Cyrus.)
" What then? how is it with him when he drinks?
" Why, when he has drank, his thirſt is quenched;
" and that's all."

We cannot too much admire the ſkill of the hiſtorian, in his giving ſuch an excellent leſſon of ſobriety in this ſtory. He might have done it in a ſerious, grave way, and have ſpoken with the air of a philoſopher: for Xenophon, as much a warrior as he was, yet was he as excellent a philoſopher as his maſter Socrates. But inſtead of that, he puts the inſtruction into the mouth of a child, and conceals it under the veil of a ſtory, which in the original is told with all the wit and agreeableneſs imaginable.

Mandana being upon the point of returning to Perſia, Cyrus joyfully comply'd with the repeated inſtances his grandfather had made to him to ſtay in Media; being deſirous, as he ſaid, to perfect himſelf in the art of riding, which he was not yet maſter of, and which was not known in Perſia, where the barrenneſs of the country, and its craggy mountainous ſituation, render'd it unfit for the breeding of horſes.

During the time of his reſidence at this court, his behaviour procured him infinite love and eſteem. He was gentle, affable, officious, beneficent and generous. Whenever the young lords had any favour to ask of the king, Cyrus was their ſollicitor. If the king had any ſubject of complaint againſt them, Cyrus was their mediator; their affairs became his; and he always

managed

managed them so well, that he obtained whatever he desired.

When Cyrus was about sixteen years of age, the son of the king of the † Babylonians (this was Evil-merodac, son of Nebuchadnezzar) at a hunting-match a little before his marriage, thought fit, in order to shew his bravery, to make an eruption into the territories of the Medes; which obliged Astyages to take the field, to oppose the invader. Here it was that Cyrus, having followed his grandfather, served his apprenticeship in war. He behaved himself so well on this occasion, that the victory, which the Medes gained over the Babylonians, was chiefly owing to his valour.

(*k*) The year after, his father recalling him, that he might accomplish his time in the Persian exercises, he departed immediately from the court of Media, that neither his father nor his country might have any room to complain of his delay. This occasion shewed how much he was belov'd. At his departure he was accompanied by all sorts of people, young and old. Astyages himself conducted him a good part of his journey on horse-back; and when the sad moment came, that they must part, the whole company were bathed in tears.

Thus Cyrus returned into his own country, and re-enter'd the class of children, where he continued a year longer. His companions, after his long residence in so voluptuous and luxurious a court as that of the Medes, expected to find a great change in his manners. But when they found that he was content with their ordinary table, and that, when he was present at any entertainment, he was more sober and temperate than any of the company, they looked upon him with new admiration.

(*k*) A. M. 3421. Ant. J. C. 583.

† *In Xenophon this people are always called Assyrians; and in truth they are Assyrians, but Assyrians of Babylon, whom we must not confound with those of Nineveh, whose empire, as we have seen already, was utterly destroyed by the ruin of Nineveh, the capital thereof.*

From

From this firſt claſs he paſſed into the ſecond, which is the claſs of youths; and there it quickly appeared, that he had not his equal in dexterity, addreſs, patience and obedience.

Ten years after, he was admitted into the mens claſs, wherein he remained thirteen years, till he ſet out at the head of the Perſian army, to go to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares.

SECT. III. *The firſt campaign of Cyrus, who goes to ſuccour his uncle Cyaxares againſt the Babylonians.*

(*l*) ASTYAGES, king of the Medes, dying, was ſucceeded by his ſon Cyaxares, brother to Cyrus's mother. Cyaxares was no ſooner in the throne, but he was engaged in a terrible war. He was informed, that the king of the Babylonians (Nerigliſſor) was preparing a powerful army againſt him, and that he had already engaged ſeveral princes on his ſide, and amongſt others Crœſus, king of Lydia; that he had likewiſe ſent embaſſadors to the king of India, to give him bad impreſſions of the Medes and Perſians, by repreſenting to him how dangerous a cloſer alliance and union between two nations already ſo powerful might be, ſince they could in the end ſubue all the nations around them, if a vigorous oppoſition was not made to the progreſs of their power. Cyaxares therefore diſpatched embaſſadors to Cambyſes, to deſire ſuccours from him; and ordered them to bring it about, that Cyrus ſhould have the command of the troops his father was to ſend. This was readily granted. As ſoon as it was known, that Cyrus was to march at the head of the army, the joy was univerſal. The army conſiſted of thirty thouſand men, all infantry (for the Perſians as yet had no cavalry;) but they were all choſen men, and ſuch as had been raiſed after a particular manner. Firſt of all Cyrus choſe out of the nobility two hundred of the braveſt officers, each of which was ordered to chuſe out four more of the ſame

(*l*) Cyrop. l. 1. c. 22—27. A. M. 3444. Ant. J. C. 560.

ſort,

ſort, which made a thouſand in all: and theſe were the officers that were called † Ὁμότιμοι, and who ſignalized themſelves afterwards ſo glorioufly upon all occaſions. Every one of this thouſand was appointed to raiſe among the people ten light-armed pike-men, ten flingers, and ten bow-men; which amounted in the whole to one and thirty thouſand men.

Before they proceeded to this choice, Cyrus thought fit to make a ſpeech to the two hundred officers, whom, after having highly praiſed for their courage, he inſpired with the ſtrongeſt aſſurance of victory and ſucceſs. "Do you know (ſays he to them) the na-
" ture of the enemy you have to deal with? they
" are ſoft, effeminate, enervated men, already half
" conquer'd by their own luxury and voluptuouſneſs;
" men not able to bear either hunger or thirſt; equal-
" ly incapable of ſupporting either the toil of war, or
" the ſight of danger: whereas you, that are inured
" from your infancy to a ſober and hard way of
" living; to you, I ſay, hunger and thirſt are but the
" ſauce, and the only ſauce to your meals; fatigues
" are your pleaſure, dangers your delight, and the
" love of your country and of glory your only paſ-
" ſion. Beſides, the juſtice of our cauſe is another
" conſiderable advantage. They are the aggreſſors.
" 'Tis the enemy that attacks us, and 'tis our friends
" and allies that require our aid. Can any thing be
" more juſt, than to repel the injury they would bring
" upon us? Is there any thing more honourable, than
" to fly to the aſſiſtance of our friends? But what
" ought to be the principal motive of your confidence
" is, that I do not engage in this expedition, with-
" out having firſt conſulted the gods, and implored
" their protection: for you know 'tis my cuſtom to
" begin all my actions, and all my undertakings, in
" that manner."

(*m*) Soon after, Cyrus ſet out without loſs of time:

(*m*) A. M. 3445. Ant. J. C. 559.

† *Men of the ſame dignity.*

but

but before his departure, he invoked the gods of the country a ſecond time. For his great maxim was, and he had it from his father, that a man ought not to form any enterpriſe, great or ſmall, without conſulting the divinity, and imploring his protection. Cambyſes had often taught him to conſider, that the prudence of men is very ſhort, and their views very limited; that they cannot penetrate into futurity; and that many times what they think muſt needs turn to their advantage, proves their ruin: whereas the gods, being eternal, know all things, future as well as paſt, and inſpire thoſe they love to undertake what is moſt expedient for them; which is a favour and a protection they owe to no man, and grant only to thoſe that invoke and conſult them.

Cambyſes accompanied his ſon as far as the frontiers of Perſia; and in the way gave him excellent inſtructions concerning the duties of the general of an army. Cyrus thought himſelf ignorant of nothing, that related to the buſineſs of war, after the many leſſons he had received from the moſt able maſters of that time. "Have your maſters (ſays Cambyſes to "him) given you any inſtructions concerning œco-"nomy, that is to ſay, concerning the manner of "ſupplying an army with all neceſſary proviſions, of "preventing ſickneſs, and preſerving the health of "the ſoldiers, of fortifying their bodies by frequent "exerciſes, of exciting a generous emulation amongſt "them, of making yourſelf obey'd, eſteem'd and "belov'd by your ſoldiers?" Upon each of theſe points, and upon ſeveral others mentioned by the king, Cyrus owned he had never heard one word ſpoken, and that it was all entirely new to him. "What is it then your maſters have taught you? "They have taught me to fence (replied the prince) "to draw the bow, to fling the javelin, to mark out "a camp, to draw the plan of a fortification, to range "troops in order of battle, to review them, to ſee "them march, file off, and encamp." Cambyſes, ſmiling,

ſmiling, gave his ſon to underſtand, that they had taught him nothing of what was moſt material and eſſential for a good officer, and an expert commander, to know: And in one ſingle converſation, which certainly deſerves to be well ſtudied by all young gentlemen deſigned for the army, he taught him infinitely more than all his celebrated maſters had done, in the courſe of ſeveral years. I ſhall give but one ſhort inſtance of his diſcourſe, which may ſerve to give the reader an idea of the reſt.

The queſtion was, what are the proper means of making the ſoldiers obedient and ſubmiſſive. "The "way to effect that (ſays Cyrus) ſeems to be very "eaſy, and very certain; 'tis only to praiſe and re- "ward thoſe that obey, to puniſh and ſtigmatiſe ſuch "as fail in their duty. You ſay well (replied Cam- "byſes;) that is the way to make them obey you by "force, but the chief point is to make them obey "you willingly and freely. Now the ſure method of "effecting this is, to convince thoſe you command, "that you know better what is for their advantage, "than they do themſelves: for all mankind readily "ſubmit to thoſe, of whom they have that opinion. "This is the principle, from whence that blind ſub- "miſſion proceeds, which you ſee ſick perſons pay to "their phyſician, travellers to their guide, and a ſhip's "company to the pilot. Their obedience is only "founded upon their perſuaſion, that the phyſician, "the guide, and the pilot, are all more ſkilful and "knowing in their reſpective callings, than them- "ſelves. But what ſhall a man do (ſays Cyrus to his "father) to appear more skilful and expert than "others? He muſt really be ſo (replied Cambyſes;) "and in order to be ſo, he muſt apply himſelf cloſely "to his profeſſion, diligently ſtudy all the rules of it, "conſult the moſt able and experienced maſters, neg- "lect no circumſtance that may contribute to the "ſucceſs of his enterpriſes; and above all, he muſt "have recourſe to the protection of the gods, from

"whom

" whom alone we receive all our wiſdom, and all our " ſucceſs."

(*n*) As ſoon as Cyrus had reach'd Cyaxares, the firſt thing he did, after the uſual compliments had paſſed, was to inform himſelf of the quality and number of the forces on both ſides. It appeared, by the computation made of them, that the enemies army amounted to two hundred thouſand foot, and ſixty thouſand horſe; and that the united armies of the Medes and Perſians ſcarce amounted to half the number of foot; and as to the cavalry, the Medes had not ſo many by a third. This great inequality put Cyaxares in terrible fears and perplexities. He could think of no other expedient, than to ſend for another body of troops from Perſia, more numerous than that already arrived. But this expedient, beſides that it would have taken too much time, appeared in itſelf impracticable. Cyrus immediately propoſed another, more ſure and more expeditious; which was, that his Perſian ſoldiers ſhould change their arms. As they chiefly uſed the bow and the javelin, and conſequently their manner of fighting was at a diſtance, in which kind of engagement the greater number was eaſily ſuperior to the leſſer, Cyrus was of opinion, that they ſhould be armed with ſuch weapons, as ſhould oblige them to come to blows with the enemy immediately, and by that means render the ſuperiority of their numbers uſeleſs. This project was mightily approved, and inſtantly put in execution.

(*o*) Cyrus eſtabliſhed a wonderful order among the troops, and inſpired them with a ſurpriſing emulation, by the rewards he promiſed, and by his obliging and engaging deportment towards all. As for money, the only value he ſet upon it was to give it away. He was continually making preſents to one or other, according to their rank, or their merit; to one a buckler, to another a ſword or ſomething of the ſame kind equally acceptable. By this generoſity, this great-

(*n*) Cyrop. l. 2. p. 38—40. (*o*) Ibid. p. 44.

neſs

neſs of ſoul, and beneficent diſpoſition, he thought a general ought to diſtinguiſh himſelf, and not by the luxury of his table, or the richneſs of his cloaths, and ſtill leſs by his haughtineſs and imperious demeanour. "(p) A commander could not (he ſaid) give actual "proofs of his munificence to every-body, and for "that very reaſon he thought himſelf obliged to con- "vince every-body of his inclination and good-will; "for though a prince might exhauſt his treaſures by "making preſents, yet he could not injure himſelf by "benevolence and humanity; by being ſincerely con- "cerned in the good or evil that happens to others, "and by making it appear that he is ſo."

(q) One day, as Cyrus was reviewing his army, a meſſenger came to him from Cyaxares, to acquaint him, that ſome embaſſadors being arrived from the king of the Indies, he deſired his preſence immediately. "For that purpoſe (ſays he) I have brought you "a rich garment, for the king deſires you would ap- "pear magnificently dreſſed before the Indians, to "do the nation honour." Cyrus loſt not a moment's time, but inſtantly ſet out with his troops, to wait upon the king; though without changing his dreſs, which was very plain, after the Perſian faſhion, and not (as the † Greek text has it) polluted or ſpoiled with any foreign ornament. Cyaxares ſeeming at firſt a little diſpleaſed at it; "If I had dreſt myſelf in pur- "ple (ſays Cyrus) and loaded myſelf with bracelets "and chains of gold, and with all that had been "longer in coming, ſhould I have done you more "honour, than I do now by my expedition, and the "ſweat of my face, and by letting all the world ſee "with what promptitude and diſpatch your orders "are obey'd?"

Cyaxares, ſatisfied with this anſwer, ordered the Indian embaſſadors to be introduced. The purport of

(p) Ibid. l. 8. p. 207.

(q) P. 56.

† Ἐν τῇ Περσικῇ σολῇ ὀδὲν τι ὑβρισμένη. *A fine expreſſion, but not to be render'd into any other language with the ſame beauty.*

their ſpeech was, that they were ſent by the king their maſter, to learn the cauſe of the war between the Medes and the Babylonians; and that they had orders, as ſoon as they had heard what the Medes ſhould ſay, to proceed to the court of Babylon, to know what motives they had to alledge on their part; to the end that the king their maſter, after having examined the reaſons on both ſides, might take part with thoſe, who had right and juſtice on their ſide. This is making a noble and glorious uſe of great power; to be influenced only by juſtice, to conſult no advantage from the diviſion of neighbours, but to declare openly againſt the unjuſt aggreſſor, in favour of the injured party. Cyaxares and Cyrus anſwered, they had given the Babylonians no ſubject of complaint, and that they willingly accepted the mediation of the king of India. It appears in the ſequel, that he declared for the Medes.

(r) The king of Armenia, who was vaſſal to the Medes, looking upon them as ready to be ſwallowed up by the formidable league formed againſt them, thought fit to lay hold on this occaſion to ſhake off their yoke. Accordingly he refuſed to pay them the ordinary tribute, and to ſend them the number of troops he was obliged to furniſh in time of war. This highly embarraſſed Cyaxares, who was afraid at this juncture of bringing new enemies upon his hands, if he undertook to compel the Armenians to execute their treaty. But Cyrus, having informed himſelf exactly of the ſtrength and ſituation of the country, undertook the affair. The important point was to keep his deſign ſecret, without which it was not likely to ſucceed. He therefore appointed a great hunting-match on that ſide of the country; for it was his cuſtom to ride out that way, and frequently to hunt with the king's ſon, and the young noblemen of Armenia. On the day appointed, he ſet out with a numerous retinue. The troops followed at a diſtance, and were not to appear, till a ſignal was given. After ſome days hunting,

(r) A. M. 3447. Ant. J. C. 557. Cyrop. l. 2. p. 58-61. & l. 3. p. 62-70.

ing, when they were come pretty near the palace where the court reſided, Cyrus communicated his deſign to his officers; and ſent Chryſanthes with a detachment, ordering them to make themſelves maſters of a certain ſteep eminence, where he knew the king uſed to retire, in caſe of an alarm, with his family and his treaſure.

This being done, he ſends an herald to the king of Armenia, to ſummon him to perform the treaty, and in the mean time ordered his troops to advance. Never was court in greater ſurpriſe and perplexity. The king was conſcious of the wrong he had done; and was not in a condition to ſupport it. However, he did what he could to aſſemble his forces together from all quarters; and in the mean time diſpatched his youngeſt ſon, called Sabaris, into the mountains, with his wives, his daughters, and whatever was moſt precious and valuable. But when he was informed by his ſcouts, that Cyrus was coming upon their heels, he entirely loſt all courage, and all thoughts of making a defence. The Armenians, following his example, ran away, every one were he could, to ſecure what was deareſt to him. Cyrus, ſeeing the country cover'd with people, that were endeavouring to make their eſcape, ſent them word, that no harm ſhould be done them, if they ſtay'd in their houſes; but that as many, as were taken running away, ſhould be treated as enemies. This made them all retire to their habitations, excepting a few that followed the king.

On the other hand, they that were conducting the princeſſes to the mountains, fell into the ambuſh Chryſanthes had laid for them, and were moſt of them taken priſoners. The queen, the king's ſon, his daughters, his eldeſt ſon's wife, and his treaſures, all fell into the hands of the Perſians.

The king, hearing this melancholy news, and not knowing what would become of him, retired to a little eminence; where he was preſently inveſted by the Perſian army, and obliged to ſurrender. Cyrus ordered

ordered him, with all his family, to be brought to the midſt of the army. At that very inſtant arrived Tigranes, the king's eldeſt ſon, who was juſt returned from a journey. At ſo moving a ſpectacle he could not forbear weeping. Cyrus, addreſſing himſelf to him, ſaid; "Prince, you are come very ſeaſonably to "be preſent at the trial of your father." And immediately he aſſembled the captains of the Perſians and Medes; and called in alſo the great men of Armenia. Nor did he ſo much as exclude the ladies from this aſſembly, who were there in their chariots, but gave them full liberty to hear and ſee all that paſſed.

When all was ready, and Cyrus had commanded ſilence, he began with requiring of the king, that in all the queſtions he was going to propoſe to him, he would anſwer ſincerely, becauſe nothing could be more unworthy a perſon of his rank, than to uſe diſſimulation or falſhood. The king promiſed he would. Then Cyrus asked him, but at different times, propoſing each article ſeparately and in order, whether it was not true, that he had made war againſt *Aſtyages*, king of the Medes, his grandfather; whether he had not been overcome in that war, and in conſequence of his defeat had concluded a treaty with *Aſtyages*; whether by virtue of that treaty he was not obliged to pay a certain tribute, to furniſh a certain number of troops, and not to keep any fortified place in his country. It was impoſſible for the king to deny any of theſe facts, which were all public and notorious. "For what "reaſon then (continued Cyrus) have you violated the "treaty in every article? For no other (replied the "king) than becauſe I thought it a glorious thing to "ſhake off a yoke, to live free, and to leave my "children in the ſame condition. 'Tis really glori-"ous (anſwer'd Cyrus) to fight in defence of liberty: "but if any one, after he is reduced to ſervitude, "ſhould attempt to run away from his maſter, what "would you do with him? I muſt confeſs (ſays the "king) I would puniſh him. And if you had given

" a government to one of your ſubjects, and he ſhould " be found to commit malverſations, would you con- " tinue him in his poſt? No certainly; I would put " another in his place. And if he had amaſſed great " riches by his unjuſt practices? I would ſtrip him of " them. But, which is ſtill worſe, if he had held " intelligence with your enemies, how would you " treat him? Though I ſhould paſs ſentence upon " myſelf (replied the king) I muſt declare the truth: " I would put him to death." At theſe words Tigranes tore his tiara from his head, and rent his garments: the women burſt out into lamentations and outcries, as if ſentence had actually paſs'd upon him.

Cyrus having again commanded ſilence, Tigranes addreſſed himſelf to the prince to this effect: " Great " prince, can you think it conſiſtent with your wiſ- " dom to put my father to death, even againſt your " own intereſt? How againſt my intereſt (replies " Cyrus)? Becauſe he never was ſo capable of doing " you ſervice. How do you make that appear? do " the faults we commit enhance our merit, and give " us a new title to conſideration and favour? They " certainly do, provided they ſerve to make us wiſer. " For of ineſtimable value is wiſdom: are either " riches, courage, or addreſs to be compared to it? " Now 'tis evident, this ſingle day's experience has " infinitely improved my father's wiſdom. He knows " how dear the violation of his word has coſt him. " He has proved and felt how much you are ſupe- " rior to him in all reſpects. He has not been able " to ſucceed in any of his deſigns; but you have hap- " pily accompliſhed all yours; and with that expedi- " tion and ſecrecy, that he has found himſelf ſur- " rounded, and taken, before he expected to be at- " tack'd; and the very place of his retreat has ſerved " only to enſnare him. But your father (replied Cyrus) " has yet undergone no ſufferings that can have taught " him wiſdom. The fear of evils (anſwer'd Tigra- " nes) when it is ſo well founded as this is, has a

" much

" much ſharper ſting, and is more capable of piercing " the ſoul, than the evil itſelf. Beſides, permit me " to ſay, that gratitude is a ſtronger, and more pre- " vailing motive, than any whatever: And there can " be no obligations in the world of an higher nature, " than thoſe you will lay upon my father. His for- " tune, liberty, ſcepter, life, wives and children, all " reſtored to him with ſuch a generoſity; where can " you find, illuſtrious prince, in one ſingle perſon, ſo " many ſtrong and powerful ties to attach him to " your ſervice?"

" Well then (replied Cyrus, turning to the king) " if I ſhould yield to your ſon's entreaties, with " what number of men, and what ſum of money, " will you aſſiſt us in the war againſt the Babylonians? " My troops and treaſures (ſays the Armenian king) " are no longer mine; they are entirely yours. I " can raiſe forty thouſand foot and eight thouſand " horſe; and as to money, I reckon, including the " treaſure which my father left me, there are about " three thouſand talents ready money. All theſe are " wholly at your diſpoſal." Cyrus accepted half the number of the troops, and left the king the other half, for the defence of the country againſt the * Chaldeans, with whom he was at war. The annual tribtcu which was due to the Medes he doubled, and inſtead of fifty talents exacted an hundred, and borrowed the like ſum over and above in his own name. " But " what would you give me (added Cyrus) for the " ranſom of your wives? All that I have in the world " (anſwered the king). And for the ranſom of your- " children? The ſame thing. From this time then " you are indebted to me the double of all your poſ- " ſeſſions. And you, Tigranes, at what price would " you redeem the liberty of your lady?" Now he had but lately married her, and was paſſionately fond of

* *Xenophon never calls the people of Babylonia Chaldeans. But Herodotus*, l. 7. c. 63. *and Strabo*, l. 16. p. 739. *ſtile them ſo. The Chaldeans meant in this place were a people adjoining to Armenia.*

her. "At the price (says he) of a thousand lives, if "I had them." Cyrus then conducted them all to his tent, and entertained them at supper. 'Tis easy to imagine what transports of joy there must have been on this occasion.

After supper, as they were discoursing upon various subjects, Cyrus asked Tigranes, what was become of a governor he had often seen hunting with him, and for whom he had a particular esteem. "Alas, (says "Tigranes) he is no more; and I dare not tell you "by what accident I lost him." Cyrus pressing him to tell him; "My father (continued Tigranes) see- "ing I had a very tender affection for this governor, "and that I was extremely attach'd to him, was "jealous it might be of some ill consequence, and put "him to death. But he was so honest a man, that, "as he was ready to expire, he sent for me, and "spoke to me in these words: *Tigranes, let not my "death occasion any disaffection in you towards the king "your father. What he has done to me did not proceed "from malice, but only from prejudice, and a false mo- "tion wherewith he was unhappily blinded.* O the ex- "cellent man! (cried Cyrus) never forget the last ad- "vice he gave you."

When the conversation was ended, Cyrus, before they parted, embraced them all, as in token of a per- fect reconciliation. This done, they got into their chariots, with their wives, and went home full of gratitude and admiration. Nothing but Cyrus was mentioned the whole way: some extolling his wis- dom, others his valour; some admiring the sweet- ness of his temper, others praising the beauty of his person, and the majesty of his mien. "And you "(says Tigranes, addressing himself to his lady) what "do you think of Cyrus's aspect and deportment? I "don't know (replied the lady) I did not observe "him. Upon what object then did you fix your eyes? "Upon him that said he would give a thousand lives "to ransom my liberty."

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The next day, the king of Armenia ſent preſents to Cyrus, and refreſhments for his whole army, and brought him double the ſum of money he was required to furniſh. But Cyrus took only what had been ſtipulated, and reſtored him the reſt. The Armenian troops were ordered to be ready in three days time, and Tigranes deſired to command them.

I have thought proper, for ſeveral reaſons, to give ſo circumſtantial an account of this affair; though I have ſo far abridg'd it, that it is not above a quarter of what we find of it in Xenophon.

In the firſt place, it may ſerve to give the reader a notion of the ſtile of that excellent hiſtorian, and excite his curioſity to conſult the original, whoſe natural and unaffected beauties are ſufficient to juſtify the ſingular eſteem, which perſons of good taſte have ever had for the noble ſimplicity of that author. To mention but one inſtance; what an idea of chaſtity and modeſty, and at the ſame time, what a wonderful ſimplicity, and delicacy of thought are there, in the anſwer of Tigranes's wife, who has no eyes but for her huſband!

In the ſecond place, thoſe ſhort, cloſe and preſſing interrogations, each of which demand a direct, preciſe anſwer from the king of Armenia, diſcover the diſciple and ſcholar of Socrates, and ſhew in what manner he retained the taſte of his maſter.

Beſides, this relation will give us ſome idea of the judgment that ought to be formed of Xenophon's Cyropedia; the ſubſtance of which is true, though it is embelliſhed with ſeveral circumſtances, added by the author, and introduced expreſsly to grace his inſtructive leſſons, and the excellent rules he lays down upon government. Thus much therefore in the event we are treating of is real. The king of Armenia having refuſed to pay the Medes the tribute he owed them, Cyrus attack'd him ſuddenly, and before he ſuſpected any deſigns againſt him; made himſelf maſter of the only fortreſs he had, and took his family priſoners;

obliged him to pay the usual tribute, and to furnish his quota of troops; and after all so won upon him by his humanity, and courteous behaviour, that he rendered him one of the faithfullest and most affectionate allies the Medes ever had. The rest is inserted only by way of embellishment, and is rather to be ascribed to the historian, than to the history itself.

I should never have found out myself, what the story of the governor's being put to death by Tigranes's father signified, though I was very sensible it was a kind of enigma, and figurative of something else. * A person of quality, one of the greatest wits and finest speakers of the last age, who was perfectly well acquainted with the Greek authors, explained it to me many years ago, which I have not forgot, and which I take to be the true meaning of that enigma. He supposed Xenophon intended it as a picture of the death of his master Socrates, whom the state of Athens became jealous of, on account of the extraordinary attachment all the youth of the city had to him; which at last gave occasion to that philosopher's condemnation and death, that he suffered without murmur or complaint.

In the last place, I thought it proper not to miss this opportunity of manifesting such qualities in my hero, as are not always to be met with in persons of his rank; such as, by rendering them infinitely more valuable than all their military virtues, would most contribute to the success of their designs. In most conquerors we find courage, resolution, intrepidity, a capacity for martial exploits, and all such talents as make a noise in the world, and are apt to dazzle people by their glaring outside: But an inward stock of goodness, compassion and gentleness towards the unhappy, an air of moderation and reserve even in prosperity and victory, an insinuating and persuasive behaviour, the art of gaining people's hearts, and attaching them to him more by affection than interest;

* M. le Comte de Tresvilles.

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a conſtant, unalterable care always to have right on his ſide, and to imprint ſuch a character of juſtice and equity upon all his conduct, as his very enemies are forced to revere; and laſtly, ſuch a clemency, as to diſtinguiſh thoſe that offend through imprudence rather than malice, and to leave room for their repentance, by giving them opportunity to return to their duty: Theſe are qualities rarely found in the moſt celebrated conquerors of antiquity, but ſhone out moſt conſpicuouſly in Cyrus.

(*a*) To return to my ſubject. Cyrus, before he quitted the king of Armenia, was willing to do him ſome ſignal ſervice. This king was then at war with the Chaldeans, a neighbouring warlike people, who continually harraſſed his country by their inroads, and by that means hindered a great part of his lands from being cultivated. Cyrus, after having exactly informed himſelf of their character, ſtrength, and the ſituation of their ſtrong-holds, marched againſt them. On the firſt intelligence of his approach, the Chaldeans poſſeſſed themſelves of the eminences to which they were accuſtomed to retreat. Cyrus left them no time to aſſemble all their forces there, but marched to attack them directly. The Armenians, whom he had made his advanced guard, were immediately put to flight. Cyrus expected no other from them, and had only placed them there, to bring the enemy the ſooner to an engagement. And indeed, when the Chaldeans came to blows with the Perſians, they were not able to ſtand their ground, but were entirely defeated. A great number were taken priſoners, and the reſt were ſcattered and diſperſed. Cyrus himſelf ſpoke to the priſoners, aſſuring them he was not come to injure them, or to ravage their country, but to grant them peace upon reaſonable terms; and ſo ſet them at liberty. Deputies were immediately ſent to him, and a peace was concluded. For the better ſecurity of both nations, and with their common con-

(*a*) Cyrop. l. 3. p. 70—76.

ſent, Cyrus cauſed a fortreſs to be built upon an eminence, which commanded the whole country; and left a good garriſon in it, which was to declare againſt either of the two nations, that ſhould violate the treaty.

Cyrus, underſtanding that there was frequent commerce and communication between the Indians and Chaldeans, deſired that the latter would ſend perſons to accompany and conduct his embaſſador, whom he was preparing to ſend to the king of India. The purport of this embaſſy was, to deſire ſome ſuccours in money, from that prince, in behalf of Cyrus, who wanted it for the levying of troops in Perſia, and promiſed that, if the gods crowned his deſigns with ſucceſs, that potentate ſhould have no reaſon to repent of having aſſiſted him. He was glad to find the Chaldeans ready to ſecond his requeſt, which they could do the more advantageouſly, by enlarging upon the character and exploits of Cyrus. The embaſſador ſet out the next day, accompanied with ſome of the moſt conſiderable perſons of Chaldea, who were directed by their maſter to act with all poſſible dexterity, and to do Cyrus's merit all poſſible juſtice.

The expedition againſt the Armenians being happily ended, Cyrus left that country, to rejoin Cyaxares. Four thouſand Chaldeans, the braveſt of the nation, attended him; and the king of Armenia, who was now delivered from his enemies, augmented the number of troops he had promiſed him: ſo that he arrived in Media, with a great deal of money, and a much more numerous army, than he had when he left it.

SECT. IV. *The expedition of Cyaxares and Cyrus againſt the Babylonians. The firſt battle.*

(*b*) BOTH parties had been employed three years together, in forming their alliances, and making preparations for war. Cyrus, finding their

(*b*) A. M. 3448. Ant. J. C. 556. Cyrop. l. 3. p. 78—87.

troops

troops full of ardor, and ready for action, propoſed to Cyaxares his leading them againſt Aſſyria. His reaſons for it were, that he thought it his duty to eaſe him, as ſoon as poſſible, of the care and expence of maintaining two armies; that it were better they ſhould eat up the enemy's country, than Media; that ſo bold a ſtep, as that of going to meet the Aſſyrians, might be capable of ſpreading a terror in their army, and at the ſame time inſpire their own with the greater confidence; that, laſtly, it was a maxim with him, as it had always been with Cambyſes, his father, that victory did not ſo much depend upon the number, as the valour of troops. Cyaxares agreed to his propoſal.

As ſoon therefore as the cuſtomary ſacrifices were offer'd, they began their march. Cyrus, in the name of the whole army, invoked the tutelary gods of the empire; beſeeching them to be favourable to them in the expedition they had undertaken, to accompany them, conduct them, fight for them, inſpire them with ſuch a meaſure of courage and prudence as was neceſſary, and in ſhort to bleſs their arms with proſperity and ſucceſs. In acting thus, Cyrus put in practice that excellent advice his father had given him, of beginning and ending all his actions, and all his enterpriſes, with prayer: And indeed he never failed, either before or after an engagement, to acquit himſelf, in the preſence of the whole army, of this religious duty. When they were arrived on the frontiers of Aſſyria, it was ſtill their firſt care to pay their homage to the gods of the country, and to implore their protection and ſuccour: After which, they began to make incurſions into the country, and carried off a great deal of ſpoil.

Cyrus, underſtanding that the enemy's army was about ten days journey from them, prevailed upon Cyaxares to advance forwards, and march up to them. When the armies came within ſight, both ſides prepared for battle. The Aſſyrians were encamped in the

open country; and, according to their cuſtom, which the Romans imitated afterwards, had encompaſſed and fortified their camp with a large ditch. Cyrus on the contrary, who was glad to deprive the enemy, as much as poſſible, of the ſight and knowledge of the ſmallneſs of their army, covered his troops with ſeveral little hills and villages. Several days nothing was done on either ſide, but looking at and obſerving one another. At length a numerous body of the Aſſyrians moving firſt out of their camp, Cyrus advanced with his troops to meet them. But before they came within reach of the enemy, he gave the word for rallying the men, which was, † *Jupiter protector & conductor.* He then cauſed the ordinary hymn to be ſounded, in honour of Caſtor and Pollux, to which the ſoldiers, full of religious ardor (θεοσεβῶς) anſwered with a loud voice. There was nothing in Cyrus's army but chearfulneſs, emulation, courage, mutual exhortations to bravery, and an univerſal zeal to execute whatever their leader ſhould command. "For "'tis obſervable (ſays the hiſtorian) in this place, that "on theſe occaſions, thoſe that fear the deity moſt "are the leaſt afraid of men." On the ſide of the Aſſyrians, the troops armed with bows, ſlings and darts, made their diſcharges, before their enemies were within reach. But the Perſians, animated by the preſence and example of Cyrus, came immediately to cloſe fight with the enemy, and broke thro' their firſt battalions. The Aſſyrians, notwithſtanding all the efforts uſed by Crœſus, and their own king, to encourage them, were not able to ſuſtain ſo rude a ſhock, but immediately fled. At the ſame time the cavalry of the Medes advanced to attack the enemy's horſe, which was likewiſe preſently routed. The former warmly purſued them to the very camp, made a terrible ſlaughter, and the king of the Babylonians (Nerigliſſor) was killed in the action. Cyrus, not think-

† *I do not know whether Xenophon, in this place, does not call the Perſian gods by the names of the gods of his own country.*

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ing himſelf in a condition to force their entrenchments, ſounded a retreat.

(*c*) The Aſſyrians in the mean time, their king being killed, and the flower of their army loſt, were in a dreadful conſternation. (*d*) As ſoon as Crœſus found them in ſo great a diſorder he fled, and left them to ſhift for themſelves. The other allies likewiſe, ſeeing their affairs in ſo hopeleſs a condition, thought of nothing but taking advantage of the night to make their eſcape.

Cyrus, who had foreſeen this, prepared to purſue them cloſely. But this could not be effected without cavalry; and, as we have already obſerved, the Perſians had none. He therefore went to Cyaxares, and acquainted him with his deſign. Cyaxares was extremely averſe to it, and repreſented to him, how dangerous it was to drive ſo powerful an enemy to extremities, whom deſpair would probably inſpire with courage; that it was a part of wiſdom to uſe good fortune with moderation, and not loſe the fruits of victory by too much vivacity: moreover, that he did not care to compel the Medes, or to refuſe them that repoſe, to which their behaviour had juſtly entitled them. Cyrus, upon this, deſired his permiſſion only to take as many of the horſe as were willing to follow him. Cyaxares readily conſented to this, and thought of nothing elſe now, but of paſſing his time with his officers in feaſting and mirth, and enjoying the fruits of the victory he had juſt obtained.

Cyrus march'd away in purſuit of the enemy, and was followed by the greateſt part of the Median ſoldiers. Upon the way he met ſome couriers, that were coming to him from the † Hyrcanians, who ſerved in the enemy's army, to aſſure him, that as ſoon as ever

(*c*) Lib. 4. p. 87, 104. (*d*) L. 6. p. 160.

† *Theſe are not the Hyrcanians by the Caſpian ſea. From obſerving Cyrus's encampments in Babylonia, one would be apt to conjecture, that the Hyrcanians here meant were about four or five days journey ſouth of Babylon.*

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he appeared, thoſe Hyrcanians would come over to him; which in effect they did. Cyrus made the beſt uſe of his time, and having marched all night, came up with the Aſſyrians. Crœſus had ſent away his wives in the night-time for coolneſs (for it was the ſummer ſeaſon) and followed them himſelf with a body of cavalry. When the Aſſyrians ſaw the enemy ſo near them, they were in the utmoſt confuſion and deſolation. Many of thoſe that ran away, being warmly purſued, were killed; all that ſtayed in the camp, ſurrender'd; the victory was compleat, and the ſpoil immenſe. Cyrus reſerved all the horſes they took in the camp for himſelf, reſolving now to form a body of cavalry for the Perſian army, which hitherto had none. The richeſt and moſt valuable part of the booty he ſet apart for Cyaxares; and for the priſoners, he gave them all their liberty to go home to their own country, without impoſing any other condition upon them, than that they and their countrymen ſhould deliver up their arms, and engage no more in war; Cyrus taking it upon himſelf to defend them againſt their enemies, and to put them into a condition of cultivating their lands with entire ſecurity.

Whilſt the Medes and the Hyrcanians were ſtill purſuing the remainder of the enemy, Cyrus took care to have a repaſt, and even baths prepared for them; that at their return they might have nothing to do, but to ſit down and refreſh themſelves. He likewiſe thought fit to defer the diſtribution of the ſpoil till then. 'Twas on this occaſion this general, whoſe thoughts nothing eſcaped, exhorted his Perſian ſoldiers to diſtinguiſh themſelves by their generoſity, in regard to their allies, from whom they had already received great ſervices, and of whom they might expect ſtill greater. He deſired they would wait their return, both for the refreſhments, and the diviſion of the ſpoil; and that they would ſhew a preference of their interelts and conveniences before their own; giving them to underſtand, that this would be a ſure means of attaching

taching the allies to them for ever, and of ſecuring a new harveſt of victories to them over the enemy, which would procure them all the advantages they could wiſh, and make them an ample amends for the voluntary loſſes they might ſuſtain, for the ſake of winning the affection of the allies. They all came into his opinion. When the Medes and Hyrcanians were returned from purſuing the enemy, Cyrus made them ſit down to the repaſt he had prepared for them, deſiring them to ſend nothing but bread to the Perſians, who were ſufficiently provided (he ſaid) with all they wanted, either for their ragoo's, or their drinking. Hunger was their only ragoo, and water from the river their only drink. For that was the way of living, to which they had been accuſtomed from their infancy.

The next morning came on the diviſion of the ſpoils. Cyrus in the firſt place ordered the Magi to be called, and commanded them to chooſe out of all the booty what was propereſt to be offered to the gods on ſuch an occaſion. Then he gave the Medes and Hyrcanians the honour of dividing all that remained amongſt the whole army. They earneſtly deſired, that the Perſians might preſide in the diſtribution; but the Perſians abſolutely refuſed it: ſo that they were obliged to accept of the office, as Cyrus had ordered: and the diſtribution was made to the general ſatisfaction of all parties.

(*e*) The very night, that Cyrus marched to purſue the enemy, Cyaxares had paſſed in feaſting and jollity; and had made himſelf drunk with his principal officers. The next morning, when he waked, he was ſtrangely ſurpriſed to find himſelf almoſt alone, and without troops. Immediately, full of reſentment and rage, he diſpatched an expreſs to the army, with orders to reproach Cyrus ſeverely, and to bring back the Medes without any delay. This unreaſonable proceeding did not diſmay Cyrus, who in return writ him a reſpectful letter; in which however he expreſſed himſelf

(*e*) P. 104—108.

with a generous and noble freedom, juſtified his own conduct, and put him in mind of the permiſſion he had given him, of taking as many Medes with him, as were willing to follow him. At the ſame time Cyrus ſent into Perſia, for an augmentation of his troops, deſigning to puſh his conqueſts ſtill farther.

(f) Amongſt the priſoners of war they had taken, there was a young princeſs of moſt exquiſite beauty, which they reſerved for Cyrus. Her name was Panthea, the wife of Abradates, king of Suſiana. Upon the report made to Cyrus, of her extraordinary beauty, he refuſed to ſee her; for fear (as he ſaid) ſuch an object might engage his affection more than he deſired, and divert him from the proſecution of the great deſigns he had in view. *(g)* This ſingular moderation in Cyrus was undoubtedly an effect of the excellent education he had received: for it was a principle among the Perſians, never to ſpeak before young people of any thing, that tended or related to love, leſt their natural inclination to pleaſure, which is ſo ſtrong and violent at that age of levity and indiſcretion, ſhould be awaken'd and excited by ſuch diſcourſes, and ſhould hurry them into follies and debaucheries. Araſpes, a young nobleman of Media, who had the lady in his cuſtody, had not the ſame diſtruſt of his own weakneſs, but pretended, that a man may be always maſter of himſelf. Cyrus committed the princeſs to his care, and at the ſame time gave him a very prudent admonition, "I have ſeen a great many "perſons (ſays he) that have thought themſelves very "ſtrong, wretchedly overcome by that violent paſ-"ſion, in ſpite of all their reſolution; who have "own'd afterwards, with ſhame and grief, that their "paſſion was a bondage and ſlavery, from which "they had not the power to redeem themſelves; an "incurable diſtemper, out of the reach of all reme-"dies and human efforts; a kind of † bond or ne-

(*f*) L. 5. p. 114, 117. & l. 6. p. 153, 155. (g) L. 1. p. 34.

† Δεδεμένους ἰσχυροτέρᾳ τινὶ ἀνάγκῃ, ἢ εἰ σιδήρῳ ἐδέδεντο.

"ceſſity,

" ceſſity, more difficult to force than the ſtrongeſt " chains of iron. Fear nothing (replied Araſpes) I " am ſure of myſelf, and I'll anſwer with my life, " I ſhall do nothing contrary to my duty." Nevertheleſs his paſſion for this young princeſs increaſed, and by degrees grew to ſuch an height, that finding her invincibly averſe to his deſires, he was upon the point of uſing violence with her. The princeſs at length made Cyrus acquainted with his conduct, who immediately ſent Artabaſus to Araſpes, with orders to admoniſh and reprove him in his name. This officer executed his orders in the harſheſt manner, upbraiding him with his fault in the moſt bitter terms, and with ſuch a rigorous ſeverity, as was enough to throw him into deſpair. Araſpes, ſtruck to the ſoul with grief and anguiſh, burſt into a flood of tears; and being over-whelm'd with ſhame and fear, thinking himſelf undone, had not a word to ſay for himſelf. Some days afterwards, Cyrus ſent for him. He went to the prince in fear and trembling. Cyrus took him aſide, and, inſtead of reproaching him with ſeverity as he expected, ſpoke gently to him; acknowledging, that he himſelf was to blame, for having imprudently expoſed him to ſo formidable an enemy. By ſuch an unexpected kindneſs the young nobleman recover'd both life and ſpeech. But his confuſion, joy, and gratitude, expreſſed themſelves firſt in a torrent of tears. " Alas (ſays he) now I am come to the know-" ledge of myſelf; and find moſt plainly, that I have " two ſouls; one, that inclines me to good; ano-" ther, that incites me to evil. The former pre-" vails, when you ſpeak to me, and come to my re-" lief: when I am alone, and left to myſelf, I give " way to and am overpowered by the latter." Araſpes made an advantageous amends for his fault, and rendered Cyrus conſiderable ſervice, by retiring among the Aſſyrians, under the pretence of diſcontent, and by giving intelligence of their meaſures and deſigns.

The

(*b*) The loſs of ſo brave an officer, whom diſcontent was ſuppoſed to have engaged in the enemy's party, cauſed a great concern in the whole army. Panthea, who had occaſion'd it, promis'd Cyrus to ſupply his place with an officer of equal merit; whereby ſhe meant her husband Abradates. Accordingly, upon her writing to him, he repaired to the camp of the Perſians, and was directly carried to Panthea's tent, who told him, with a flood of tears, how kindly and handſomly ſhe had been treated by the generous conqueror. "And how (cry'd out Abradates) ſhall I be "able to acknowledge ſo important a ſervice? By be-"having towards him (replied Panthea) as he hath "done towards me." Whereupon he waited immediately upon Cyrus, and paying his reſpects to ſo great a benefactor: "You ſee before you (ſays he to him) "the tendereſt friend, the moſt devoted ſervant, and "the faithfulleſt ally you ever had; who, not being "able otherwiſe to acknowledge your favours, comes "and devotes himſelf entirely to your ſervice." Cyrus receiv'd him with ſuch a noble and generous air, and withal with ſo much tenderneſs and humanity, as fully convinced him, that whatever Panthea had ſaid of the wonderful character of that great prince, was abundantly ſhort of the truth.

(*i*) Two Aſſyrian noblemen likewiſe, who deſign'd, as Cyrus was informed, to put themſelves under his protection, rendered him extraordinary ſervice. The one was called Gobryas, an old man, venerable both on account of his age and his virtue. The king of Aſſyria, lately dead, who was well acquainted with his merit, and had a very particular regard for him, had reſolved to give his daughter in marriage to Gobryas's ſon, and for that reaſon had ſent for him to court. This young nobleman, at a match of hunting, to which he had been invited, happened to pierce a wild beaſt with his dart, which the king's ſon had miſſed: the latter, who was of a paſſionate and ſavage

(*b*) Cyrop. l. 6. p. 155, 156. (*i*) Cyrop. l. 4. p. 111, 113.

nature,

nature, immediately ſtuck the gentleman with his lance, through rage and vexation, and laid him dead upon the ſpot. Gobryas beſought Cyrus to avenge ſo unfortunate a father, and to take his family under his protection; and the rather, becauſe he had no children left now but an only daughter, who had long been deſigned for a wife to the young king, but could not bear the thought of marrying the murderer of her brother. (*k*) This young king was called Laboroſoarchod: he reigned only nine months, and was ſucceeded by Nabonid, called alſo Labynit and Balthaſar, who reigned ſeventeen years.

(*l*) The other Aſſyrian nobleman was called Gadates: he was prince of a numerous and powerful people. The king then reigning had treated him in a very cruel manner, after he came to the throne; becauſe one of his concubines had mentioned him as an handſome man, and ſpoken advantageouſly of the happineſs of that woman, whom he ſhould chooſe for a wife.

(*m*) The expectation of this double ſuccour was a ſtrong inducement to Cyrus, and made him determine to penetrate into the heart of the enemy's country. As Babylon, the capital city of the empire he deſigned to conquer, was the chief object of his expedition, he turned his views and his march that way, not to attack that city immediately in form, but only to take a view of it, and make himſelf acquainted with it; to draw off as many allies as he could from that prince's party, and to make previous diſpoſitions and preparations for the ſiege he meditated. He ſet out therefore with his troops, and firſt marched to the territories of Gobryas. The fortreſs he lived in ſeemed to be an impregnable place, ſo advantageouſly was it ſituated, and ſo ſtrongly fortified on all ſides. This prince came out to meet him, and ordered refreſhments to be brought for his whole army. He

(*k*) A. M. 3449. Ant. J. C. 555. (*l*) L. 5. p. 123, 124.
(*m*) L. 5. p. 119, 123.

then

then conducted Cyrus into his palace, and there laid an infinite number of silver and golden cups, and other vessels, at his feet, together with a multitude of purses, full of the golden coin of the country: then sending for his daughter, who was of a majestic shape and exquisite beauty, which the mourning habit she wore for her brother's death seem'd still to enhance, he presented her to Cyrus, desiring him to take her under his protection, and to accept those marks of his acknowledgment, which he took the liberty to offer him. "I willingly accept your gold and silver (says "Cyrus) and I make a present of it to your daugh-"ter, to augment her portion. Doubt not, but "amongst the nobles of my court, you'll find a match "suitable for her. 'Twill neither be their own riches, "nor yours, which they'll set their esteem upon. I "can assure you, there are many amongst them, that "would make no account of all the treasures of Ba-"bylon, if they were unattended with merit and vir-"tue. 'Tis their only glory, I dare affirm it of them, "as it is mine, to approve themselves faithful to their "friends, formidable to their enemies, and respect-"ful to the gods." Gobryas pressed him to take a repast with him in his house, but he stedfastly refused it, and returned into his camp with Gobryas, who staid and eat with him and his officers. The ground, and the green turf that was upon it, was all the beds and couches they had; and it is to be supposed the whole entertainment was suitable. Gobryas, who was a person of good sense, was convinced how much that noble simplicity was superior to his vain magnificence; and declared, that the Assyrians had the art of distinguishing themselves by pride, and the Persians by merit: and above all things he admired the ingenious vein of humour, and the innocent chearfulness, that reigned throughout the whole entertainment.

(*n*) Cyrus, always intent upon his great design, proceeded with Gobryas towards the country of Gadates,

(*n*) P. 124—140.

which

which was beyond Babylon. In the neighbourhood of this there was a ſtrong citadel, which commanded the country of the † Sacæ and the Caduſians, where a governor for the king of Babylon reſided, to keep thoſe people in awe. Cyrus made a feint of attacking the citadel. Gadates, whoſe intelligence with the Perſians was not yet known, by Cyrus's advice offered himſelf to the governor of it, to join with him in the defence of that important place. Accordingly he was admitted with all his troops, and immediately delivered it up to Cyrus. The poſſeſſion of this citadel made him maſter of the Sacæ and the Caduſians: and as he treated thoſe people with great kindneſs and lenity, they remained inviolably attach'd to his ſervice. The Caduſians raiſed an army of twenty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe; and the Sacæ furniſhed ten thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe archers.

The king of Aſſyria took the field, in order to puniſh Gadates for his rebellion. But Cyrus engaged and defeated him, making a great ſlaughter of his troops, and obliging him to retreat to Babylon. After which exploit this conqueror employed ſome time in ravaging the enemy's country. His kind treatment of the priſoners of war, in giving them all their liberty to go home to their habitations, had ſpread the fame of his clemency wherever he came. Numbers of people voluntarily ſurrendred to him, and very much augmented his army. Then advancing near the city of Babylon, he ſent the king of Aſſyria a perſonal challenge, to terminate their quarrel by a ſingle combat: But his challenge was not accepted. In order to ſecure the peace and tranquillity of his allies during his abſence, he made a kind of a truce, or treaty, with the king of Aſſyria, by which it was agreed on both ſides, that the huſbandmen ſhould not be moleſted, but ſhould have full liberty to cultivate their lands, and reap the fruits of their labour. Therefore, after having view'd the country, examined the ſituation of

† *Not the Sacæ of Scythia.*

Babylon

Babylon, acquired a conſiderable number of friends and allies, and greatly augmented his cavalry, he marched away on his return to Media.

(o) When he came near the frontiers, he ſent a meſſenger to Cyaxares, to acquaint him with his arrival, and to receive his commands. Cyaxares did not think proper to admit ſo great an army into his country; and an army, that was ſtill going to receive an augmentation of forty thouſand men, juſt arrived from Perſia. He therefore ſet out the next day with what cavalry he had left, to join Cyrus; who likewiſe advanced forwards to meet him with his cavalry, that was very fine and numerous. The ſight of thoſe troops rekindled the jealouſy and diſſatisfaction of Cyaxares. He received his nephew in a very cold manner, turned away his face from him, to avoid the receiving of his ſalute, and even wept through vexation. Cyrus commanded all the company to retire, and entered into a converſation with his uncle, for explaining himſelf with the more freedom. He ſpoke to him with ſo much temper, ſubmiſſion, and reaſon; gave him ſuch ſtrong proofs of his integrity, reſpect, and inviolable attachment to his perſon and intereſt, that in a moment he diſpell'd all his ſuſpicions, and perfectly recovered his favour and good opinion. They embraced one another, and tears were ſhed on both ſides. How great the joy of the Perſians and Medes was, who waited the event of this interview with anxiety and trembling, is not to be expreſſed. Cyaxares and Cyrus immediately remounted their horſes; and then all the Medes ranged themſelves in the train of Cyaxares, according to the ſign given them by Cyrus. The Perſians followed Cyrus, and the men of each other nation their particular prince. When they arrived at the camp, they conducted Cyaxares to the tent prepared for him. He was preſently viſited by almoſt all the Medes, who came to ſalute him, and to bring him preſents; ſome of their own accord, and others by Cyrus's direction. Cyaxares

(o) Cyrop. l. 5. p. 141—147.

was

was extremely touch'd at this proceeding, and began to find, that Cyrus had not corrupted his ſubjects, and that the Medes had the ſame affection for him as before.

(*p*) Such was the ſucceſs of Cyrus's firſt expedition againſt Crœſus and the Babylonians. In the council, held the next day in the preſence of Cyaxares and all the officers, it was reſolved to continue the war.

Not finding in Xenophon any date, that preciſely fixes the years, wherein the ſeveral events he relates happened, I ſuppoſe with Uſher, tho' Xenophon's relation does not ſeem to favour this notion, that between the two battles againſt Crœſus and the Babylonians, ſeveral years paſſed, during which all neceſſary preparations were made on both ſides, for carrying on the important war which was begun; and within this interval I place the marriage of Cyrus.

(*q*) Cyrus then about this time had thought of making a tour into his own country, about ſix or ſeven years after his departure, at the head of the Perſian army. Cyaxares on this occaſion gave him a ſignal teſtimony of the value he had for his merit. Having no male-iſſue, and but one daughter, he offered her in marriage * to Cyrus, with an aſſurance of the kingdom of Media for her portion. Cyrus had a grateful ſenſe of this advantageous offer, and expreſſed the warmeſt acknowledgments of it; but thought himſelf not at

(*p*) Cyrop. l. 1. p. 148—151.

(*q*) Ibid. l. 8. p. 228, 229.

* *Xenophon places this marriage after the taking of Babylon. But as Cyrus at that time was above ſixty years of age, and the princeſs not much leſs, and as it is improbable, that either of them ſhould wait till that age, before they thought of matrimony, I thought proper to give this fact a more early date. Beſides, at that rate Cambyſes would have been but ſeven years old when he came to the throne, and but fourteen or fifteen when he died; which cannot be reconciled with the expeditions he made into Egypt and Ethiopia, nor with the reſt of his hiſtory. Perhaps Xenophon might date the taking of Babylon much earlier than we do; but I follow the chronology of archbiſhop Uſher. I have alſo left out what is related in the Cyropædia, (l. 8. p. 223.) that from the time Cyrus was at the court of his grandfather Aſtyages, the young princeſs had ſaid ſhe would have no other huſband than Cyrus. Her father Cyaxares was then but thirteen years old.*

liberty

liberty to accept it, till he had the consent of his father and mother; leaving therein a rare example to all future ages, of the respectful submission and entire dependence, which all children ought to shew to their parents on the like occasion, of what age soever they be, or to whatever degree of power and greatness they may have arrived. Cyrus married this princess on his return from Persia.

When the marriage solemnity was over, Cyrus returned to his camp, and improved the time he had to spare, in securing his new conquests, and taking all proper measures with his allies, for accomplishing the great design he had form'd.

(r) Foreseeing (says Xenophon) that the preparations for war might take up a great deal of time, he pitch'd his camp in a very convenient and healthy place, and fortified it extremely. He there kept his troops to the same discipline and exercise, as if the enemy had been always in sight.

They understood by deserters, and by the prisoners brought every day into the camp, that the king of Babylon was gone into Lydia, and had carried with him vast sums of gold and silver. The common soldiers immediately concluded, that it was fear which made him remove his treasures. But Cyrus judg'd he had undertaken this journey, only to raise up some new enemy against him; and therefore he laboured with indefatigable application in preparing for a second battle.

Above all things he applied himself to strengthen his Persian cavalry, and to have a great number of chariots of war, built after a new form, having found great inconveniencies in the old ones, the fashion of which came from Troy, and had continued in use till that time throughout all Asia.

(s) In this interval, embassadors arrived from the king of India, with a large sum of money for Cyrus, from the king their master, who had also ordered

(r) L. 6. p. 151. (s) L. 6. p. 156, 157.

them

them to assure him, that he was very glad he had acquainted him with what he wanted; that he was willing to be his friend and ally; and, if he still wanted more money, he had nothing to do but to let him know; and that, in short, he had ordered his embassadors to pay him the same absolute obedience, as to himself. Cyrus received these obliging offers with all possible dignity and gratitude. He treated the embassadors with the utmost regard, and made them noble presents: and taking advantage of their good disposition, desired them to depute three of their own body to the enemy, as envoys from the king of India, on pretence of proposing an alliance with the king of Assyria, but in effect to discover his designs, and give Cyrus an account of them. The Indians undertook this employment with joy, and acquitted themselves of it with great ability.

I do not find in this last circumstance the upright conduct and usual sincerity of Cyrus. Could he be ignorant, that it was an open violation of the laws of nations, to send spies to an enemy's court, under the title of embassadors; which is a character, that will not suffer those invested with it to act so mean a part, or to be guilty of such treachery?

(*t*) Cyrus prepared for the approaching battle, like a man who had nothing but great projects in view. He not only took care of every thing that had been resolved in council, but took pleasure in exciting a noble emulation amongst his officers, who should have the finest arms, be the best mounted, fling a dart or shoot an arrow the most dextrously, or who should undergo toil and fatigue with the greatest patience. This he brought about by taking them along with him a hunting, and by constantly rewarding those that distinguished themselves most. Wherever he perceived, that the captains took a particular care of their men, he praised them publickly, and shewed them all possible favour for their encouragement. When he made

(*t*) P. 157.

them

them any feaſt, he never propoſed any other diverſions than military exerciſes, and always gave conſiderable prizes to the conquerors, by which means he excited an univerſal ardor throughout his army. In a word, he was a general, who in repoſe, as well as action, nay, even in his pleaſures, his meals, converſations and walks, had his thoughts entirely bent on promoting the ſervice. 'Tis by ſuch methods a man becomes an able and compleat warrior.

(*u*) In the mean time, the Indian embaſſadors, being returned from the enemy's camp, brought word, that Crœſus was choſen generaliſſimo of their army; that all the kings and princes in their alliance had agreed to furniſh the neceſſary ſums of money for raiſing the troops; that the Thracians had already engaged themſelves; that from Egypt a great ſuccour was marching, conſiſting of an hundred and twenty thouſand men; that another army was expected from Cyprus; that the Cilicians, the people of the two Phrygia's, the Lycaonians, Paphlagonians, Cappadocians, Arabians, and Phœnicians, were already arrived; that the Aſſyrians were likewiſe come up with the king of Babylon; that the Ionians, Æolians, and moſt part of the Greeks living in Aſia, had been obliged to join them; that Crœſus had likewiſe ſent to the Lacedæmonians, to bring them into a treaty of alliance; that the army was aſſembled near the river Pactolus, from whence it was to advance to Thymbra, which was the place of rendezvous for all the troops. This relation was confirmed by the accounts brought in both by the priſoners and the ſpies.

(*x*) Cyrus's army was diſcouraged by this news. But that prince having aſſembled his officers, and repreſented to them the infinite difference between the enemy's troops and theirs, ſoon diſpell'd their fears, and revived their courage.

(*y*) Cyrus had taken all proper meaſures, that his army ſhould be provided with all neceſſaries; and had

(*u*) P. 178. (*x*) P. 159. (*y*) L. 6. p. 158—163.

given

given orders, as well for their march, as for the battle he was preparing to give; in the doing of which he deſcended to an aſtoniſhing detail, which Xenophon relates at length, and which reached from the chief commanders down to the very loweſt ſubaltern officers; for he knew very well, that upon ſuch precautions the ſucceſs of enterpriſes depends, which often miſcarry through the neglect of the ſmalleſt circumſtances; in the ſame manner as it frequently happens, that they playing or movement of the greateſt machines is ſtop'd through the diſorder of one ſingle wheel, tho' never ſo ſmall.

(z) This prince knew all the officers of his army by their names; and making uſe of a low, but ſignificant compariſon, he uſed to ſay, "He thought it ſtrange, "that an artificer ſhould know the names of all his "tools, and a general ſhould be ſo indifferent, as not "to know the names of all his captains, which are the "inſtruments he muſt make uſe of, in all his enterpriſes "and operations." Beſides, he was perſuaded, that ſuch an attention had ſomething in it more honourable for the officers, more engaging, and more proper to excite them to do their duty, as it naturally leads them to believe, they are both known and eſteemed by their general.

(a) When all the preparations were finiſhed, Cyrus took leave of Cyaxares, who ſtaid in Media with a third part of his troops, that the country might not be left entirely defenceleſs.

Cyrus, who underſtood how advantageous it is always to make the enemy's country the ſeat of war, did not wait for the Babylonians coming to attack him in Media, but marched forwards to meet them in their territories, that he might both conſume their forage by his troops, and diſconcert their meaſures by his expedition and the boldneſs of his undertaking. After a very long march he came up with the enemy at Thymbra, a city of Lydia, not far from Sardis, the capital of the

(z) L. 5. p. 131—132. (a) L. 6. p. 160, 161.

country. They did not imagine, this prince, with half the number of forces they had, could think of coming to attack them in their own country: and they were ſtrangely ſurpriſed to ſee him come, before they had time to lay up the proviſions, neceſſary for the ſubſiſtance of their numerous army, or to aſſemble all the forces they intended to bring into the field againſt him.

SECT. V. *The battle of Thymbra, between Cyrus and Crœſus.*

THIS battle is one of the moſt conſiderable events in antiquity, ſince it decided the empire of Aſia between the Aſſyrians of Babylon and the Perſians. * 'Twas this conſideration, that induced Mr. Freret, one of my brethren in the academy of polite literature, to examine it with a particular care and exactneſs; and the rather, as he obſerves, becauſe it is the firſt pitch'd battle, of which we have any full or particular account. I have aſſumed the privilege of making uſe of the labours and learning of other perſons, but without robbing them of the glory, as alſo without denying myſelf the liberty of making ſuch alterations as I judge neceſſary. I ſhall give a more ample and particular deſcription of this battle, than I uſually do of ſuch matters, becauſe Cyrus being look'd upon as one of the greateſt captains of antiquity, thoſe of the profeſſion may be glad to trace him in all his ſteps through this important action: Moreover, the manner in which the ancients made war and fought battles, is an eſſential part of their hiſtory.

(*b*) In Cyrus's army the companies of foot conſiſted of an hundred men each, excluſively of the captain. Each company was ſubdivided into four parts or platoons, which conſiſted of four and twenty men each, not including the perſon that commanded the eſcouade. Each of theſe ſubdiviſions was again divided into two files, conſiſting in conſequence of twelve men. Every

(*b*) Cyrop. l. 6. p. 167.

* Vol. VI. of the memoirs of the academy of belles lettres, p. 532.

ten

ten companies had a particular ſuperior officer to command them, which ſufficiently anſwers to what we call a colonel; and ten of thoſe bodies again had another ſuperior commander, which we may call a brigadier.

(*c*) I have already obſerved, that Cyrus, when he firſt came at the head of the thirty thouſand Perſians, to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares, made a conſiderable change in the arms of his troops. Two thirds of them till then only made uſe of javelins, or bows, and conſequently could only fight at a diſtance from the enemy. Inſtead of theſe, Cyrus armed the greateſt part of them with cuiraſſes, bucklers and ſwords, or battle-axes; and left few of his ſoldiers in light armour.

(*d*) The Perſians did not know at that time what it was to fight on horſe-back. Cyrus, who was convinced, that nothing was of ſo great importance towards the gaining of a battle, as cavalry, was ſenſible of the great inconvenience he labour'd under in that reſpect, and therefore took wiſe and early precautions to remedy that evil. He ſucceeded in his deſign, and by little and little form'd a body of Perſian cavalry, which amounted to ten thouſand men, and were the beſt troops of his army.

I ſhall ſpeak elſewhere of the other change he introduc'd, with reſpect to the chariots of war. 'Tis now time for us to give the number of the troops of both armies, which cannot be fix'd but by conjecture, and by putting together ſeveral ſcatter'd paſſages of Xenophon, that author having omitted the material circumſtance of acquainting us preciſely with their numbers; which appears ſurpriſing in a man ſo expert in military affairs, as that hiſtorian was.

Cyrus's army amounted in the whole to an hundred and ninety-ſix thouſand men, horſe and foot. Of theſe there were ſeventy thouſand natural born Perſians, *viz.* ten thouſand cuiraſſiers of horſe, twenty thouſand cuiraſſiers of foot, twenty thouſand pikemen, and twenty thouſand light-armed ſoldiers. The reſt of the army,

(*c*) L. 2. p. 39, 40. (*d*) L. 4. p. 99, 100. and l. 5. p. 138.

to the number of an hundred and twenty-ſix thouſand men, conſiſted of twenty-ſix thouſand Median, Armenian, and Arabian horſe, and an hundred thouſand foot of the ſame nations.

(*e*) Beſides theſe troops, Cyrus had three hundred chariots of war, arm'd with ſcythes, each chariot drawn by four horſes a-breaſt, cover'd with trappings that were ſhot-proof; as were alſo the horſes of the Perſian cuiraſſiers.

(*f*) He had likewiſe ordered a great number of chariots to he made of a larger ſize, upon each of which was plac'd a tower, of about eighteen or twenty foot high, in which were lodg'd twenty archers. Each chariot was drawn upon wheels by ſixteen oxen yok'd in a breaſt.

(*g*) There was moreover a conſiderable number of camels, upon each of which were two Arabian archers, back to back; ſo that one looked towards the head, and the other towards the tail of the camel.

(*h*) Crœſus's army was above twice as numerous as that of Cyrus, amounting in all to four hundred and twenty thouſand men, of which ſixty thouſand were cavalry. The troops conſiſted chiefly of Babylonians, Lydians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, of the nations about the Helleſpont, and of Egyptians, to the number of three hundred and ſixty thouſand men. The Egyptians alone made a body of an hundred and twenty thouſand. They had bucklers, that cover'd them from head to foot, very long pikes, and ſhort ſwords, but very broad. The reſt of the army was made up of Cyprians, Cilicians, Lycaonians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, and Ionians.

(*i*) Crœſus's army in order of battle was all rang'd in one line, the infantry in the center, and the cavalry on the two wings. All his troops, both foot and horſe, were thirty men deep: but the Egyptians, who, as we have taken notice, were an hundred and twenty thou-

(*e*) L. 6. p. 152, 153, 157. (*f*) P. 156. (*g*) P. 153, 158.
(*h*) P. 158. (*i*) P. 166.

ſand

ſand in number, and who were the principal ſtrength of Crœſus's infantry, in the center of which they were poſted, were divided into twelve large bodies, or ſquare battalions, of ten thouſand men each, which had an hundred men in the front, and as many in depth, with an interval or ſpace between every battalion, that they might act and fight independent of, and without interfering with one another. Crœſus would gladly have perſuaded them to range themſelves in leſs depth, that they might make the wider front. The armies were in an immenſe plain, which gave room for the extending of their wings to right and left: and the deſign of Crœſus, upon which alone he founded his hopes of victory, was to ſurround and hem in the enemy's army. But he could not prevail upon the Egyptians to change the order of battle, to which they had been accuſtom'd. His army, as it was thus drawn out into one line, took up near forty ſtadia's, or five miles in length.

Arafpes, who under the pretence of diſcontent had retired to Crœſus's army, and had had particular orders from Cyrus, to obſerve well the manner of that general's ranging his troops, returned to the Perſian camp the day before the battle. Cyrus in drawing up his army, govern'd himſelf by the diſpoſition of the enemy, of which that young Median nobleman had given him an exact account.

(*k*) The Perſian troops had been generally us'd to engage four and twenty men in depth, but Cyrus thought fit to change that diſpoſition. It was neceſſary for him to form as wide a front as poſſible, without too much weakening his phalanx, to prevent his army's being enclos'd and hem'd in. His infantry was excellent, and moſt advantageouſly arm'd with cuiraſſes, partizans, battle-axes, and ſwords; and provided they could join the enemy in cloſe fight, there was little reaſon to believe the Lydian phalanx, that were only arm'd with light bucklers and javelins, could ſupport

(*k*) P. 167.

the charge. Cyrus therefore thin'd the files of his infantry one half, and rang'd them only twelve men deep. The cavalry was drawn out on the two wings, the right commanded by Chryſantes, and the left by Hyſtaſpes. The whole front of the army took up but thirty-two ſtadia's, or four miles in extent; and conſequently was at each end near four ſtadia's, or half a mile, ſhort of the enemy's front.

Behind the firſt line, at a little diſtance, Cyrus placed the ſpear-men, and behind them the archers. Both the one and the other were cover'd by the ſoldiers in their front, over whoſe heads they could fling their javelins, and ſhoot their arrows, at the enemy.

Behind all theſe he form'd another line, to ſerve for the rear, which conſiſted of the flower of his army. Their buſineſs was to have their eyes upon thoſe that were plac'd before them, to encourage thoſe that did their duty, to ſuſtain and threaten thoſe that gave way, and even to kill thoſe as traitors that run away; by that means to keep the cowards in awe, and make them have as great a terror of the troops in the rear, as they could poſſibly have of the enemy.

Behind the army were placed thoſe moving towers, which I have already deſcrib'd. Theſe form'd a line equal and parallel to that of the army, and did not only ſerve to annoy the enemy by the perpetual diſcharges of the archers that were in them, but might likewiſe be look'd upon as a kind of moveable forts, or redoubts, under which the Perſian troops might rally, in caſe they were broken and puſh'd by the enemy.

Juſt behind theſe towers were two other lines, which alſo were parallel and equal to the front of the army; the one was form'd of the baggage, and the other of the chariots, which carried the women, and ſuch other perſons as were unfit for ſervice.

(*l*) To cloſe all theſe lines, and to ſecure them from the inſults of the enemy, Cyrus placed in the rear of

(*l*) P. 168.

all

all two thouſand infantry, two thouſand horſe, and the troop of camels, which was pretty numerous.

Cyrus's deſign in forming two lines of the baggage, &c. was not only to make his army appear more numerous than it really was, but likewiſe to oblige the enemies, in caſe they were reſolv'd to ſurround him, as he knew they intended, to make the longer circuit, and conſequently to weaken their line, by ſtretching it out ſo far.

We have ſtill the Perſian chariots of war armed with ſcythes to ſpeak of. Theſe were divided into three bodies, of an hundred each. One of theſe bodies, commanded by Abradates, king of * Suſiana, was placed in the front of the battle, and the other two upon the two flanks of the army.

Such was the order of battle in the two armies, as they were drawn out and diſpoſed the day before the engagement.

(*m*) The next day very early in the morning Cyrus made a ſacrifice, during which time his army took a little refreſhment; and the ſoldiers, after having offer'd their libations to the gods, put on their armour. Never was ſight more beautiful and magnificent: Coat-armours, cuiraſſes, bucklers, helmets, one could not tell which to admire moſt: men and horſes, all finely equip'd, and glittering in braſs and ſcarlet.

(*n*) When Abradates was juſt going to put on his cuiraſs, which was only of quilted flax, according to the faſhion of his country, his wife Panthea came and preſented him with an helmet, bracers, and bracelets, all of gold, with a coat-armour of his own length, plaited at the bottom, and with a purple-colour'd plume of feathers. She had got all this armour prepared without her huſband's knowledge, that her preſent might be the more agreeable from ſurpriſe. In ſpite of all her endeavours to the contrary, when ſhe dreſs'd him in this armour, ſhe ſhed ſome tears. But notwithſtand-

(*m*) P. 169. (*n*) P. 169, 170.

* *Or Suſhan.*

ing her tenderneſs for him, ſhe exhorted him to die with ſword in hand, rather than not ſignalize himſelf in a manner ſuitable to his birth, and the idea ſhe had endeavour'd to give Cyrus of his gallantry and worth. "Our obligations (ſays ſhe) to that prince are infi- "nitely great. I was his priſoner, and as ſuch was "ſet apart for his pleaſure: but when I came into his "hands, I was neither uſed like a captive, nor had "any diſhonourable conditions impoſed on me for my "freedom. He treated me as if I had been his own "brother's wife; and in return I aſſured him, you "would be capable of acknowledging ſuch extraordi- "nary goodneſs." "O Jupiter (cry'd Abradates, "lifting up his eyes towards heaven) grant that on "this occaſion I may approve myſelf an huſband "worthy of Panthea, and a friend worthy of ſo ge- "nerous a benefactor." Having ſaid this, he mounted his chariot. Panthea, not being able to embrace him any longer, was ready to kiſs the chariot he rode in; and when ſhe had purſued him with her eyes, as far as ſhe poſſibly could, ſhe retir'd.

(o) As ſoon as Cyrus had finiſh'd his ſacrifice, given his officers the neceſſary orders and inſtructions for the battle, and put them in mind of paying the homage that is due to the gods, every man went to his poſt. (p) Some of his officers brought him wine and victuals: he eat a little without ſitting down, and cauſed the reſt to be diſtributed amongſt thoſe that were about him. He took a little wine likewiſe; and pour'd out a part of it, as an offering to the gods, before he drank; and all the company follow'd his example. After this he pray'd again to the god of his fathers, deſiring he would pleaſe to be his guide, and come to his aſſiſtance; he then mounted his horſe, and commanded them all to follow him.

As he was conſidering on which ſide he ſhould direct his march, he heard a clap of thunder on the right,

(o) P. 170. (p) L. 7. p. 172.

and

and cry'd out, † "Sovereign Jupiter, we follow thee:" And that inſtant he ſet forwards, having Chryſantes on his right, who commanded the right wing of the horſe, and Arſamas on his left, who commanded the foot. He warn'd them above all things to take care of the royal ſtandard, and to advance equally in a line. The ſtandard was a golden eagle at the end of a pike, with its wings ſtretch'd out; the ſame was ever after uſed by the kings of Perſia. He made his army halt three times, before they arriv'd at the enemy's army; and after having march'd about twenty ſtadia's, or two miles and an half, they came in view of them.

When the two armies were within ſight of each other, and the enemies had obſerv'd how much the front of theirs exceeded that of Cyrus, they made the center of their army halt, whilſt the two wings advanced projecting to the right and left, with deſign to incloſe Cyrus's army, and to begin their attack on every ſide at the ſame time. This movement did not at all alarm Cyrus, becauſe he expected it. Having given the word for rallying the troops, *Jupiter, leader and protector*, he left his right wing, promiſing to rejoin them immediately, and help them to conquer, if it was the will of the gods.

(q) He rode through all the ranks, to give his orders, and to encourage the ſoldiers; and he, who on all other occaſions was ſo modeſt, and ſo far from the leaſt air of oſtentation, was now full of a noble confidence, and ſpoke as if he was aſſured of victory: "Follow me, comrades (ſays he) the victory is cer-"tainly ours; the gods are for us." He obſerv'd, that many of his officers, and even Abradates himſelf, were uneaſy at the motion, which the two wings of the Lydian army made, in order to attack them on the two flanks: "Thoſe troops alarm you (ſays he); "believe me, thoſe are the very troops that will be "the firſt routed: and to you, Abradates, I give that

(q) P. 173—176.

† *He had really a God for his guide, but very different from Jupiter.*

" as a ſignal of the time, when you are to fall upon " the enemy with your chariots." In the event the thing juſt happen'd as Cyrus had foretold. After Cyrus had given ſuch orders as he thought neceſſary every where, he return'd to the right wing of his army.

(r) When the two detach'd bodies of the Lydian troops were ſufficiently extended, Crœſus gave the ſignal to the main body of his army, to march up directly to the front of the Perſian army, whilſt the two wings, that were wheeling round upon their flanks, advanced on each ſide; ſo that Cyrus's army was incloſed on three ſides, as if it had had three great armies to engage with; and, as Xenophon ſays, look'd like a ſmall ſquare drawn within a great one.

In an inſtant, on the firſt ſignal Cyrus gave, his troops faced about on every ſide, keeping a profound ſilence in expectation of the event. The prince now thought it time to ſing the hymn of battle. The whole army anſwer'd to it with loud ſhouts, and invocations of the god of war. Then Cyrus, at the head of ſome troops of horſe, briſkly follow'd by a body of the foot, fell immediately upon the enemy's forces, that were marching to attack the right of his army in flank; and having attack'd them in flank, as they intended to do him, put them into great diſorder. The chariots then driving furiouſly upon the Lydians compleated their defeat.

In the ſame moment the troops of the left flank, knowing by the noiſe that Cyrus had begun the battle on the right, advanced to the enemy. And immediately the ſquadron of camels was made to advance likewiſe, as Cyrus had order'd. The enemy's cavalry did not expect this; and their horſes at a diſtance, as ſoon as ever they were ſenſible of the approach of thoſe animals (for horſes cannot endure the ſmell of camels) began to ſnort and prance, to run foul upon and overturn one another, throwing their riders, and treading them under their feet. Whilſt they were in

(r) P. 176.

this

this confuſion, a ſmall body of horſe, commanded by Artageſes, puſh'd them very warmly, to prevent them from rallying; and the chariots arm'd with ſcythes falling furiouſly upon them, they were entirely routed, with a dreadful ſlaughter.

(s) This being the ſignal, which Cyrus had given Abradates for attacking the front of the enemy's army, he drove like lightning upon them with all his chariots. Their firſt ranks were not able to ſtand ſo violent a charge, but gave way and were diſperſed. Having broken and overthrown them, Abradates came up to the Egyptian battalions, which being cover'd with their bucklers, and marching in ſuch cloſe order, that the chariots had not room to pierce amongſt them, gave him much more trouble, and would not have been broken, had it not been for the violence of the horſes, that trod upon them. 'Twas a moſt dreadful ſpectacle to ſee the heaps of men and horſes, over-turn'd chariots, broken arms, and all the direful effects of the ſharp ſcythes, which cut every-thing in pieces that came in their way. But Abradates's chariot having the misfortune to be over-turn'd, he and his men were kill'd, after they had ſignaliz'd their valour in an extraordinary manner. The Egyptians then marching forwards in cloſe order, and cover'd with their bucklers, obliged the Perſian infantry to give way, and drove them beyond their fourth line, as far as to their machines. There the Egyptians met with a freſh ſtorm of arrows and javelins, that were pour'd upon their heads from the rolling towers; and the battalions of the Perſian rear-guard advancing ſword in hand, hinder'd their archers and ſpear-men from retreating any farther, and obliged them to return to the charge.

(t) Cyrus in the mean time having put both the horſe and foot to flight, on the left of the Egyptians, did not amuſe himſelf in purſuing the run-aways. But, puſhing on directly to the center, had the mortification to find his Perſian troops had been forced to give way;

(s) P. 177. (t) P. 178.

and

and rightly judging, that the only means to prevent the Egyptians from gaining further ground, would be to attack them behind, he did ſo, and fell upon their rear: The cavalry came up at the ſame time, and the enemy was puſh'd with great fury. The Egyptians, being attack'd on all ſides, faced about every way, and defended themſelves with wonderful bravery. Cyrus himſelf was in great danger: his horſe, which a ſoldier had ſtab'd in the belly, ſinking under him, he fell in the midſt of his enemies. Here was an opportunity, ſays Xenophon, of ſeeing how important it is for a commander to have the affection of his ſoldiers. Officers and men, equally alarm'd at the danger in which they ſaw their leader, run headlong into the thick foreſt of pikes, to reſcue and ſave him. He quickly mounted another horſe, and the battle became more bloody than ever. At length Cyrus, admiring the valour of the Egyptians, and being concern'd to ſee ſuch brave men periſh, offer'd them honourable conditions, if they would ſurrender, letting them know at the ſame time, that all their allies had abandon'd them. The Egyptians accepted the conditions, and, as they were no leſs eminent in point of fidelity than in courage, they ſtipulated, that they ſhould not be obliged to carry arms againſt Crœſus, in whoſe ſervice they had been engaged. From thenceforward they ſerv'd in the Perſian army with inviolable fidelity.

(*u*) Xenophon obſerves, that Cyrus gave them the cities of Lariſſa and Cyllene, near Cuma, upon the ſea-coaſt, as alſo other in-land places, which were inhabited by their deſcendants even in his time; and he adds, that theſe places were call'd the cities of the Egyptians. This obſervation of Xenophon's, as alſo many other in ſeveral parts of his Cyropedia, in order to prove the truth of the things he advances, ſhews plainly, that he meant that work as a true hiſtory of Cyrus, at leaſt with reſpect to the main ſubſtance of

(*u*) P. 179.

it,

it, and the greateſt part of the facts and tranſactions. This judicious reflection, Monſieur Freret makes upon this paſſage.

(x) The battle laſted till evening. Crœſus retreated, as faſt as he could, with his troops to Sardis. The other nations in like manner that very night directed their courſe, each to their own country, and made as long marches as they poſſibly could. The conquerors, after they had eaten ſomething, and poſted the guards, went to reſt.

In deſcribing this battle I have endeavour'd exactly to follow the Greek text of Xenophon, the Latin tranſlation of which is not always faithful. Some perſons of the ſword, to whom I have communicated this deſcription, find a defect in the manner in which Cyrus diſpoſed of his troops in order of battle; as he placed no troops to cover his flanks, to ſuſtain his arm'd chariots, and to oppoſe the two bodies of troops, which Crœſus had detach'd, to fall upon the flanks of Cyrus's army. 'Tis poſſible ſuch a circumſtance might eſcape Xenophon in deſcribing this battle.

(y) 'Tis allow'd, that Cyrus's victory was chiefly owing to his Perſian cavalry, which was a new eſtabliſhment, and entirely the fruit of that prince's care and activity in forming his people, and perfecting them in a part of the military art, of which till his time they had been utterly ignorant. The chariots arm'd with ſcythes did good ſervice, and the uſe of them was ever afterwards retained among the Perſians. The camels too were not unſerviceable in this battle, though Xenophon makes no great account of them, and obſerves, that in his time they made no other uſe of them, than for carrying the baggage.

I don't undertake to write a penegyrick upon Cyrus, or to magnify his merit. 'Tis ſufficient to take notice, that in this affair we ſee all the qualities of a great general ſhine out in him. Before the battle, an admirable ſagacity and foreſight in diſcovering and

(x) Cyrop. p. 180. (y) P. 180.

diſcon-

diſconcerting the enemy's meaſures; an infinite exactneſs in the detail of affairs, in taking care that his army ſhould be provided with every thing neceſſary, and all his orders punctually executed at the times fixed; a wonderful application to gain the hearts of his ſoldiers, and to inſpire them with confidence and ardor: In the heat of action, what a ſpirit and activity; what a preſence of mind in giving orders, as occaſion requires; what courage and intrepidity, and at the ſame time what humanity towards the enemy, whoſe valour he reſpects, and whoſe blood he is unwilling to ſhed! We ſhall ſee by-and-by what uſe he made of his victory.

But what appears to me ſtill more remarkable, and more worthy of admiration than all the reſt, is the conſtant care he took, on all occaſions, to pay that homage and worſhip to the deity, which he thought belong'd to him. Doubtleſs the reader has been ſurpriſed to ſee, in the relation I have given of this battle, how many times Cyrus, in ſight of all his army, makes mention of the gods, offers ſacrifices and libations to them, addreſſes himſelf to them by prayer and invocation, and implores their ſuccour and protection. But in this I have added nothing to the original text of the hiſtorian, who was alſo a military perſon himſelf, and who thought it no diſhonour to himſelf or his profeſſion to relate theſe particular circumſtances. What a ſhame then and a reproach would it be to a chriſtian officer or general, if on a day of battle he ſhould bluſh to appear as religious and devout as a pagan prince; and if the Lord of hoſts, the God of armies, whom he acknowledges as ſuch, ſhould make a leſs impreſſion upon his mind, than a reſpect for the falſe deities of paganiſm did upon the mind of Cyrus?

As for Crœſus, he makes no great figure in this action; not one word is ſaid of him in the whole engagement. But that profound ſilence, which Xenophon obſerves in regard to him, ſeems, in my opinion, to imply a great deal, and gives us to underſtand that a

man

man may be a powerful prince, or a rich potentate, without being a great warrior.

(z) But let us return to the camp of the Perſians. 'Tis eaſy to imagine, that Panthea muſt be in the utmoſt affliction and diſtreſs, when the news was brought her of Abradates's death. Having cauſed his body to be brought to her, and holding it upon her knees, quite out of her ſenſes, with her eyes ſtedfaſtly fixt upon the melancholy object, ſhe thought of nothing but feeding her grief and indulging her miſery with the ſight of that diſmal and bloody ſpectacle. Cyrus, being told what a condition ſhe was in, ran immediately to her, ſympathiſed with her affliction, and bewailed her unhappy fate with tears of compaſſion, doing all that he poſſibly could to give her comfort, and ordering extraordinary honours to be ſhewn to the brave deceaſed Abradates. But no ſooner was Cyrus retired, than Panthea, overpower'd with grief, ſtabbed herſelf with a dagger, and fell dead upon the body of her huſband. They were both bury'd in one common grave upon the very ſpot, and a monument was erected for them, which was ſtanding in the time of Xenophon.

SECT. VI. *The taking of Sardis, and of Crœſus.*

(a) THE next day in the morning Cyrus marched towards Sardis. If we may believe Herodotus, Crœſus did not imagine that Cyrus intended to ſhut him up in the city, and therefore marched out with his forces, to meet him, and to give him battle. According to that hiſtorian, the Lydians were the braveſt and moſt warlike people of Aſia. Their principal ſtrength conſiſted in their cavalry. Cyrus, in order to render that the leſs ſerviceable to them, made his camels advance firſt, of which animals the horſe could neither endure the ſight nor the ſmell, and therefore immediately retired on their approach. Upon which the riders diſmounted, and came to the engagement on foot, which was very obſtinately maintained on both

(z) P. 184—186. (a) L. 1. c. 79—84.

ſides;

ſides; but at length the Lydians gave way, and were forced to retreat into the city; (*b*) which Cyrus quickly beſieged, cauſing his engines to be level'd againſt the walls, and his ſcaling-ladders to be prepared, as if he intended to attack it by ſtorm. But whilſt he was amuſing the beſieged with theſe preparations, the night following he made himſelf maſter of the citadel, by a private way that led thereto, which he was informed of by a Perſian ſlave, who had been a ſervant to the governor of that place. At break of day he entered the city, where he met with no reſiſtance. His firſt care was to preſerve it from being plunder'd; for he perceived the Chaldeans had quitted their ranks, and already begun to diſperſe themſelves in ſeveral places. To ſtop the rapacious hands of foreign ſoldiers, and tie them as it were by a ſingle command, in a city ſo abounding with riches as Sardis was, is a thing not to be done but by ſo ſingular an authority as Cyrus had over his army. He gave all the citizens to underſtand, that their lives ſhould be ſpared, and neither their wives nor children touch'd, provided they brought him all their gold and ſilver. This condition they readily complied with; and Crœſus himſelf, whom Cyrus had order'd to be conducted to him, ſet them an example, by delivering up all his riches and treaſures to the conqueror.

(*c*) When Cyrus had given all neceſſary orders concerning the city, he had a particular converſation with the king, of whom he aſked among other things, what he now thought of the oracle of Delphos, and of the anſwers given by the god that preſided there, for whom, it was ſaid, he had always had a great regard. Crœſus firſt acknowledged, that he had juſtly incurr'd the indignation of that god, for having ſhewn a diſtruſt of the truth of his anſwers, and for having put him to the trial by an abſurd and ridiculous queſtion; and then declared, that notwithſtanding all this, he ſtill had no reaſon to complain of him; for that having conſulted him, to know what he ſhould do in order to

(*b*) Cyrop. l. 7. p. 180. (*c*) P. 181—184.

lead

lead an happy life, the oracle had given him an anſwer, which implied in ſubſtance, that he ſhould enjoy a perfect and laſting happineſs, when he once came to the knowledge of himſelf. "For want of this knowledge "(continued he) and believing myſelf, through the ex- "ceſſive praiſes that were laviſh'd upon me, to be "ſomething very different from what I am, I ac- "cepted the title of generaliſſimo of the whole army, "and unadviſedly engaged in a war againſt a prince, "infinitely my ſuperior in all reſpects. But now "that I am inſtructed by my defeat, and begin to "know myſelf, I believe I am going to begin to be "happy; and if you prove favourable to me (for my "fate is in your hands) I ſhall certainly be ſo." Cyrus, touch'd with compaſſion at the misfortune of the king, who was fallen in a moment from ſo great an elevation, and admiring his equanimity under ſuch a reverſe of fortune, treated him with a great deal of clemency and kindneſs, ſuffering him to enjoy both the title and authority of king, under the reſtriction of not having the power to make war; that is to ſay, he diſcharged him (as Crœſus acknowledged himſelf) from all the burthenſome part of regal power, and truly enabled him to lead an happy life, exempt from all care and diſquiet. From thenceforward he took him with him in all his expeditions, either out of eſteem for him, and to have the benefit of his counſel, or out of policy, and to be the more ſecure of his perſon.

Herodotus, and other writers after him, relate this ſtory with the addition of ſome very remarkable circumſtances, which I think it incumbent on me to mention, notwithſtanding they ſeem to be much more wonderful than true.

(*d*) I have already obſerv'd, that the only ſon Crœſus had living was dumb. This young prince, ſeeing a ſoldier, when the city was taken, ready to give the king, whom he did not know, a ſtroke upon the head with his ſcymitar, made ſuch a violent effort and ſtrug-

(*d*) Her. l. 1. c. 85.

gle,

gle, out of fear and tenderneſs for the life of his father, that he broke the ſtrings of his tongue, and cry'd out, *Soldier, ſpare the life of Crœſus.*

(*e*) Crœſus being a priſoner was condemned by the conqueror to be burnt alive. Accordingly the funeral-pile was prepared, and that unhappy prince, being laid thereon, and juſt upon the point of execution, recollecting the * converſation he had formerly had with Solon, was wofully convinced of the truth of that philoſopher's admonition, and in remembrance thereof cry'd out aloud three times, *Solon, Solon, Solon!* Cyrus, who with the chief officers of his court was preſent at this ſpectacle, was curious to know why Crœſus pronounced that celebrated philoſopher's name with ſo much vehemence in this extremity. Being told the reaſon, and reflecting upon the uncertain ſtate of all ſublunary things, he was touched with commiſeration at the prince's misfortune, cauſed him to be taken from the pile, and treated him afterwards, as long as he lived, with honour and reſpect. † Thus had Solon the glory with one ſingle word to ſave the life of one king, and give a wholſome leſſon of inſtruction to another.

Two anſwers in particular, given by the Delphic oracle, had induced Crœſus to engage in the war, which proved ſo fatal to him. The one was, that he, Crœſus, was to believe himſelf in danger, when the Medes ſhould have a mule to reign over them: The other, that when he ſhould paſs the river Halys, to make war againſt the Medes, he would deſtroy a mighty empire. From the firſt of theſe oracular anſwers he concluded, conſidering the impoſſibility of the thing ſpoken of, that he had nothing to fear; and from the ſecond he conceived hopes of ſubverting the empire of the Medes. When he found how things had happened quite contrary to his expectations, with Cyrus's leave he diſ-

(*e*) Ibid. c. 86—91. Plut. in Solon.

* *This converſation is already related*, p. 73.

† Καὶ δόξαν ἔχειν ὁ Σόλων ἐνὶ λόγῳ τὸν μὲν σώσας, τὸν δὲ παιδεύσας τῶν βασιλέων. *Plut.*

patched

patched meſſengers to Delphos, in order to make a preſent to the god in his name of a golden chain, and at the ſame time to reproach him for having ſo baſely deceived him by his oracles, notwithſtanding all the vaſt preſents and offerings he had made him. The god was at no great pains to juſtify his anſwers. The mule which the oracle meant was Cyrus, who derived his extraction from two different nations, being a Perſian by the father's ſide, and a Mede by the mother's; and as to the great empire which Crœſus was to overthrow, the oracle did not mean that of the Medes, but his own.

'Twas by ſuch falſe and deceitful oracles, that the father of lies, the devil, who was the author of them, impoſed upon mankind, in thoſe times of ignorance and darkneſs, always giving his anſwers to thoſe that conſulted him, in ſuch ambiguous and doubtful terms, that let the event be what it would, they contained a relative meaning.

(*f*) When the people of Ionia and Æolia were appriſed of Cyrus's having ſubdued the Lydians, they ſent embaſſadors to him at Sardis, to deſire he would receive them as his ſubjects, upon the ſame conditions he had granted the Lydians. Cyrus, who before his victory had ſollicited them in vain to embrace his party, and was then in a condition to compel them to it by force, anſwered them only by a fable of a fiſherman, who having play'd upon his pipe, in order to make the fiſh come to him, in vain, found there was no way to catch them, but by throwing his net into the water. Failing in their hopes of ſucceeding this way, they applied to the Lacedæmonians, and demanded their ſuccour. The Lacedæmonians thereupon ſent deputies to Cyrus, to let him know, that they would not ſuffer him to undertake any thing againſt the Greeks. Cyrus only laughed at ſuch a meſſage, and advertiſed them in his turn to take care, and put themſelves into a condition to defend their own territories.

The nations of the iſles had nothing to apprehend

(*f*) Herod. l. 1. c. 141, 152, 153.

from

from Cyrus, becauſe he had not yet ſubdued the Phœnicians, nor had the Perſians any ſhipping.

ARTICLE II.

The hiſtory of the beſieging and taking of Babylon by Cyrus.

(g) CYRUS ſtaid in Aſia Minor, till he had entirely reduced all the nations that inhabited it into ſubjection, from the Egean ſea to the river Euphrates. From thence he proceeded to Syria and Arabia, which he alſo ſubjected. After which he entered into Aſſyria, and advanced towards Babylon, the only city of the eaſt that ſtood out againſt him.

The ſiege of this important place was no eaſy enterpriſe. The walls of it were of a prodigious height, and appeared to be inacceſſible, without mentioning the immenſe number of people within them for their defence. Beſides, the city was ſtored with all ſorts of proviſions for twenty years. However, theſe difficulties did not diſcourage Cyrus from purſuing his deſign. But deſpairing to take the place by ſtorm, or aſſault, he made them believe his deſign was to reduce it by famine. To which end he cauſed a line of circumvallation to be drawn quite round the city with a large and deep ditch; and, that his troops might not be over-fatigued, he divided his army into twelve bodies, and aſſign'd each of them its month for guarding the trenches. The beſieged, thinking themſelves out of all danger, by reaſon of their ramparts and magazines, inſulted Cyrus from the top of their walls, and laugh'd at all his attempts, and all the trouble he gave himſelf, as ſo much unprofitable labour.

SECT. I. *Predictions of the principal circumſtances relating to the ſiege and the taking of Babylon, as they are ſet down in different places of the holy ſcriptures.*

AS the taking of Babylon is one of the greateſt events in ancient hiſtory, and as the principal circum-

(g) Her. l. 1. c. 177. Cyrop. l. 7. p. 186—188.

ſtances,

ſtances, with which it was attended, were foretold in the holy ſcriptures many years before it happened, I think it not improper, before I give an account of what the prophane writers ſay of it, briefly to put together what we find upon the ſame head in the ſacred pages, that the reader may be the more capable of comparing the predictions and the accompliſhment of them together.

I. *The prediction of the Jewiſh captivity at Babylon, and the time of its duration.*

God almighty was pleaſed not only to cauſe the captivity, which his people were to ſuffer at Babylon, to be foretold a long time before it came to paſs, but likewiſe to ſet down the exact number of years it was to laſt. The term he fixed for it was ſeventy years, after which he promiſed he would deliver them, by bringing a remarkable and an eternal deſtruction upon the city of Babylon, the place of their bondage and confinement. *And theſe nations ſhall ſerve the king of Babylon ſeventy years.* Jer. xxv. 11.

II. *The cauſes of God's wrath againſt Babylon.*

That which kindled the wrath of God againſt Babylon was, 1. Her inſupportable pride; 2. Her inhuman cruelty towards the Jews; and, 3. The ſacrilegious impiety of her king.

1. *Her pride.* * She believeth herſelf to be invincible. She ſays in her heart, I am the queen of nations, and I ſhall remain ſo for ever. There is no power equal to mine. All other powers are either ſubject or tributary to me, or in alliance with me. I ſhall never know either barrenneſs, or widowhood. Eternity is writ in my deſtiny, according to the obſervation of all thoſe that have conſulted the ſtars to know it.

2. *Her cruelty.* 'Tis God himſelf that complains

* Dixiſti, In ſempiternum ero domina —— Dicis in corde tuo, Ego ſum, & non eſt præter me amplius: non ſedebo vidua, & ignorabo ſterilitatem, *Iſa.* xlvii. 7, 8.

of it. † I was willing (ſays he) to puniſh my people in ſuch a manner, as a father chaſtiſeth his children. I ſent them for a time into baniſhment at Babylon, with a deſign to recal them, as ſoon as they were become more thankful and more faithful. But Babylon and her prince have converted my paternal chaſtiſement into ſuch a cruel and inhuman treatment, as my clemency abhors. Their deſign has been to deſtroy; mine was to ſave. The baniſhment they have turned into a ſevere bondage and captivity, and have ſhewn no compaſſion or regard either to age, infirmity or virtue.

3. *The ſacrilegious impiety of her king.* To the pride and cruelty of his predeceſſors Baltazar added an impiety that was peculiar to himſelf. He did not only prefer his falſe divinities to the true and only God, but imagined himſelf likewiſe to have vanquiſhed his power, becauſe he was poſſeſſed of the veſſels which had belong'd to his worſhip: and, as if he meant it to affront him, he affected to apply thoſe holy veſſels to prophane uſes. This was the provoking circumſtance, that brought down the wrath of God upon him.

III. *The decree pronounced againſt Babylon. Prediction of the calamities that were to fall upon her, and of her utter deſtruction,*

(*b*) *Make bright the arrows, gather the ſhields*; 'tis the prophet that ſpeaks to the Medes and Perſians. *The Lord hath raiſed up the ſpirit of the kings of the Medes, for his device is againſt Babylon to deſtroy it, becauſe it is the vengeance of the Lord, the vengeance of his temple.*

(*i*) *Howl ye, for the day of the Lord is at hand, a day cruel both with wrath and fierce anger to lay the land deſolate.* (*k*) *Behold, I will puniſh the king of Babylon and his land, as I have puniſhed the king of* * *Aſſyria.*

(*b*) Jer. li. 11. (*i*) Iſa. xiii. 6, 9. (*k*) Jer. l. 18.

† Iratus ſum ſuper populum meum, & dedi eos in manu tua, Babylon. Non poſuiſti eis miſericordiam: ſuper ſenem aggravaſti jugum tuum valde. Veniet ſuper te malum. *Iſa.* xlvii. 6, 7.

* *In the deſtruction of Niniveh.*

Shoot

(l) *Shoot againſt her round about. Recompenſe her according to her work; according to all that ſhe hath done, do unto her; and ſpare ye not her young men; deſtroy ye utterly all her hoſt.* (m) *Every one that is found ſhall be thruſt thro', and every one that is joined unto them ſhall fall by the ſword. Their children alſo ſhall be daſhed to pieces before their eyes, their houſes ſhall be ſpoiled, and their wives raviſhed. Behold, I will ſtir up the Medes againſt them, who ſhall not regard ſilver; and as for gold, they ſhall not delight in it. Their bows alſo ſhall daſh the young men to pieces, and they ſhall have no pity on the fruit of the womb; their eye ſhall not ſpare children.* (n) *O daughter of Babylon, who art to be deſtroyed, happy ſhall he be, that rewardeth thee as thou haſt ſerved us. Happy ſhall he be, that taketh thy children, and daſheth them againſt the ſtones.*

(o) *And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, and the beauty of the Chaldees excellency, ſhall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It ſhall never be inhabited; neither ſhall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither ſhall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither ſhall the ſhepherds make their fold there; but wild beaſts of the deſart ſhall lie there, and their houſes ſhall be full of doleful creatures; and owls ſhall dwell there, and ſatyrs ſhall dance there: and the wild beaſts of the iſlands ſhall cry in their deſolate houſes, and dragons in their pleaſant palaces.* (p) *I will alſo make it a poſſeſſion for the bittern and pools of water; and I will ſweep it with the beſom of deſtruction, ſaith the Lord of hoſts. The Lord of hoſts hath ſworn, ſaying, Surely as I have thought, ſo ſhall it come to paſs; and as I have purpoſed, ſo ſhall it ſtand.*

IV. *Cyrus called to deſtroy Babylon, and to deliver the Jews.*

Cyrus, whom the divine providence was to make uſe of, as an inſtrument for the executing of his de-

(l) Jer. l. 15, 29. Ibid. li. 3. (m) Iſa. xiii. 15, 18.
(n) Pſ. cxxxvii. 8, 9. (o) Iſa. xiii. 19, 22. (p) Ibid. xiv. 23, 24.

signs

ſigns of goodneſs and mercy towards his people, was mentioned in the ſcripture by his name, above two hundred years before he was born: And, that the world might not be ſurpriſed at the prodigious rapidity of his conqueſts, God was pleaſed to declare in very lofty and remarkable terms, that he himſelf would be his guide; that in all his expeditions he would lead him by the hand, and would ſubdue all the princes of the earth before him. (q) *Thus ſaith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whoſe right hand I have holden to ſubdue nations before him; and I will looſe the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates ſhall not be ſhut. I will go before thee, and make the crooked places ſtrait. I will break in pieces the gates of braſs, and cut in ſunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee the treaſures of darkneſs, and hidden riches of ſecret places, that thou may'ſt know, that I the Lord, which call thee by thy name, am the God of Iſrael. For Jacob my ſervant's ſake, and Iſrael mine elect, I have even called thee by thy name: I have ſirnamed thee, tho' thou haſt not known me.*

V. *God gives the ſignal to the commanders, and to the troops, to march againſt Babylon.*

(r) *Lift ye up a banner*, ſaith the Lord, *upon the high mountain*, that it may be ſeen afar off, and that all they who are to obey me may know my orders. *Exalt the voice unto them* that are able to hear you. *Shake the hand*, and make a ſign, to haſten the march of thoſe that are too far off to diſtinguiſh another ſort of command. Let the officers of the troops *go into the gates of the nobles*, into the pavilions of their kings. Let the people of each nation range themſelves around their ſovereign, and make haſte to offer him their ſervice, and to go unto his tent, which is already ſet up.

(s) *I have commanded my ſanctified ones*, I have given my orders to thoſe whom I have ſanctified for the execution of my deſigns; and theſe kings are already marching to obey me, though they know me not.

(q) Iſa. xlv. 1—4. (r) Iſa. xiii. 2. (s) Ver. 3.

'Tis

'Tis I that have placed them upon the throne, that have made ſeveral nations ſubject to them, in order to accompliſh my deſigns by their miniſtration. *I have called my mighty ones* (t) *for mine anger.* I have cauſed the mighty warriors to come up, to be the miniſters and executioners of my wrath and vengeance. From me they derive their courage, their martial abilities, their patience, their wiſdom, and the ſucceſs of their enterpriſes. If they are invincible, 'tis becauſe they ſerve me: every thing gives way, and trembles before them, becauſe they are the miniſters of my wrath and indignation. They joyfully labour for my glory, *they rejoice in my highneſs.* The honour they have of being under my command, and of being ſent to deliver a people that I love, inſpires them with ardor and chearfulneſs: behold, they triumph already in a certain aſſurance of victory.

The prophet, a witneſs in ſpirit of the orders that are juſt given, is aſtoniſhed at the ſwiftneſs, with which they are executed by the princes and the people. I hear already, he cries out, (u) *The noiſe of a multitude in the mountains, like as of a great people; a tumultuous noiſe of the kingdoms of nations gathered together: The Lord of hoſts muſtereth the hoſt of the battle:* (x) *They come from a far country, from the end of heaven,* where the voice of God, their maſter and ſovereign, has reached their ears.

But 'tis not with the ſight of a formidable army, or of the kings of the earth, that I'm now ſtruck; 'tis God himſelf that I behold; all the reſt are but his retinue, and the miniſters of his juſtice. *'Tis even the Lord and the weapons of his indignation, to deſtroy the whole land.*

(y) *A grievous viſion is declared unto me:* The * impious Baltazar, king of Babylon, continues to act impiouſly; *the treacherous dealer dealeth treacherouſly, and*

(t) Lat. verſ. *in ira mea.* Heb. *in iram meam.* (u) Iſa. xiii. 4. (x) Ver. 5. (y) Ib. xxi. 2.

* *This is the ſenſe of the Hebrew word.*

the ſpoiler ſpoileth. To put an end to theſe exceſſes, go up, thou prince of Perſia; *go up, O Elam:* And thou prince of the Medes, beſiege thou Babylon: *Beſiege, O Media; all the ſighing, which ſhe was the cauſe of, have I made to ceaſe.* That wicked city is taken and pillaged; her power is at an end, and my people is delivered.

VI. *Particular circumſtances ſet down, relating to the ſiege and the taking of Babylon.*

There is nothing, methinks, that can be more proper to raiſe a profound reverence in us for religion, and to give us a great idea of the Deity, than to obſerve with what exactneſs he reveals to his prophets the principal circumſtances of the beſieging and taking of Babylon, not only many years, but ſeveral ages, before it happened.

1. We have already ſeen, that the army, by which Babylon will be taken, is to conſiſt of Medes and Perſians, and to be commanded by Cyrus.

2. This city ſhall be attack'd after a very extraordinary manner, in a way that ſhe did not at all expect: (z) *Therefore ſhall evil come upon thee; thou ſhalt not know from whence it riſeth.* She ſhall be all on a ſudden and in an inſtant overwhelm'd with calamities, which ſhe did not foreſee: (a) *Deſolation ſhall come upon thee ſuddenly, which thou ſhalt not know.* In a word, ſhe ſhall be taken, as it were, in a net or a gin, before ſhe perceiveth that any ſnares have been laid for her; (b) *I have laid a ſnare for thee, and thou art alſo taken, O Babylon, and thou waſt not aware.*

3. Babylon reckoned the Euphrates alone was ſufficient to render her impregnable, and triumphed in her being ſo advantageouſly ſituated and defended by ſo deep a river: (c) *O thou that dwelleſt upon many waters:* 'Tis God himſelf who points out Babylon under that deſcription. And yet that very river Euphrates ſhall be the cauſe of her ruin. Cyrus, by a ſtratagem (of which there never had been any example before, nor

(z) Iſa. xlvii. 11. (a) Ibid. (b) Jer. l. 24. (c) li. 13.

has

has there been any thing like it ſince) ſhall divert the courſe of that river, ſhall lay its channel dry, and by that means open himſelf a paſſage into the city: (*d*) *I will dry up her ſea, and make her ſprings dry. A drought is upon her waters, and they ſhall be dried up.* Cyrus ſhall take poſſeſſion of the keys of the river; and the waters, which rendered Babylon inacceſſible, ſhall be dried up, as if they had been conſumed by fire: (*e*) *The paſſages are ſtopped, and the reeds they have burnt with fire.*

4. She ſhall be taken in the night-time, upon a day of feaſting and rejoicing, even whilſt her inhabitants are at table, and think upon nothing but eating and drinking: (*f*) *In their heat I will make their feaſts, and I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice, and ſleep a perpetual ſleep, and not wake, ſaith the Lord.* It is remarkable, that 'tis God who does all this, who lays a ſnare for Babylon; (*g*) *I have laid a ſnare for thee*; who drieth up the waters of the river; *I will dry up her ſea*: and who brings that drunkenneſs and drowſineſs upon her princes; (*h*) *I will make drunk her princes.*

5. The king ſhall be ſeized in an inſtant with an incredible terror and perturbation of mind: (*i*) *My loins are filled with pain; pangs have taken hold upon me, as the pangs of a woman that travaileth: I was bow'd down at the hearing of it; I was diſmayed at the ſeeing of it: My heart panted, fearfulneſs affrighted me: The night of my pleaſure hath he turned into fear unto me.* This is the condition Baltazar was in, when in the middle of the entertainment he ſaw an hand come out of the wall, which wrote ſuch characters upon it, as none of his diviners could either explain or read; but more eſpecially, when Daniel declared to him, that thoſe characters imported the ſentence of his death. (*k*) *Then*, ſays the ſcripture, *the king's countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, ſo*

(*d*) Ver. 36. l. 38. (*e*) li. 32. (*f*) Jer. li. 39. (*g*) ut ſupra.
(*h*) Jer. li. 57. (*i*) Iſa. xxi. 3, 4. (*k*) Dan. v. 6.

that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another. The terror, astonishment, fainting and trembling of Baltazar are here described and expressed in the same manner by the prophet who was an eye-witness of them, as they were by the prophet who foretold them two hundred years before.

But Isaiah must have had an extraordinary measure of divine illumination, to be able to add, immediately after the description of Baltazar's consternation, the following words: (*l*) *Prepare the table, watch in the watch-tower, eat, drink.* The prophet foresees, that Baltazar, tho' terribly dismayed and confounded at first, shall recover his spirit and courage again, thro' the exhortations of his courtiers, but more particularly thro' the persuasion of the queen, his mother, who represented to him the unreasonableness of being affected with such unmanly fears and unnecessary alarms: (*m*) *Let not thy thoughts trouble thee, nor let thy countenance be changed.* They exhorted him therefore to make himself easy, to satisfy himself with giving proper orders, and with the assurance of being advertised of every thing by the vigilance of the centinels; to order the rest of the supper to be served, as if nothing had happened; and to recal that gaiety and joy, which his excessive fears had banished from the table: *Prepare the table, watch in the watch-tower; eat, drink.*

6. But at the same time that men are giving their orders, God on his part is likewise giving his: (*n*) *Arise ye princes, and anoint the shield.* 'Tis God himself that commands the princes to advance, to take their arms, and to enter boldly into a city drowned in wine, and buried in sleep.

7. Isaiah acquaints us with two material and important circumstances concerning the taking of Babylon. The first is, that the troops, with which it is filled, shall not keep their ground, or stand firm any where, neither at the palace, nor the citadel, nor any other public place whatsoever; that they shall desert and

(*l*) Isa. xxi. 5. (*m*) Dan. v. 10. (*n*) Isa. xxi. 5.

leave

leave one another, without thinking of any thing but making their eſcape; that in running away they ſhall diſperſe themſelves, and take different roads, juſt as a flock of deer, or of ſheep, is diſperſed and ſcattered, when they are affrighted: (o) *And it ſhall be as a chaſed roe, and as a ſheep that no man taketh up.* The ſecond circumſtance is, that the greateſt part of thoſe troops, tho' they were in the Babylonian ſervice and pay, were not Babylonians; and that they ſhall return into the provinces, from whence they came, without being purſued by the conquerors; becauſe the divine vengeance was chiefly to fall upon the citizens of Babylon: (p) *They ſhall every man turn to his own people, and flee every one into his own land.*

8. Laſtly, not to mention the dreadful ſlaughter, which is to be made of the inhabitants of Babylon, where no mercy will be ſhewn either to old men, women or children, or even to the child that is ſtill within its mother's womb, as has been already taken notice of; the laſt circumſtance, I ſay, the prophet foretells is the death of the king himſelf, whoſe body is to have no burial, and the entire extinction of the royal family; both which calamities are deſcribed in ſcripture, after a manner equally terrible and inſtructive to all princes. (q) *But thou art caſt out of thy grave, like an abominable branch. Thou ſhalt not be joined with them* (thy anceſtors) *in burial, becauſe thou haſt deſtroyed thy land, and ſlain thy people.* That king is juſtly forgot, who has never remember'd, that he ought to be the protector and father of his people. He, that has lived only to ruin and deſtroy his country, is unworthy of the common privilege of burial. As he has been an enemy to mankind, living or dead, he ought to have no place amongſt them. He was like unto the wild beaſts of the field, and like them he ſhall be buried: and ſince he had no ſentiments of humanity himſelf, he deſerves to meet with no humanity from others. This is the ſentence, which God himſelf pro-

(o) Iſa. xiii. 14. (p) Ibid. (q) Iſa. xiv. 19, 20.

nounceth againſt Baltazar: and the malediction extends itſelf to his children, who were look'd upon as his aſſociates in the throne, and as the ſource of a long poſterity and ſucceſſion of kings, and were entertained with nothing by the flattering courtiers, but the pleaſing proſpects and ideas of their future grandeur. (r) *Prepare ſlaughter for his children, for the iniquity of their fathers; that they do not riſe nor poſſeſs the land. For I will riſe up againſt them, ſaith the Lord of hoſts, and cut off from Babylon the name and remnant, and ſon and nephew, ſaith the Lord.*

SECT. II. *A deſcription of the taking of Babylon.*

AFTER having ſeen the predictions of every thing, that was to happen to impious Babylon, 'tis now time to come to the completion and accompliſhment of thoſe prophecies; and in order thereto, we muſt reſume the thread of our hiſtory, with reſpect to the taking of that city.

Aſſoon as Cyrus ſaw the ditch, which they had long worked upon, was finiſhed, he began to think ſeriouſly upon the execution of his vaſt deſign, which as yet he had communicated to no-body. Providence ſoon furniſhed him with as fit an opportunity for this purpoſe as he could deſire. He was informed, that in the city, on ſuch a day, a great feſtival was to be celebrated; and that the Babylonians, on occaſion of that ſolemnity, were accuſtomed to paſs the whole night in drinking and debauchery.

(s) Baltazar himſelf was more concerned in this publick rejoicing than any other, and gave a magnificent entertainment to the chief officers of the kingdom, and the ladies of the court. In the heat of his wine he ordered the gold and ſilver veſſels, which had been taken from the temple of Jeruſalem, to be brought out; and, as an inſult upon the God of Iſrael, he, his whole court, and all his concubines drank out of thoſe ſacred veſſels. God, who was provoked at ſuch inſolence

(r) Ver. 21, 22.

(s) Dan. v. 1—29.

and

and impiety, in the very action made him sensible, who it was that he affronted, by a sudden apparition of an hand writing certain characters upon the wall. The king, terribly surprised and frighted at this vision, immediately sent for all his wise men, his diviners and astrologers, that they might read the writing to him, and explain the meaning of it. But they all came in vain, not one of them being able to expound the matter, or even to read the * characters. 'Tis probably in relation to this occurrence, that Isaiah, after having foretold to Babylon, that she shall be overwhelm'd with calamities which she did not expect, adds, *Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries. Let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, the monthly prognosticators stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee*, Isa. xlvii. 12, 13. The queen-mother (Nitocris,, a princess of great merit) coming upon the noise of this prodigy into the banqueting-room, endeavoured to compose the spirit of the king, her son, advising him to send for Daniel, with whose abilities in such matters she was well acquainted, and whom she had always employed in the government of the state.

Daniel was therefore immediately sent for, and spoke to the king with a freedom and liberty becoming a prophet. He put him in mind of the dreadful manner, in which God had punished the pride of his grandfather Nebuchadnezzar, and the † crying abuse he made of his power, when he acknowledged no law but his own will, and thought himself master to exalt and to abase, to inflict destruction and death wheresoever he would, only because such was his will and pleasure. " And thou his son (says he to the king) hast not " humbled thine heart, tho' thou knewest all this, but

* *The reason why they could not read this sentence was, that it was written in Hebrew letters, which are now called the Samaritan characters, and which the Babylonians did not understand.*

† *Whom he would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive, and whom he would he set up, and whom he would he put down*, Dan. v. 19.

" haſt lifted up thyſelf againſt the Lord of heaven;
" and they have brought the veſſels of his houſe be-
" fore thee, and thou and thy lords, thy wives and
" thy concubines, have drank wine in them; and thou
" haſt praiſed the gods of ſilver and gold, of braſs,
" iron, wood and ſtone, which ſee not, nor hear, nor
" know: and the God, in whoſe hand thy breath is,
" and whoſe are all thy ways, haſt thou not glorified.
" Then was the part of the hand ſent from him,
" and this writing was written. And this is the
" writing that was written, * MENE, TEKEL,
" (t) UPHARSIN. This is the interpretation of the
" thing; MENE, God hath numbered thy kingdom
" and finiſhed it; TEKEL, thou art weighed in the
" ballances, and art found wanting; PERES, thy
" kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and
" Perſians." This interpretation, one would think, ſhould have enhanced the king's trouble; but ſome way or other they found means to diſpel his fears, and make him eaſy; probably upon a perſuaſion, that the calamity was not denounced as preſent or immediate, and that time might furniſh them with expedients to avert it. This however is certain, that for fear of diſturbing the general joy of the preſent feſtival, they put of the diſcuſſion of ſerious matters to another time, ſat down again to their mirth and liquor, and continued their revellings to a very late hour.

(u) Cyrus in the mean time, well informed of the confuſion, that was generally occaſioned by this feſtival, both in the palace and the city, had poſted a part of his troops on that ſide, where the river entered into the city, and another part on that ſide, where it went out; and had commanded them to enter the city that very night, by marching along the channel of the river, as ſoon as ever they found it fordable. Having given all neceſſary orders, and exhorted his officers to follow him, by repreſenting to them, that he marched

(t) *Or* PERES. (u) Cyrop. l. 7. 189—192.

* Theſe three words ſignify number, weight, diviſion.

under

under the conduct of the gods, in the evening he made them open the great receptacles, or ditches, on both ſides the town, above and below, that the water of the river might run into them. By this means the Euphrates was quickly emptied, and its channel became dry. Then the two fore mentioned bodies of troops, according to their orders, went into the channel, the one commanded by Gobryas, and the other by Gadates, and advanced towards each other without meeting with any obſtacle. The inviſible guide, who had promiſed to open all the gates to Cyrus, made the general negligence and diſorder of that riotous night ſerve to the leaving open of the gates of braſs, which were made to ſhut up the deſcents from the keys to the river, and which alone, if they had not been left open, were ſufficient to have defeated the whole enterpriſe. Thus did theſe two bodies of troops penetrate into the very heart of the city without any oppoſition, and meeting together at the royal palace, according to their agreement, ſurpriſed the guards, and cut them to pieces. Some of the company that were within the palace opening the doors, to know what noiſe it was they heard without, the ſoldiers ruſhed in, and quickly made themſelves maſters of it. And meeting the king, who came up to them ſword in hand, at the head of thoſe that were in the way to ſuccour him, they killed him, and put all thoſe that attended him to the ſword. The firſt thing the conquerors did afterwards was to thank the gods for having at laſt puniſhed that impious king. Theſe words are Xenophon's, and are very remarkable, as they ſo perfectly agree with what the ſcriptures have recorded of the impious Baltazar.

(x) The taking of Babylon put an end to the Babylonian empire, after a duration of two hundred and ten years from the beginning of Nebuchodonoſor's reign, who was the founder thereof. Thus was the power of that proud city aboliſhed, juſt fifty years after he had deſtroyed the city of Jeruſalem and her temple. And herein were accompliſhed thoſe predictions, which

(x) A. M. 3466. Ant. J. C. 538.

the prophets Iſaiah, Jeremiah and Daniel had denounced againſt her, and of which we have already given a particular account. There is ſtill one more, the moſt important, and the moſt incredible of them all, and yet the ſcripture has ſet it down in the ſtrongeſt terms, and marked it out with the greateſt exactneſs: a prediction literally fulfilled in all its points; the proof of which ſtill actually ſubſiſts, is the moſt eaſy to be verified, and indeed of a nature not to be conteſted. What I mean is the prediction of ſo total and abſolute a ruin of Babylon, that not the leaſt remains or footſteps ſhould be left of it. I think it may not be improper to give an account of the perfect accompliſhment of this famous prophecy, before we proceed to ſpeak of what followed the taking of Babylon.

SECT. III. *The completion of the prophecy which foretold the total ruin and deſtruction of Babylon.*

THIS prediction we find recorded in ſeveral of the prophets, but particularly in Iſaiah, in the xiiith chapter, from the 19th to the 22d verſes, and in the 23d and 24th verſes of the xvith chapter. I have already inſerted it at large, page 144. 'Tis there declared, that Babylon ſhould be utterly deſtroyed, as the criminal cities of Sodom and Gomorrah formerly were; that ſhe ſhall be no more inhabited; that ſhe ſhall never be rebuilt; that the Arabs ſhall not ſo much as ſet up their tents there; that neither herdſman, or ſhepherd, ſhall come thither even to reſt his herd or his flock; that it ſhall become a dwelling-place for the wild beaſts, and a retreat for the birds of the night; that the place were it ſtood ſhall be covered over with a marſh, or a fen, ſo that no mark or footſtep ſhall be left to ſhew where Babylon had been. 'Tis God himſelf who pronounced this ſentence, and 'tis for the ſervice of religion to ſhew how exactly every article of it has been ſucceſſively accompliſhed.

I. In the firſt place, Babylon ceaſed to be a royal city, the kings of Perſia chuſing to reſide elſewhere.

The

They delighted more in Shuſan, Ecbatana, Perſepolis, or any other place; and did themſelves deſtroy a good part of Babylon.

(y) II. We are informed by Strabo and Pliny, that the Macedonians, who ſucceeded the Perſians, did not only neglect it, and forbear to make any embelliſhments, or even reparations in it, but that moreover they built * Seleucia in the neighbourhood, on purpoſe to draw away its inhabitants, and cauſe it to be deſerted. Nothing can better explain what the prophet had foretold; *It ſhall not be inhabited.* Its own maſters endeavour to depopulate it.

III. The new kings of Perſia, who afterwards became maſters of Babylon, completed the ruin of it, by building † Cteſiphon, which carried away all the remainder of the inhabitants; ſo that from the time the anathema was pronounced againſt that city, it ſeems as if thoſe very perſons, that ought to have protected her, were become her enemies; as if they all had thought it their duty to reduce her to a ſtate of ſolitude, by indirect means though, and without uſing any violence; that it might the more manifeſtly appear to be the hand of God, rather than the hand of man, which brought about her deſtruction.

(z) IV. She was ſo totally forſaken, that nothing of her was left remaining but the walls. And to this condition was ſhe reduced at the time when ‖ Pauſanias wrote his remarks upon Greece. *Illa autem Babylon, omnium quas unquam ſol aſpexit urbium maxima, jam præter muros nihil habet reliqui.* Pauſ. in Arcad. pag. 509.

(y) A. M. 3880. (z) A. C. 96.

* Partem urbis Perſæ diruerunt, partem tempus conſumpſit, & Macedonum negligentia; maxime poſtquam Seleucus Nicator Seleuciam ad Tigrim condidit, ſtadiis tantum trecentis à Babylone diſſitam. *Strab. l.* 16. p. 33.

In ſolitudinem rediit exhauſta vicinitate Seleuciæ, ob id conditæ à Nicatore intra nonageſimum (or quadrageſimum) lapidem. *Plin. l.* 6. *c.* 26.

† Pro illa Seleuciam & Cteſiphontem urbes Perſarum inclitas fecerunt. *S. Hieron. in cap.* xiii. *Iſa.*

‖ *He wrote in the reign of Antoninus, ſucceſſor to Adrian.*

V. The kings of Perſia finding the place deſerted made a park of it, in which they kept wild beaſts for hunting. Thus did it become, as the prophet had foretold, a dwelling-place for ravenous beaſts, that are enemies to man, or for timorous animals, that flee before him. Inſtead of citizens, ſhe was now inhabited by wild boars, leopards, bears, deer, and wild aſſes. Babylon was now the retreat of fierce, ſavage, deadly creatures, that hate the light, and delight in darkneſs. (z) *Wild beaſts of the deſart ſhall lie there, and dragons ſhall dwell in their pleaſant palaces.*

(*a*) S. Jerom has tranſmitted us the following valuable remark, which he had from a Perſian monk, that had himſelf ſeen what he related to him. *Didicimus à quodam fratre Elamita, qui de illis finibus egrediens, nunc Hieroſolymis vitam exigit monachorum, venationes regias eſſe in Babylone, & omnis generis beſtias murorum ejus ambitu tantum contineri.* In cap. Iſa. xiii. 22.

VI. But it was ſtill too much that the walls of Babylon were ſtanding. At length they fell down in ſeveral places, and were never repaired. Various accidents deſtroyed the remainder. The animals, which ſerved for pleaſure to the Perſian kings, abandon'd the place: Serpents and ſcorpions remained, ſo that it became a dreadful place for perſons that ſhould have the curioſity to viſit, or ſearch after its antiquities. The Euphrates, that uſed to run through the city, having no longer a free channel, took its courſe another way, ſo that in * Theodoret's time there was but a very little ſtream of water left, which run acroſs the ruins, and not meeting with a deſcent, or free paſſage, neceſſarily degenerated into a marſh.

(*b*) In the time of Alexander the great, the river had quitted its ordinary channel, by reaſon of the out-

(z) Iſa. xiii. 21, 22. (*a*) A. C. 400. (*b*) Arrian. de exped. Alex. l. 8.

* Euphrates quondam urbem ipſam mediam dividebat: nunc autem fluvius converſus eſt in aliam viam, & per rudera minimus aquarum meatus fluit. *Theodor. in cap. l. Jerem. ver.* 38, & 39.

lets

lets and canals which Cyrus had made, and of which we have already given an account: these outlets, being ill stop'd up, had occasioned a great inundation in the country. Alexander, designing to fix the seat of his empire at Babylon, projected the bringing back of the Euphrates into its natural and former channel, and had actually set his men to work. But the Almighty, who watched over the fulfilling of his prophecy, and who had declared, he would destroy even to the very remains and footsteps of Babylon, (c) [*I will cut off from Babylon the name and remnant*] defeated this enterprise by the death of Alexander, which happened soon after. 'Tis easy to comprehend how, after this, Babylon being neglected to such a degree as we have seen, its river was converted into an inaccessible pool, which covered the very place where that impious city had stood, as Isaiah had foretold: (d) *I will make it pools of water.* And this was necessary, lest the place where Babylon had stood, should be discovered hereafter by the course of the Euphrates.

VII. By means of all these changes Babylon became an utter desart, and all the country round fell into the same state of desolation and horror; so that the most able * geographers at this day cannot determine the place where it stood. In this manner God's prediction was literally fulfilled; (e) *I will make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water; and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts.* I myself, saith the Lord, will examine with a jealous eye, to see if there be any remains of that city, which was an enemy to my name and to Jerusalem. I will thoroughly sweep the place where it stood, and will clear it so effectually, by defacing every footstep of the city, that no person shall be able to preserve the memory of the place chosen by Nimrod, and which I, who am the Lord, have abolished. *I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts.*

(c) Isa. xiv. 22. (d) Ibid. xiv. 23. (e) Ibid.

* Nunc omnino destructa, ita ut vix ejus superstint rudera. *Baudran.*

VIII. God

VIII. God was not ſatisfied with cauſing all theſe alterations to be foretold, but, to give the greater aſſurance of their certainty, thought fit to ſeal the prediction of them by an oath. (*f*) *The Lord of hoſts hath ſworn, ſaying, Surely as I have thought, ſo ſhall it come to paſs; and as I have purpoſed, ſo ſhall it ſtand.* But if we would take this dreadful oath in its full latitude, we muſt not confine it either to Babylon, or to its inhabitants, or to the princes that reigned therein. The malediction relates to the whole world; 'tis the general anathema pronounced againſt the wicked; 'tis the terrible decree, by which the two cities of Babylon and Jeruſalem ſhall be ſeparated for ever, and an eternal divorce be put between the good and the wicked. The ſcriptures, that have foretold it, ſhall ſubſiſt till the day of its execution. The ſentence is written therein, and depoſited, as it were, in the public archives of religion. *The Lord of hoſts hath ſworn, ſaying, As I have thought, ſo ſhall it come to paſs; and as I have purpoſed, ſo ſhall it ſtand.*

What I have ſaid of this prophecy concerning Babylon is almoſt entirely taken out of an excellent treatiſe upon Iſaiah, which is ſtill in manuſcript.

SECT. IV. *What followed upon the taking of Babylon.*

(*g*) CYRUS entered the city after the manner we have deſcribed, put all to the ſword that were found in the ſtreets; then commanded the citizens to bring him all their arms, and afterwards to ſhut themſelves up in their houſes. The next morning by break of day, the garriſon, which kept the citadel, being appriſed that the city was taken, and their king kill'd, ſurrendered themſelves to Cyrus. Thus did this prince, almoſt without ſtriking a blow, and without any reſiſtance, find himſelf in peaceable poſſeſſion of the ſtrongeſt place in the world.

The firſt thing he did was, to thank the gods for the ſucceſs they had given him. And then having

(*f*) Iſa. xiv. 24. (*g*) Cyrop. l. 7. p. 192.

aſſembled

assembled his principal officers, he publickly applauded their courage and prudence, their zeal and attachment to his person, and distributed rewards to his whole army. *(b)* After which he represented to them, that the only means of preserving what they had acquired was to persevere in their antient virtue; that the proper end of victory was not to give themselves up to idleness and pleasure; that, after having conquered their enemies by force of arms, it would be shameful to suffer themselves to be overthrown by the allurements of pleasure; that, in order to maintain their antient glory, it behoved them to keep up amongst the Persians at Babylon the same discipline they had observed in their own country, and as a means thereto, take a particular care to give their children education. This (says he) will necessarily engage us daily to make further advancements in virtue, as it will oblige us to be diligent and careful in setting them good examples: nor will it be easy for them to be corrupted, when they shall neither hear nor see any thing amongst us, but what excites them to virtue, and shall be continually employ'd in honourable and laudable exercises.

(*i*) Cyrus committed the different parts and offices of his government to different persons, according to their various talents and qualifications: but the care of forming and appointing general officers, governors of provinces, ministers and embassadors, he reserv'd to himself, looking upon that as the proper duty and employment of a king, upon which depended his glory, the success of his affairs, and the happiness and tranquillity of his kingdom. His great talent was to study the particular character of men, in order to place every one in his proper sphere, to give them authority in proportion to their merit, to make their private advancement concur with the public good, and to make the whole machine of the state move in so regular a manner, that every part should have a dependance upon, and mutually contribute to support each other;

(*b*) P. 197, 200. (*i*) Cyrop. l. 7. p. 202.

and

and that the ſtrength of one ſhould not exert itſelf, but for the benefit and advantage of the reſt. Each perſon had his diſtrict, and his particular ſphere of buſineſs, of which he gave an account to another above him, and he again to a third, and ſo on, till by theſe different degrees and regular ſubordination, the cogniſance of affairs came to the king himſelf, who did not ſtand idle in the midſt of all this motion, but was as it were the ſoul to the body of the ſtate; which by this means he govern'd with as much eaſe, as a father governs his private family.

(*k*) When he afterwards ſent governors, called *ſatrapæ*, into the provinces under his ſubjection, he would not ſuffer the particular governors of places, or the commanding officers of the troops, kept on foot for the ſecurity of the country, to depend upon thoſe provincial governors, or to be ſubject to any one but him; that if any of the *ſatrapæ*, elate with his power or riches, made an ill uſe of his authority, there might be found witneſſes and cenſors of his male-adminiſtration within his own government. For there was nothing he ſo carefully avoided, as the truſting of any one man with an abſolute power, as knowing that a prince will quickly have reaſon to repent his having exalted one perſon ſo high, that all others are thereby abaſed and kept under.

Thus Cyrus eſtabliſhed a wonderful order with reſpect to his military affairs, his treaſury, civil government. (*l*) In all the provinces he had perſons of approved integrity, who gave him an account of every thing that paſſed. He made it his principal care to honour and reward all ſuch as diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their merit, or were eminent in any reſpect whatever. He infinitely prefer'd clemency to martial courage, becauſe the latter is often the cauſe of ruin and deſolation to whole nations, whereas the former is always beneficent and uſeful. (*m*) He was ſenſible, that good laws contribute very much to the forming and

(*k*) L. 8. p. 229. (*l*) Cyrop. l. 8. p. 209. (*m*) P. 204.

preſerving

preſerving of good manners, but, in his opinion, the prince by his example was to be a living law to his people: *(n)* nor did he think a man worthy to reign over others, unleſs he was more wiſe and virtuous than thoſe he governed. *(o)* He was alſo perſuaded, that the ſureſt means for a prince to gain the reſpect of his courtiers, and of ſuch as approached his perſon, was to have ſo much regard for them, as never to do or to ſay any thing before them, contrary to the rules of decency and good manners.

(p) Liberality he looked upon as a virtue truly royal, nor did he think there was any thing great or valuable in riches, but the pleaſure of diſtributing them to others. *(q)* "I have prodigious riches (ſays he to his "courtiers) I own, and I am glad the world knows "it; but you may aſſure yourſelves, they are as much "yours as mine. For to what end ſhould I heap up "wealth? for my own uſe, and to conſume it myſelf? "That would be impoſſible, if I deſired it. No: "the chief end I aim at is to have it in my power to "reward thoſe who ſerve the public faithfully, and to "ſuccour and relieve thoſe that will acquaint me with "their wants and neceſſities."

(r) Crœſus one day repreſented to him, that by continual giving he would at laſt make himſelf poor, whereas he might have amaſſed infinite treaſures, and have been the richeſt prince in the world. "And "to what ſum, (replied Cyrus) do you think thoſe "treaſures might have amounted?" Crœſus named a certain ſum, which was immenſely great. Cyrus thereupon order'd a little note to be writ to the lords of his court, in which it was ſignified to them, that he had occaſion for money. Immediately a much larger ſum was brought to him, than Crœſus had mentioned. "Look here (ſays Cyrus to him) here are "my treaſures; the cheſts I keep my riches in, are "the hearts and affections of my ſubjects."

(n) P. 205. (o) P. 204. (p) P. 209. (q) P. 225.
(r) Cyrop. l. 8. p. 210.

But

But as much as he eſteemed liberality, he ſtill laid a greater ſtreſs upon kindneſs and condeſcenſion, affability and humanity, which are qualities ſtill more engaging, and more apt to acquire the affection of a people, which is properly to reign. For a prince to be more generous than others in giving, when he is infinitely more rich than they, has nothing in it ſo ſurpriſing or extraordinary, as to deſcend in a manner from the throne, and to put himſelf upon a level with his ſubjects.

(s) But what Cyrus prefer'd to all other things, was the worſhip of the gods, and a reſpect for religion. Upon this therefore he thought himſelf obliged to beſtow his firſt and principal care, as ſoon as he became more at leiſure, and more maſter of his time, by the conqueſt of Babylon. He began by eſtabliſhing a number of Magi, to ſing daily a morning ſervice of praiſe to the honour of the gods, and to offer ſacrifices; which was always practiſed amongſt them in ſucceeding ages.

'The prince's diſpoſition quickly became, as is uſual, the prevailing diſpoſition among his people; and his example became the rule of their conduct. The Perſians, who ſaw that Cyrus's reign had been but one continued chain and ſeries of proſperity and ſucceſs, believed, that by ſerving the gods, as he did, they ſhould be bleſſed with the like happineſs and proſperity: beſides, they were ſenſible, it was the ſureſt way to pleaſe their prince, and to make their court to him ſucceſsfully. Cyrus on the other hand was extremely glad to find them have ſuch ſentiments of religion, being convinced, that whoſoever ſincerely fears and worſhips God, will at the ſame time be faithful to his king, and preſerve an inviolable attachment to his perſon, and to the welfare of the ſtate. All this is excellent, but is only true and real in the true religion.

(t) Cyrus being reſolved to ſettle his chief reſidence at Babylon, a powerful city, which could not be very

(s) P. 204. (t) L. 7. p. 196.

well

well affected to him, thought it neceſſary to be more cautious, than he had been hitherto, in regard to the ſafety of his perſon. The moſt dangerous hours for princes within their palaces, and the moſt likely for treaſonable attempts upon their lives, are thoſe of bathing, eating and ſleeping. He determined therefore to ſuffer no body to be near him at thoſe times, but ſuch perſons on whoſe fidelity he could abſolutely rely; and on this account he thought eunuchs preferable to all others; becauſe, as they had neither wives, children, nor families, and beſides were generally deſpiſed on account of the meanneſs of their birth, and the ignominy of their condition, they were engaged by all ſorts of reaſons to an entire attachment to their maſter, on whoſe life their whole fortune depended, and on whoſe account alone it was, that they were of any conſideration. Cyrus therefore filled all the offices of his houſehold with eunuchs; and as this had been the practice before his time, from thenceforth it becanie the general cuſtom of all the eaſtern countries.

'Tis well known, that in after-times this uſage prevailed alſo amongſt the Roman emperors, with whom the eunuchs were the reigning all-powerful favourites; nor is it any wonder. 'Twas very natural for the prince, after having confided his perſon to their care, and experienced their zeal, fidelity and merit, to entruſt them alſo with the management of affairs, and by degrees to give himſelf up to them. Theſe expert courtiers knew how to improve thoſe favourable moments, when ſovereigns, delivered from the weight of their dignity, which is a burden to them, become men, and familiarize themſelves with their officers. And by this policy having got poſſeſſion of their maſters minds and confidence, they came to be in great credit at court, to have the adminiſtration of public affairs and the diſpoſal of employments and honours, and to arrive themſelves at the higheſt offices and dignities in the ſtate.

But

(*u*) But the good emperors, ſuch as Alexander Severus, had the eunuchs in abhorrence, looking upon them as creatures ſold and attach'd only to their fortune, and enemies by principle to the public good; perſons, whoſe whole view was to get poſſeſſion of the prince's mind, to keep all perſons of merit from him, to conceal affairs as much as poſſible from his knowledge, and to keep him ſhut up and impriſon'd, in a manner, within the narrow circle of three or four officers, who had an entire aſcendant and dominion over him: *Claudentes principem ſuum, & agentes ante omnia ne quid ſciat.*

(*x*) When Cyrus had given orders about every thing relating to the government, he reſolved to ſhew himſelf publickly to his people, and to his new-conquered ſubjects, in a ſolemn auguſt ceremony of religion, by marching in a pompous cavalcade to the places conſecrated to the gods, in order to offer ſacrifices to them. In this proceſſion Cyrus thought fit to diſplay all poſſible ſplendor and magnificence, to catch and dazzle the eyes of the people. This was the firſt time that prince ever aimed at procuring reſpect to himſelf, not only by the attractions of virtue (ſays the hiſtorian) but by ſuch an external pomp, as was proper to attract the multitude, and work'd like a * charm or inchantment upon their imaginations. He ordered the ſuperior officers of the Perſians and allies to attend him, and gave each of them a ſuit of cloaths after the Median faſhion, that is to ſay, long garments, which hung down to the feet. Theſe cloaths were of various colours, all of the fineſt and brighteſt dye, and richly embroider'd with gold and ſilver. Beſides thoſe that were for themſelves, he gave them others, very ſplendid alſo, but leſs coſtly, to preſent to the ſubaltern officers. 'Twas on this occaſion the Perſians firſt dreſſed themſelves after the manner of the Medes, (*y*) and

(*u*) Lamprid. in vita Alex. Sever. (*x*) Cyrop. l. 8. p. 213, 220.
(*y*) P. 206.
* Ἀλλὰ καὶ καταγοητεύειν ὥετο χρῆναι αὐτός.

began

begun to imitate them in colouring their eyes, to make them appear more lively, and in painting their faces, in order to beautify their complexions.

When the day appointed for the ceremony was come, the whole company assembled at the king's palace by break of day. Four thousand of the guards, drawn up four deep, placed themselves in front of the palace, and two thousand on the two sides of it rang'd in the same order. The whole cavalry were also drawn out, the Persians on the right, and that of the allies on the left. The chariots of war were ranged, half on one side, and half on the other. Assoon as the palace gates were opened, a great number of bulls, of exquisite beauty, were led out by four and four: these were to be sacrificed to Jupiter and other gods, according to the ceremonies prescribed by the Magi. Next follow'd the horses, that were to be sacrificed to the sun. Immediately after them a white chariot, crown'd with flowers, the pole of which was gilt: this was to be offer'd to Jupiter. Then came a second chariot of the same colour, and adorn'd in the same manner, to be offer'd to the sun. After these follow'd a third, the horses of which were caparison'd with scarlet housings. Behind came the men, who carried the sacred fire in a large hearth. When all these were on their march, Cyrus himself began to appear upon his car, with his upright tiara upon his head, encircled with the royal diadem. His under tunic was of purple mix'd with white, which was a colour peculiar to kings. Over his other garments he wore a large purple cloak. His hands were uncover'd. A little below him sat his master of the horse, who was of a comely stature, but not so tall as Cyrus, for which reason the stature of the latter appear'd still more advantageously. Assoon as the people perceiv'd the prince, they all fell prostrate before him, and worshipp'd him; whether it was, that certain persons appointed on purpose, and placed at proper distances, led others on by their example, or that the people were mov'd to do it of their own accord,

cord, being ſtruck with the appearance of ſo much pomp and magnificence, and with ſo many awful circumſtances of majeſty and ſplendor. The Perſians had never proſtrated themſelves in this manner before Cyrus, till on this occaſion.

When Cyrus's chariot was come out of the palace, the four thouſand guards began to march: the other two thouſand mov'd at the ſame time, and placed themſelves on each ſide the chariot. The eunuchs, or great officers of the king's houſhold, to the number of three hundred, richly clad, with javelins in their hands, and mounted upon ſtately horſes, marched immediately after the chariot. After them follow'd two hundred led horſes of the king's ſtable, each of them having embroider'd furniture, and bits of gold. Next came the Perſian cavalry, divided into four bodies, each conſiſting of ten thouſand men; then the Median horſe, and after thoſe the cavalry of the allies. The chariots of war, four in a breaſt, march'd in the rear, and cloſed the proceſſion.

When they came to the fields conſecrated to the gods, they offer'd their ſacrifices firſt to Jupiter, and then to the ſun. To the honour of the firſt were burnt bulls, and to the honour of the ſecond, horſes. They likewiſe ſacrificed ſome victims to the earth, according to the appointment of the Magi; then to the demigods, the patrons and protectors of * Syria.

In order to recreate the people after this grave and ſolemn ceremony, Cyrus thought fit that it ſhould conclude with games, and horſe and chariot races. The place where they were was large and ſpacious. He order'd a certain portion of it to be mark'd out, about the quantity of five † ſtadia, and propoſed prizes for the victors of each nation, which were to encounter ſeparately, and among themſelves. He himſelf won the prize in the Perſian horſe-races, for no body was

* *Among the ancients, Syria is often put for Aſſyria.*
† *A little above half a mile.*

ſo

ſo compleat an horſeman as he. The chariots run but two at a time, one againſt another.

This kind of racing continued a long time afterwards amongſt the Perſians, except only, that it was not always attended with ſacrifices. All the ceremonies being ended, they return'd to the city in the ſame order.

(z) Some days after, Cyrus, to celebrate the victory he had obtain'd in the horſe-races, gave a great entertainment to all his chief officers, as well ſtrangers, as Medes and Perſians. They had never yet ſeen any thing of the kind ſo ſumptuous and magnificent. At the concluſion of the feaſt he made every one a noble preſent; ſo that they all went home with hearts overflowing with joy, admiration and gratitude: and all-powerful as he was, maſter of all the eaſt, and of ſo many kingdoms, he did not think it deſcending from his majeſty to conduct the whole company to the door of his apartment. Such were the manners and behaviour of thoſe ancient times, when men underſtood how to unite great ſimplicity with the higheſt degree of human grandeur.

ARTICLE III.

The hiſtory of Cyrus, from the taking of Babylon to the time of his death.

CYRUS finding himſelf maſter of all the eaſt, by the taking of Babylon, did not imitate the example of moſt other conquerors, who ſully the glory of their victories by a voluptuous and effeminate life; to which they fancy they may juſtly abandon themſelves after their paſt toils, and the long courſe of hardſhips they have gone thro'. He thought it incumbent upon him to maintain his reputation by the ſame methods he had acquir'd it, that is, by a prudent conduct, by a laborious and active life, and a continual application to the duties of his high ſtation.

(z) Cyrop. l. 8. p. 220—224.

SECT.

SECT. I. *Cyrus takes a journey into Persia. At his return from thence to Babylon, he forms a plan of government for the whole empire. Daniel's credit and power.*

(a) WHEN Cyrus judg'd he had sufficiently regulated his affairs at Babylon, he thought proper to take a journey into Persia. In his way thither he went through Media, to visit his uncle Cyaxares, to whom he carried very magnificent presents, telling him at the same time, that he would find a noble palace at Babylon, all ready prepared for him, whenever he would please to go thither; and that he was to look upon that city as his own. Indeed Cyrus, as long as his uncle liv'd, held the empire only in copartnership with him, tho' he had entirely conquer'd and acquir'd it by his own valour. Nay, so far did he carry his complaisance, that he let his uncle enjoy the first rank. (b) This is the Cyaxares, which is called in scripture Darius the Mede; and we shall find, that under his reign, which lasted but two years, Daniel had several revelations. It appears, that Cyrus, when he return'd from Persia, carried Cyaxares with him to Babylon.

When they were arriv'd there, they concerted together a scheme of government for the whole empire. (c) They divided it into an hundred and twenty provinces. (d) And that the prince's orders might be convey'd with the greater expedition, Cyrus caused post-houses to be erected at proper distances, where the expresses, that travelled day and night, found horses always ready, and by that means perform'd their journeys with incredible dispatch. (e) The government of these provinces was given to those persons that had assisted Cyrus most, and render'd him the greatest service in the war. (f) Over these governors were appointed three super-intendants, who were always to reside at court, and to whom the governors were to give an ac-

(a) P. 227. (b) A. M. 3466. Ant. J. C. 538. (c) Dan. vi. 1.
(d) Cyrop. p. 232. (e) P. 230. (f) Dan. vi. 2, 3.

count from time to time of every thing that paſſed in their reſpective provinces, and from whom they were to receive the prince's orders and inſtructions; ſo that theſe three principal miniſters had the ſuper-intendency over, and the chief adminiſtration of the great affairs of the whole empire. Of theſe three Daniel was made the chief. He highly deſerv'd ſuch a preference, not only on account of his great wiſdom, which was celebrated throughout all the eaſt, and had appear'd in a diſtinguiſh'd manner at Baltazar's feaſt, but likewiſe on account of his great age, and conſummate experience. For at that time it was full ſixty-ſeven years, from the fourth of Nebuchodonoſor, that he had been employ'd as prime miniſter of the kings of Babylon.

(g) As this diſtinction made him the ſecond perſon in the empire, and placed him immediately under the king, the other courtiers conceiv'd ſo great a jealouſy of him, that they conſpir'd to deſtroy him. As there was no hold to be taken of him, unleſs it were on account of the law of his God, to which they knew him inviolably attach'd, they obtain'd an edict from Darius, whereby all perſons were forbidden to aſk any thing whatſoever, for the ſpace of thirty days, either of any god, or any man, ſave of the king; and that upon pain of being caſt into the den of lions. Now, as Daniel was ſaying his uſual prayers, with his face turn'd towards Jeruſalem, he was ſurpriſed, accuſed, and caſt into the den of lions. But being miraculouſly preſerv'd, and coming out ſafe and unhurt, his accuſers were thrown in, and immediately devour'd by thoſe animals. This event ſtill augmented Daniel's credit and reputation.

(b) Towards the end of the ſame year, which was reckon'd the firſt of Darius the Mede, Daniel, knowing by the computation he made, that the ſeventy years of Judah's captivity, determin'd by the prophet Jeremiah, were drawing towards an end, he pray'd

(g) Dan. vi. 4—27. (b) ix. 1—27.

earneſtly to God, that he would remember his people, rebuild Jeruſalem, and look with an eye of mercy upon his holy city, and the ſanctuary he had placed therein. Upon which the angel Gabriel aſſured him in a viſion, not only of the deliverance of the Jews from their temporal captivity, but likewiſe of another deliverance much more conſiderable, namely, a deliverance from the bondage of ſin and ſatan, which God would procure to his church, and which was to be accompliſh'd at the end of ſeventy weeks, that were to paſs from the time the order ſhould be given for the rebuilding of Jeruſalem, that is, after the ſpace of four hundred and ninety years. For taking each day for a year, according to the language ſometimes uſed in holy ſcripture, thoſe ſeventy weeks of years make up exactly four hundred and ninety years.

(*i*) Cyrus, upon his return to Babylon, had given orders for all his forces to join him there. On the general review made of them, he found they conſiſted of an hundred and twenty thouſand horſe, of two thouſand chariots arm'd with ſcythes, and ſix hundred thouſand foot. When he had furniſh'd the garriſons with as many of them, as were neceſſary for the defence of the ſeveral parts of the empire, he march'd with the remainder into Syria, where he regulated the affairs of that province, and then ſubdued all thoſe countries, as far as the Red ſea, and the confines of Ethiopia.

It was probably in this interval of time, that Daniel was caſt into the den of lions, and miraculouſly deliver'd from them, as we have juſt now related.

Perhaps in the ſame interval alſo were thoſe famous pieces of gold coin'd, which are call'd Darics, from the name of Darius the Mede, which for their fineneſs and beauty were for ſeveral ages prefer'd to all other money throughout the whole eaſt.

(*i*) Cyrop. p. 233.

SECT.

SECT. II. *The beginning of the united empire of the Persians and Medes. The famous edict of Cyrus. Daniel's prophecies.*

HERE properly speaking begins the empire of the Persians and Medes united under one and the same authority. This empire, from Cyrus, the first king and founder of it, to Darius Codomannus, who was vanquish'd by Alexander the Great, lasted for the space of two hundred and six years, namely, from the year of the world 3468 to the year 3674. But in this volume I propose to speak only of the three first kings; and little remains to be said of the founder of this new empire.

CYRUS. (*k*) Cyaxares dying at the end of two years, and Cambyses likewise ending his days in Persia, Cyrus return'd to Babylon, and took upon him the government of the empire.

(*l*) The years of Cyrus's reign are computed differently. Some make it thirty years, beginning from his first setting out from Persia, at the head of an army, to succour his uncle Cyaxares: others make the duration of it to be but seven years, because they date it only from the time, when by the death of Cyaxares and Cambyses he became sole monarch of the whole empire.

In the first of these seven years precisely expir'd the seventieth year of the Babylonish captivity, when Cyrus publish'd the famous edict, whereby the Jews were permitted to return to Jerusalem. There is no question but this edict was obtain'd by the care and sollicitations of Daniel, who was in great credit and authority at court. That he might the more effectually induce the king to grant him this request, he shew'd him undoubtedly the prophecies of Isaiah, wherein above two hundred years before his birth, he was mark'd out by name, as a prince appointed by God to be a great con-

(*k*) A. M. 3463. Ant. J. C. 536. (*l*) Cic. l. 1. de Div. n. 46.
(*m*) Isa. c. xliv. & xlv.

queror, and to reduce a multitude of nations under his dominion; and at the same time to be the deliverer of the captive Jews, by ordering their temple to be rebuilt, and Jerusalem and Judea to be repossess'd by their antient inhabitants. I think it may not be improper in this place to insert that edict at length, which is certainly the most glorious circumstance in the life of Cyrus, and for which it may be presumed God had endow'd him with so many heroic virtues, and blest him with such an uninterrupted series of victories and success.

(n) *In the first year of Cyrus, king of the Persians, that the word of the Lord might be accomplished, that he had promised by the mouth of Jeremy, the Lord raised up the spirit of Cyrus the king of the Persians; and he made proclamation through all his kingdom, and also by writing, saying, Thus saith Cyrus, king of the Persians, the Lord of Israel, the most high Lord, hath made me king of the whole world, and commanded me to build him an house at Jerusalem in Jewry. If therefore there be any of you that are of his people, let the Lord, even his Lord, be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem that is in Judea, and build the house of the Lord of Israel; for he is the Lord, that dwelleth in Jerusalem. Whosoever then dwell in the places about, let them help him (those, I say, that are his neighbours) with gold and with silver, with gifts, with horses, and with cattle and other things, which have been set forth by vow for the temple of the Lord at Jerusalem.*

Cyrus restor'd at the same time to the Jews all the vessels of the temple of the Lord, which Nebuchodonosor had brought from Jerusalem, and placed in the temple of his god Baal. Shortly after the Jews departed, under the conduct of Zorobabel, to return into their own country.

(o) The Samaritans, who had formerly been the declared enemies of the Jews, did all they possibly could to hinder the building of the temple; and though they

(n) 1 Esdras ii. 1—7. (o) 1 Esdras iv. 1—5.

could not alter Cyrus's decree, yet they prevail'd by bribes and under-hand dealings with the miniſters and other officers concern'd therein, to obſtruct the execution of it; ſo that for ſeveral years the building went on very ſlowly.

(p) It ſeems to have been out of grief to ſee the execution of this decree ſo long retarded, that in the third year of Cyrus, in the firſt month of that year, Daniel gave himſelf up to mourning and faſting for three weeks together. He was then near the river Tigris in Perſia. When this time of faſting was ended, he ſaw the viſion concerning the ſucceſſion of the kings of Perſia, the empire of the Macedonians, and the conqueſts of the Romans. This revelation is related in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters of the prophecies of Daniel, of which I ſhall ſoon ſpeak.

* By what we find in the concluſion of the laſt chapter, we have reaſon to conjecture, that he died ſoon after; and indeed his great age makes it unlikely that he could live much longer; for at this time he muſt have been at leaſt eighty-five years of age, if we ſuppoſe him to have been twelve when he was carried to Babylon with the other captives. From that early age he had given proofs of ſomething more than human wiſdom, in the judgment of Suſannah. He was ever afterwards very much conſider'd by all the princes who reign'd at Babylon, and was always employ'd by them with diſtinction in the adminiſtration of their affairs.

Daniel's wiſdom did not only reach to things divine and political, but alſo to arts and ſciences, and particularly to that of architecture. (q) Joſephus ſpeaks of a famous edifice built by him at † Suſa, in the manner

(p) A. M. 3470. Ant. J. C. 534. Dan. x. 1—3. (q) Antic. l. 10. c. 12.

* *But go thou thy way till the end be; for thou ſhalt reſt, and ſtand in thy lot at the end of the days.* Dan. xii. 13.

† *So it ought to be read, according to St. Jerom, who relates the ſame fact,* Com. in Dan. viii. 2. *and not Ecbatana, as it is now read in the text of Joſephus.*

of a caſtle (which he ſays ſtill ſubſiſted in his time) and finiſh'd with ſuch wonderful art, that it then ſeem'd as freſh and beautiful, as if it had been but newly built. Within this palace, the Perſian and Parthian kings were uſually buried; and for the ſake of the founder, the keeping of it was committed to one of the Jewiſh nation, even to his time. It was a common tradition in thoſe parts for many ages, that Daniel died in that * city, and there they ſhew his monument even to this day. 'Tis certain that he uſed to go thither from time to time, and he himſelf tells us, that (r) *he did the king's buſineſs there*, that is, was governor for the king of Babylon.

Reflections upon Daniel's prophecies.

I have hitherto defer'd making any reflections upon the prophecies of Daniel, which certainly to any reaſonable mind are a very convincing proof of the truth of our religion. (s) I ſhall not dwell upon that which perſonally related to Nebuchadnezzar, and foretold in what manner, for the puniſhment of his pride, he ſhould be reduc'd to the condition of the beaſts of the field, and after a certain number of years reſtor'd again to his underſtanding and to his throne. 'Tis well known, the thing happen'd exactly according to Daniel's prediction: the king himſelf relates it in a declaration, addreſſed to all the people and nations of his empire. Was it poſſible for Daniel to aſcribe ſuch a manifeſto or proclamation to Nebuchadnezzar, if it had not been genuine; to ſpeak of it, as a thing ſent into all the provinces, if no-body had ſeen it; and in the midſt of Babylon, that was full both of Jews and Gentiles, to publiſh an atteſtation of ſo important a matter, and ſo injurious to the king, and of which the falſhood muſt have been notorious to all the world?

I ſhall content myſelf with repreſenting very briefly, and under one and the ſame point of view, the prophecies of Daniel, which ſignify the ſucceſſion of four

(r) Dan. viii. 27. (s) Dan. iv.

* *Now called Tuſter.*

great

great empires, and which for that reaſon have an eſſential and neceſſary relation to the ſubject-matter of this work, which is only the hiſtory of thoſe very empires.

(t) The firſt of theſe prophecies was occaſion'd by the dream Nebuchadnezzar had, of an image compos'd of different metals, gold, ſilver, braſs and iron; which image was broken in pieces, and beat as ſmall as duſt by a little ſtone from the mountain, which afterwards became itſelf a mountain of extraordinary height and magnitude. This dream I have already *(u)* ſpoken of at large.

About fifty * years after, the ſame Daniel ſaw another viſion, very like that which I have juſt been ſpeaking of: this was the viſion of the four large beaſts, which came out of the ſea. The firſt was like a lion, and had eagle's wings; the ſecond was like a bear; the third was like a leopard, which had four heads; the fourth and laſt, ſtill more ſtrong and terrible than the other, had great iron teeth; it devour'd and brake in pieces, and ſtamp'd the reſidue with its feet. From the midſt of the ten horns, which this beaſt had, there came up a little one, which had eyes like thoſe of a man, and a mouth ſpeaking great things, and this horn became greater than the other: The ſame horn made war with the ſaints, and prevailed againſt them, untill the antient of days, that is, the everlaſting God, came, and ſitting upon his throne, ſurrounded with a thouſand millions of angels, pronounced an irreverſible judgment upon the four beaſts, whoſe time and duration he had determin'd, and gave the Son of man power over all the nations, and all the tribes, an everlaſting power and dominion which ſhall not paſs away, and a kingdom which ſhall not be deſtroy'd.

It is generally agreed, that theſe two viſions, the one of the image compos'd of different metals, the other of the four beaſts that came out of the ſea, ſignify'd ſo many different monarchies, which were to

(t) Dan. ii. *(u)* P. 43, 44.

* *This was the firſt year of Baltazar, king of Babylon.* Dan. vii.

ſucceed one another, were to be ſucceſſively deſtroy'd by each other, and were all to give place to the eternal empire of Jeſus Chriſt, for whom alone they had ſubſiſted. It is alſo agreed, that theſe four monarchies were thoſe of the Babylonians, of the Perſians and Medes united, of the Macedonians, and the * Romans. This is plainly demonſtrated by the very order of their ſucceſſion. But where did Daniel ſee this ſucceſſion and this order? Who could reveal the changes of empires to him, but he only, who is the maſter of times and monarchies, who has determin'd every thing by his own decrees, and who by a ſupernatural revelation imparts the knowledge of them to whom he pleaſes? †

(t) In the following chapter this prophet ſtill ſpeaks with greater clearneſs and preciſion. For after having repreſented the Perſian and Macedonian monarchies under the figure of two beaſts, he thus expounds his meaning in the plaineſt manner: The ram, which hath two unequal horns, repreſents the king of the Medes and Perſians; the goat, which overthrows and tramples him under his feet, is the king of the Grecians; and the great horn, which that animal has between his eyes, repreſents the firſt king and founder of that monarchy. How did Daniel ſee, that the Perſian empire ſhould be compoſed of two different nations, Medes and Perſians; and that this empire ſhould be deſtroy'd by the power of the Grecians? How did he foreſee the rapidity of Alexander's conqueſts, which he ſo aptly deſcribes by ſaying, that *he touched not the ground?* How did he learn, that Alexander ſhould not have any ſucceſſor equal to himſelf, and that the firſt monarch of the Grecian empire ſhould be likewiſe the moſt powerful? ‖ By what other light than that of

(t) Cap. viii.

* *Some interpreters inſtead of the Romans put the kings of Syria and Egypt Alexander's ſucceſſors.*

† *He chargeth the times and the ſeaſons; he removeth and ſetteth up kings. He reveaieth the deep and ſecret things; and the light dwelleth with him.* Dan. ii. 21, 22.

‖ *And a mighty king ſhall ſtand up, that ſhall rule with great dominion: and his kingdom ſhall be divided towards the four winds of heaven,*

of divine revelation could he diſcover, that Alexander would have no ſon to ſucceed him; that his empire would be diſmember'd and divided into four principal kingdoms; and his ſucceſſors would be of his nation, but not of his blood; and that out of the ruins of a monarchy ſo ſuddenly form'd, ſeveral ſtates would be eſtabliſhed, of which ſome would be in the eaſt, others in the weſt, ſome in the ſouth, and others in the north?

The particulars of the facts foretold in the remainder of the eighth, and in the eleventh chapter, are no leſs aſtoniſhing. How could Daniel, in Cyrus's reign, *foretel, that the † fourth of Cyrus's ſucceſſors ſhould gather together all his forces, to attack the Grecian ſtates? How could this prophet, who liv'd ſo long before the times of the Maccabees, particularly deſcribe all the perſecutions, which Antiochus would bring upon the Jews; the manner of his aboliſhing the ſacrifices, which were daily offer'd in the temple of Jeruſalem; the prophanation of that holy place, by ſetting up an idol therein; and the vengeance which God would inflict on him for it? (*u*) How could he, in the firſt year of the Perſian empire, foretel the wars, which Alexander's ſucceſſors would make in the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, their mutual invaſions of one another's territories, their inſincerity in their treaties, and their marriage-alliances, which would only be made to cloak their fraudulent and perfidious deſigns?

I leave to the intelligent and religious reader to draw the concluſion, which naturally reſults from theſe predictions of Daniel; for they are ſo clear and expreſs, that Porphyry (*x*), a profeſs'd enemy of the chriſtian religion, could find no other way of diſputing the divine original of them, but by pretending, that they were

(*u*) Dan. xi. 5—45. (*x*) S. Hieron. in Proœm. ad Com. in Dan.

heaven, and not to his poſterity, nor according to his dominion, which he ruled, Dan. xi. 3, 4. *Four kingdoms ſhall ſtand up out of the nation, but not in his power*, Dan. viii. 22.

* *Behold, there ſhall ſtand up yet three kings in Perſia, and the fourth ſhall be far richer than they all; and by his ſtrength thro' his riches he ſhall ſtir up all againſt the realm of Grecia.* Dan. xi. 2.

† *Xerxes.*

writ after the events, and rather a narration of things paſt, than a prediction of things to come.

Before I conclude this article of Daniel's prophecies, I muſt deſire the reader to remark what an oppoſition the Holy Ghoſt has put between the empires of the world and the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt. In the former every thing appears great, ſplendid and magnificent. Strength, power, glory and majeſty ſeem to be their natural attendants. In them we eaſily diſcern thoſe great warriors, thoſe famous conquerors, thoſe thunderbolts of war, who ſpread terror every where, and whom nothing could withſtand. But then they are repreſented as wild beaſts, as bears, lions, and leopards, whoſe ſole attribute is to tear in pieces, to devour, and to deſtroy. What an image and picture is this of conquerors! How admirably does it inſtruct us to leſſen the ideas we are apt to form, as well of empires, as their founders, or governors!

In the empire of Jeſus Chriſt it is quite otherwiſe. Let us conſider its origin and firſt riſe, or carefully examine its progreſs and growth at all times, and we ſhall find, that weakneſs and meanneſs, if I may be allow'd to ſay ſo, have always outwardly been one of its true characteriſtics. It is the leaven, the grain of muſtard-ſeed, the little ſtone cut out of the mountain. And yet in reality there is no true greatneſs but in this empire. The eternal Word is the founder and the king thereof. All the thrones of the earth come to pay homage to his, and to bow themſelves before him. The end of his reign is the ſalvation of mankind; 'tis to make them eternally happy, and to form to himſelf a nation of ſaints and juſt perſons, who are all of them ſo many kings and conquerors. 'Tis for their ſakes only, that the whole world doth ſubſiſt; and when the number of them ſhall be complete, (x) "Then "(ſays St. Paul) cometh the end and conſummation "of all things, when Jeſus Chriſt ſhall have deliver'd "up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he

(x) 1 Cor. xv. 24.

"ſhall

" ſhall have put down all rule, and all authority and " power."

Can a writer, who ſees in the prophecies of Daniel that the ſeveral empires of the world, after having ſubſiſted the time determined for them by the ſovereign diſpoſer of kingdoms, do all terminate and center in the empire of Jeſus Chriſt: Can a writer, I ſay, amidſt all theſe profane objects, forbear turning his eyes now and then towards that great and divine one, and not have it always in view, at leaſt at a diſtance, as the end and conſummation of all others?

SECT. III. *The laſt years of Cyrus. The death of that prince.*

(y) LET us return to Cyrus. Being equally belov'd by his own natural ſubjects, and by thoſe of the conquer'd nations, he peaceably enjoy'd the fruits of his labours and victories. His empire was bounded on the eaſt by the river Indus, on the north by the Caſpian and Euxine ſeas, on the weſt by the Egean ſea, and on the ſouth by Ethiopia and the ſea of Arabia. He eſtabliſhed his reſidence in the midſt of all theſe countries, ſpending generally ſeven months of the year at Babylon in the winter ſeaſon, becauſe of the warmth of that climate; three months at Suſa in the ſpring time, and two months at Ecbatana, during the heat of the ſummer.

Seven years being ſpent in this ſtate of tranquillity, Cyrus return'd into Perſia, which was the ſeventh time from his acceſſion to the whole monarchy: and this ſhews, that he uſed to go regularly into Perſia once a year. Cambyſes had been now dead for ſome time, and Cyrus himſelf was grown pretty old, being at this time about ſeventy years of age; thirty of which had paſſed ſince his being firſt made general of the Perſian forces, nine from the taking of Babylon, and ſeven from his beginning to reign alone after the death of Cyaxares.

(y) Cyrop. l. 8. p. 233, &c.

To the very laſt he * enjoy'd a vigorous ſtate of health, which was the fruit of his ſober and temperate life. And as they, who give themſelves up to drunkenneſs and debauchery, often feel all the infirmities of age, even whilſt they are young, Cyrus on the contrary in a very advanc'd age enjoy'd all the vigour and advantages of youth.

When he perceiv'd the time of his death to draw nigh, he order'd his children, and the chief officers of the ſtate, to be aſſembled about him; and, after having thank'd the gods for all their favours towards him through the courſe of his life, and implor'd the like protection for his children, his country, and his friends, he declar'd his eldeſt ſon, Cambyſes, his ſucceſſor, and left the other, whoſe name was Tanaoxares, ſeveral very conſiderable governments. He gave them both excellent inſtructions, by repreſenting to them, that the main ſtrength and ſupport of the throne was neither the vaſt extent of countries, nor the number of forces, nor immenſe riches; but a due reſpect for the gods, a good underſtanding between brethren, and the art of acquiring and preſerving true and faithful friends. "I conjure you therefore, ſaid he, my "dear children, in the name of the gods, to reſpect "and love one another, if you would retain any de- "ſire to pleaſe me for the future. For I do not "think you will eſteem me to be no longer any thing, "becauſe you will not ſee me after my death. You "never ſaw my ſoul to this inſtant: you muſt have "known however by its actions that it really exiſted. "Do you believe, that honours would ſtill be paid to "thoſe whoſe bodies are now but aſhes, if their ſouls "had no longer any being or power? No, no, my "ſons, I could never imagine, that the ſoul only lived "whilſt in a mortal body, and died when ſeparated

* Cyrus quidem apud Xenophontem eo ſermone, quem moriens habuit, cum admodum ſenex eſſet, negat ſe unquam ſenſiſſe ſenectutem ſuam imbecilliorem factam, quam adoleſcentia fuiſſet. *Cic. de Senect.* n. 30.

"from

" from it. But if I miſtake, and nothing of me ſhall " remain after death, at leaſt fear the gods, who ne- " ver die, who ſee all things, and whoſe power is in- " finite. Fear them, and let that fear prevent you " from ever doing, or deliberating to do, any thing " contrary to religion and juſtice. Next to them fear " mankind, and the ages to come. The gods have " not buried you in obſcurity, but have expoſed you " upon this great theatre to the view of the whole uni- " verſe. If your actions are guiltleſs and upright, " be aſſured they will augment your glory and power. " For my body, my ſons, when life has forſook it, " incloſe it neither in gold nor ſilver, nor any other " matter whatſoever. RESTORE IT IMMEDIATELY " TO THE EARTH. Can it be more happy than " in being blended, and in a manner incorporated " with the benefactreſs, and common mother of hu- " man kind?" After having given his hand to be kiſſed by all that were preſent, finding himſelf at the point of death, he added theſe laſt words: " Adieu, " dear children; may your lives be happy; carry my " laſt remembrance to your mother. And for you, " my faithful friends, as well abſent as preſent, re- " ceive this laſt farewel, and may you live in peace." (z) After having ſaid this, he covered his face, and died equally lamented by all his people.

The order given by Cyrus to RESTORE HIS BODY TO THE EARTH, is in my opinion very remarkable. He would have thought it diſgraced and injured, if incloſed in gold or ſilver. RESTORE IT TO THE EARTH, ſays he. Where did that prince learn, that it was from thence it derived its original. Behold one of thoſe precious traces of tradition as old as the world. Cyrus, after having done good to his ſubjects during his whole life, demands to be incorporated with the earth, that benefactreſs of human race, to perpetuate that good, in ſome meaſure, even after his death.

(z) A. M. 3475. Ant. J. C. 529.

Character

Character and praise of Cyrus.

Cyrus may justly be consider'd, as the wisest conqueror, and the most accomplish'd prince to be found in prophane his history. He was possessed of all the qualities requisite to form a great man; wisdom, moderation, courage, magnanimity, noble sentiments, a wonderful ability in managing mens tempers and gaining their affections, a thorough knowledge of all the parts of the military art as far as that age had carry'd it, a vast extent of genius and capacity for forming, and an equal steadiness and prudence for executing, the greatest projects.

It is very common for those heroes, who shine in the field, and make a great figure in the time of action, to make but a very poor one upon other occasions, and in matters of a different nature. We are astonish'd, when we see them alone and without their armies, to find what a difference there is between a general and a great man; to see what low sentiments and mean things they are capable of in private life; how they are influenced by jealousy, and govern'd by interest; how disagreeable and odious they render themselves by their haughty deportment and arrogance, which they think necessary to preserve their authority, and which only serve to make them hated and despised.

Cyrus had none of these defects. He appear'd always the same, that is, always great, even in the most indifferent matters. Being assured of his greatness, of which real merit was the foundation and support, he thought of nothing more than to render himself affable, and easy of access: And whatever he seem'd to lose by this condescending, humble demeanour, was abundantly compensated by the cordial affection, and sincere respect it procured him from his people.

Never was any prince a greater master of the art of insinuation, so necessary for those that govern, and yet so little understood or practised. He knew perfectly what advantage may result from a single word rightly timed, from an obliging carriage, from a com-

mand

mand tempered with reaſon, from a little praiſe in granting a favour, and from ſoftening a refuſal with expreſſions of concern and good-will. His hiſtory abounds with beauties of this kind.

He was rich in a ſort of wealth, which moſt ſovereigns want, who are poſſeſs'd of every thing but faithful friends, and whoſe indigence in that particular is conceal'd by the ſplendor and affluence, with which they are ſurrounded. * Cyrus was belov'd becauſe he himſelf had a love for others: for has a man any friends, or does he deſerve to have any, when he himſelf is void of friendſhip? Nothing affects us more, than to ſee in Xenophon, the manner in which Cyrus lived and converſed with his friends, always preſerving as much dignity, as was requiſite to keep up a due decorum, and yet infinitely removed from that ill-judg'd haughtineſs, which deprives the great of the moſt innocent and agreeable pleaſure in life, that of converſing freely and ſociably with perſons of merit, tho' of an inferior ſtation.

The uſe he made of his friends may ſerve as a perfect model to all perſons in authority. (*a*) His friends had receiv'd from him not only the liberty, but an expreſs command to tell him whatever they thought. And tho' he was much ſuperior to all his officers in underſtanding, yet he never undertook any thing, without aſking their advice: and whatever was to be done, whether it was to reform any thing in the government, to make changes in the army, or to form a new enterpriſe, he would always have every man ſpeak his ſentiments, and would often make uſe of them to correct his own: ſo different was he from the perſon mention'd by Tacitus, (*b*) who thought it a ſufficient reaſon for rejecting the moſt excellent project or advice, that it did not proceed from himſelf: *Conſilii, quamvis egregii, quod ipſe non afferret, inimicus.*

(*a*) Plat. l. 3. de Leg. p. 694. (*b*) Hiſt. l. 1. c. 26.

* Habes amicos, quia amicus ipſe es. *Paneg. Trajan.*

Cicero

(c) Cicero obſerves, that during the whole time of Cyrus's government he was never heard to ſpeak one rough or angry word: *Cujus ſummo in imperio nemo unquam verbum ullum aſperius audivit.* What a great encomium for a prince is comprehended in that ſhort ſentence! Cyrus muſt have been a very great maſter of himſelf, to be able, in the midſt of ſo much agitation, and in ſpite of all the intoxicating effects of ſovereign power, always to preſerve his mind in ſuch a ſtate of calmneſs and compoſure, that no croſſes, diſappointments, or unforeſeen accidents ſhould ever ruffle its tranquillity, or provoke him to utter any harſh or offenſive expreſſion.

But, what was ſtill greater in him, and more truly royal than all this, was his ſtedfaſt perſuaſion, that all his labours and endeavours ought to tend to the happineſs of his people; (d) and that it was not by the ſplendor of riches, by pompous equipages, luxurious living, or a magnificent table, that a king ought to diſtinguiſh himſelf from his ſubjects, but by a ſuperiority of merit in every kind, and particularly by a conſtant indefatigable care and vigilance to promote their intereſts, and ſecure the public welfare and tranquillity. He ſaid himſelf one day, as he was diſcourſing with his courtiers upon the duties of a king, that a prince ought to conſider himſelf as a * ſhepherd; (the image under which both ſacred and prophane antiquity repreſented good kings) and that he ought to have the ſame vigilance, care and goodneſs. "It is his duty (ſays he) "to watch, that his people may live in ſafety and quiet; "to charge himſelf with anxieties and cares, that "they may be exempt from them; to chuſe whatever "is ſalutary for them, and remove what is hurtful "and prejudicial; to place his delight in ſeeing them "increaſe and multiply, and valiantly expoſe his own "perſon in their defence and protection. This (ſays he)

(c) Lib. 1. Epiſt. 2. ad Q. fratrem. (d) Cyrop. l. 1. p. 27.

* *Thou ſhalt feed my people*, ſaid God to David, 2 *Sam.* v. 2. Ποιμένα λαῶν, Homer, in many places.

" he) is the natural idea, and the juſt image of a good
" king. It is reaſonable at the ſame time, that his
" ſubjects ſhould render him all the ſervice he ſtands
" in need of; but it is ſtill more reaſonable, that he
" ſhould labour to make them happy; becauſe it is
" for that very end that he is their king, as much as
" it is the end and office of a ſhepherd to take care of
" his flock."

Indeed to be the commonwealth's guardian, and to be king; to be for the people, and to be their ſovereign, is but one and the ſame thing. A man is born for others, when he is born to govern, becauſe the reaſon and end of governing others is only to be uſeful and ſerviceable to them. The very baſis and foundation of the condition of princes is not to be for themſelves: the very character of their greatneſs is, that they are conſecrated to the public good. They may properly be conſider'd as light, which is placed on high, only to diffuſe and ſhed its beams on every thing below. Are ſuch ſentiments as theſe any diſparagement to the dignity of the regal ſtate?

'Twas by the concurrence of all theſe virtues that Cyrus founded ſuch an extenſive empire in ſo ſhort a time; that he peaceably enjoy'd the fruits of his conqueſts for ſeveral years; that he made himſelf ſo much eſteem'd and belov'd, not only by his own natural ſubjects, but by all the nations he had conquer'd; that after his death he was univerſally regretted as the common father of all the people.

We ought not for our parts to be ſurpriſed, that Cyrus was ſo accompliſh'd in every virtue (it will eaſily be underſtood, that I ſpeak only of pagan virtues) becauſe we know 'twas God himſelf, who had form'd him to be the inſtrument and agent of his gracious deſigns towards his peculiar people.

When I ſay that God himſelf had form'd this prince, I do not mean that he did it by any ſenſible miracle, or that he immediately made him ſuch, as we admire him in the accounts we have of him in hiſtory. God

gave

gave him a happy genius, and implanted in his mind the ſeeds of all the nobleſt qualities, diſpoſing his heart at the ſame time to aſpire after the moſt excellent and ſublime virtues. But above all he took care, that this happy genius ſhould be cultivated by a good education, and by that means be prepared for the great deſigns for which he intended him. We may venture to ſay, without fear of being miſtaken, that the greateſt excellencies in Cyrus were owing to his education, where the confounding him in ſome ſort with the reſt of the ſubjects, and the keeping him under the ſame ſubjection to the authority of his teachers, ſerv'd to eradicate that pride, which is ſo natural to princes; taught him to hearken to advice, and to obey before he came to command; inured him to hardſhip and toil; accuſtomed him to temperance and ſobriety; and in a word rendered him ſuch, as we have ſeen him throughout his whole conduct, gentle, modeſt, affable, obliging, compaſſionate, an enemy to all luxury and pride, and ſtill more ſo to flattery.

It muſt be confeſſed, that ſuch a prince is one of the moſt precious and valuable gifts, that heaven can make to mortal men. The infidels themſelves have acknowledged this truth; nor has the darkneſs of their falſe religion been able to hide theſe two remarkable truths from their obſervation, that all good kings are the gift of God, and that ſuch a gift includes many others; for nothing can be ſo excellent as that which bears the moſt perfect reſemblance to the Deity; and the nobleſt image of the Deity is a juſt, moderate, chaſt and virtuous prince, who reigns with no other view, than to eſtabliſh the reign of juſtice and virtue. This is the portraiture, which Pliny has left us of Trajan, and which has a great reſemblance with that of Cyrus. (a) *Nullum eſt præſtabilius & pulcrius Dei munus erga mortales, quam caſtus, & ſanctus, & Deo ſimillimus princeps.*

(a) Paneg. Traj.

When

When I narrowly examine this hero's life, methinks there ſeems to have been one circumſtance wanting to his glory, which would have enhanced it exceedingly, I mean that of having ſtruggled under ſome grievous calamity for ſome time, and of having his virtue try'd by ſome ſudden turn of fortune. I know indeed, that the emperor Galba, when he adopted Piſo, told him that the ſtings of proſperity were infinitely ſharper than thoſe of adverſity, and that the former put the ſoul to a much ſeverer trial than the latter: (*b*) *Fortunam adhuc tantum adverſam tuliſti; ſecundæ res acrioribus ſtimulis explorant animos.* And the reaſon he gives is, that when misfortunes come with their whole weight upon a man's ſoul, ſhe exerts herſelf, and ſummons all her ſtrength to bear up the burden; whereas proſperity attacking the mind ſecretly or inſenſibly, leaves it all its weakneſs, and inſinuates a poiſon into it, by ſo much the more dangerous, as it is the more ſubtle: *Quia miſeriæ tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur.*

However, it muſt be owned that adverſity, when ſupported with nobleneſs and dignity, and ſurmounted by an invincible patience, adds a great luſtre to a prince's glory, and gives him occaſion to diſplay many fine qualities and virtues, which would have been conceal'd in the boſom of proſperity; as a greatneſs of mind, independent of every thing without; an unſhaken conſtancy, proof againſt the ſevereſt ſtrokes of fortune; an intrepidity of ſoul animated at the ſight of danger; a fruitfulneſs in expedients improving even from croſſes and diſappointments; a preſence of mind, which views, and provides againſt every thing; and laſtly, a firmneſs of ſoul, that not only ſuffices to itſelf; but is capable of ſupporting others.

(*c*) Cyrus wanted this kind of glory. He himſelf informs us, that during the whole courſe of his life, which was pretty long, the happineſs of it was never interrupted by any unfortunate accident; and that in

(*b*) Hiſt. lib. 1. c. 15. (*c*) Cyrop. l. 8. p. 234.

all

all his deſigns the ſucceſs had anſwer'd his utmoſt expectation. But he acquaints us at the ſame time with another thing almoſt incredible, and which was the ſource of all that moderation and evenneſs of temper, ſo conſpicuous in him, and for which he can never be ſufficiently admir'd; namely, that in the midſt of his uninterrupted proſperity he ſtill preſerv'd in his heart a ſecret fear, proceeding from the changes and misfortunes that might happen: And this prudent fear was not only a (*d*) preſervative againſt inſolence, but even againſt intemperate joy.

There remains one point more to be examin'd, with regard to this prince's reputation and character; I mean the nature of his victories and conqueſts, upon which I ſhall touch but lightly. If theſe were founded only upon ambition, injuſtice and violence, Cyrus would be ſo far from meriting the praiſes beſtow'd upon him, that he would deſerve to be rank'd among thoſe famous robbers of the univerſe, thoſe public enemies to mankind, * who acknowledged no right but that of force; who look'd upon the common rules of juſtice as laws which only private perſons were obliged to obſerve, and derogatory to the majeſty of kings; who ſet no other bounds to their deſigns and pretenſions, than their incapacity of carrying them any further; who ſacrific'd the lives of millions to their particular ambition; who made their glory conſiſt in ſpreading deſolation and deſtruction, like fires and torrents; and † who reign'd as bears and lions would do, if they were maſters.

This is indeed the true character of the greateſt part of thoſe pretended heroes the world admires; and by ſuch ideas as theſe, we ought to correct the impreſſion made upon our minds by the undue praiſes of ſome hiſ-

(*d*) Οὐκ εἶα μέγα φρονεῖν, ἀλλ' εὐφραίνεσθαι ἐπιεικέως.

* Id in ſumma fortuna æquius quod validius. Et ſua retinere privatæ domûs: de alienis certare regiam laudem eſſe. *Tacit. Annal. lib.* 15. *cap.* 1.

† Quæ alia vita eſſet, ſi leones urſique regnarent? *Sen. de Clem. lib.* 1. *cap.* 26.

torians,

torians, and the ſentiments of many deceived by falſe images of greatneſs.

I do not know, whether I am not biaſſed in favour of Cyrus; but he ſeems to me to have been of a very different character from thoſe conquerors, whom I have juſt now deſcrib'd. Not that I would juſtify Cyrus in every reſpect, or repreſent him as exempt from ambition, which undoubtedly was the ſoul of all his undertakings; but he certainly reverenced the laws, and knew that there are unjuſt wars, which whoever undertakes without a juſt foundation renders himſelf accountable for all the blood that is ſhed. Now every war is of this ſort, to which the prince is induced by no other motive than that of enlarging his conqueſts, of acquiring a vain reputation, or rendering himſelf terrible to his neighbours.

(*e*) Cyrus, as we have ſeen, at the beginning of the war founded all his hopes of ſucceſs on the juſtice of his cauſe, and repreſented to his ſoldiers, in order to inſpire them with the greater courage and confidence, that they were not the aggreſſors; that it was the enemy that attack'd them; and that therefore they were entitled to the protection of the gods, who ſeem'd themſelves to have put their arms into their hands, that they might fight in defence of their friends and allies, unjuſtly oppreſſed. If we carefully examine Cyrus's conqueſts, we ſhall find that they were all conſequences of the victories he obtain'd over Crœſus, king of Lydia, who was maſter of the greateſt part of the leſſer Aſia; and over the king of Babylon, who was maſter of all upper Aſia, and many other countries; both which princes were the aggreſſors.

With good reaſon therefore is Cyrus repreſented as one of the greateſt princes recorded in hiſtory; and his reign juſtly propoſed as the model of a perfect government, which it could not be, unleſs juſtice had been the baſis and foundation of it: * *Cyrus à Xenophonte ſcriptus ad juſti effigiem imperii.*

(*e*) Cyrop. l. 1. p. 25.

* Cic. l. 1. Epiſt. 1. ad Q. fratrem.

SECT.

SECT. IV. *Wherein Herodotus and Xenophon differ in their accounts of Cyrus.*

HErodotus and Xenophon, who perfectly agree in the ſubſtance and moſt eſſential part of Cyrus's hiſtory, and particularly in what relates to his expedition againſt Babylon, and his other conqueſts; yet differ extremely in the accounts they give of ſeveral very important facts, as the birth and death of that prince, and the eſtabliſhment of the Perſian empire. I therefore think myſelf obliged to give a ſuccinct account of what Herodotus relates as to theſe points.

(*f*) He tells us, as Juſtin does after him, that Aſtyages, king of the Medes, being warn'd by a frightful dream, that the ſon, who was to be born of his daughter, would dethrone him, did therefore marry his daughter Mandana to a Perſian of an obſcure birth and fortune, whoſe name was Cambyſes: This daughter being deliver'd of a ſon, the king commanded Harpagus, one of his principal officers, to deſtroy the infant. He, inſtead of killing the child, put it into the hands of one of the king's ſhepherds, and order'd him to leave it expos'd in a foreſt. But the child, being miraculouſly preſerv'd, and ſecretly brought up by the ſhepherd's wife, was afterwards known to be the ſame by his grandfather, who contented himſelf with baniſhing him to the moſt remote parts of Perſia, and vented all his wrath upon the unfortunate Harpagus, whom he invited to a feaſt, and entertain'd with the fleſh of his own ſon. Several years after, young Cyrus, being inform'd by Harpagus who he was, and being encouraged by his counſels and remonſtrances, raiſed an army in Perſia, march'd againſt Aſtyages, came to a battle, and defeated him, and ſo tranſfer'd the empire from the Medes to the Perſians.

(*g*) The ſame Herodotus makes Cyrus die in a manner little becoming ſo great a conqueror. This prince,

(*f*) Her. l. 1. c. 107—130. Juſtin. l. 1. c. 4, 6. (*g*) Her. l. 1. c. 205—214. Juſtin. l. 1. c. 8.

according to him, carry'd his arms againſt the Scythians; and, after having attack'd them, in the firſt battle feign'd a flight, leaving a great quantity of wine and proviſions behind him in the field. The Scythians did not fail to ſeize the booty. When they had drank largely and were aſleep, Cyrus return'd upon them, and obtain'd an eaſy victory, taking a vaſt number of priſoners, amongſt whom was the ſon of the queen, nam'd Tomyris, who commanded the army. This young captive prince, whom Cyrus refus'd to reſtore to his mother, being recover'd from his drunken fit, and not able to endure to ſee himſelf a priſoner, kill'd himſelf with his own hand. His mother Tomyris, animated with the deſire of revenge, gave the Perſians a ſecond battle, and feigning a flight, as they had done before, by that means drew them into an ambuſh, and kill'd above two hundred thouſand of their men, together with their king, Cyrus. Then ordering Cyrus's head to be cut off, ſhe flung it into a veſſel full of blood, inſulting him at the ſame time with theſe opprobrious words, * *Now glut thyſelf with blood, in which thou haſt always delighted, and of which thy thirſt has always been inſatiable.*

The account given by Herodotus of Cyrus's infancy, and firſt adventures, has much more the air of a romance, than of an hiſtory. And, as to the manner of his death, what probability is there, that a prince ſo experienc'd in war, and no leſs renown'd for his prudence than for his bravery, ſhould ſo eaſily fall into an ambuſcade laid by a woman for him? (*b*) What the ſame hiſtorian relates concerning his haſty violent paſſion, and his childiſh revenge upon the † river, in which one of his ſacred horſes was drown'd, and which he immediately caus'd to be cut by his army into three hundred and ſixty channels, is directly repugnant to the idea we have of Cyrus, who was a

(*b*) Her. l. 1. c. 189.

* Satia te, inquit, ſanguine, quem ſitiſti, cujuſque inſatiabilis ſemper fuiſti. *Juſt. l.* 1. *c.* 8.

† *Gyndes.*

prince

prince of extraordinary moderation and temper. Besides, (*i*) is it at all probable, that Cyrus, who was marching to the conquest of Babylon, should so idly waste his time when so precious to him, should spend the ardor of his troops in such an unprofitable piece of work, and miss the opportunity of surprising the Babylonians, by amusing himself with a ridiculous war with a river, instead of carrying it against his enemies?

But, what decides this point unanswerably in favour of Xenophon, is the conformity we find between him and the holy scripture; where we see, that instead of Cyrus's having rais'd the Persian empire upon the ruins of that of the Medes (as Herodotus relates it) those two nations attack'd Babylon together, and united their forces, to reduce the formidable power of the Babylonian monarchy.

From whence then could so great a difference, as there is between these two historians, proceed? Herodotus himself explains it to us. In the very place, where he gives the account of Cyrus's birth, and in that where he speaks of his death, he acquaints us, that even at that time those two great events were related different ways. Herodotus follow'd that which pleased him best, for it appears that he was fond of extraordinary and wonderful things, and was very credulous. Xenophon was of a graver disposition, and of less credulity; and in the very beginning of his history acquaints us, that he had taken great care and pains to inform himself of Cyrus's birth, education, and character.

CHAP. II.

The history of Cambyses.

(*k*) AS soon as Cambyses was seated in the throne, he resolv'd to make war against Egypt, for a particular affront, which, according to Herodotus, he pretended to have receiv'd from Amasis: of this I

(*i*) Sen. l. 3. de Ira, c. 21. (*k*) A. M. 3475. Ant. J. C. 529. Her. l. 3. c. 1—3.

have

have already given an account. But 'tis more probable, that Amasis, who had submitted to Cyrus, and become tributary to him, might draw this war upon himself, by refusing, after Cyrus's death, to pay the same homage and tribute to his successor, and by attempting to shake off his yoke.

(*l*) Cambyses, in order to carry on the war with success, made vast preparations both by sea and land. The Cypriots and Phœnicians furnish'd him with ships. As for his land-army, he added to his own troops a great number of Grecians, Ionians, and Æolians, which made up the principal part of his forces. But none was of greater service to him in this war, than Phanes of Halicarnassus, who being the commander of some auxiliary Greeks, in the service of Amasis, and being some way or other dissatisfied with that prince, came over to Cambyses, and gave him such intelligence concerning the nature of the country, the strength of the enemy, and the state of his affairs, as very much facilitated the success of his expedition. 'Twas particularly by his advice, that he contracted with an Arabian king, whose territories lay between the confines of Palestine and Egypt, to furnish his army with water during their march thro' the desart, that lay between those two countries: which agreement that prince fulfill'd, by sending the water on the backs of camels, without which Cambyses could never have march'd his army that way.

(*m*) Having made all these preparations, he invaded Egypt in the fourth year of his reign. When he was arriv'd upon the frontiers, he was inform'd that Amasis was just dead, and that Psammenitus, his son, who succeeded him, was busy in gathering all his forces together, to hinder him from penetrating into his kingdom. Before Cambyses could open a passage into the country, it was necessary he should render himself master of Pelusium, which was the key of Egypt on the side he invaded it. Now Pelusium was so strong a

(*l*) C. 4—9. (*m*) C. 10.

place, that in all likelihood it muſt have ſtop'd him a great while. But according to Polyenus, to facilitate this enterpriſe, (*n*) Cambyſes invented the following ſtratagem. Being inform'd, that the whole garriſon conſiſted of Egyptians, he placed in the front of his army a great number of cats, dogs, ſheep and other animals, which were look'd upon as ſacred by that nation; and then attack'd the city by ſtorm. The ſoldiers of the garriſon not daring either to fling a dart, or ſhoot an arrow that way, for fear of hitting ſome of thoſe animals, Cambyſes became maſter of the place without oppoſition.

(*o*) When Cambyſes had got poſſeſſion of the city, Pſammenitus advanced with a great army, to ſtop his progreſs; and a conſiderable battle enſued between them. But before they engaged, the Greeks, who were in Pſammenitus's army, in order to be reveng'd of Phanes for his revolt, took his children, which he had been obliged to leave in Egypt when he fled, cut their throats between the two camps, and in preſence of the two armies, drank their blood. This outrageous cruelty did not procure them the victory. The Perſians, enraged at ſo horrid a ſpectacle, fell upon them with great fury, quickly routed and overthrew the whole Egyptian army, of which the greateſt part were kill'd upon the ſpot. Thoſe that could ſave themſelves eſcap'd to Memphis.

(*p*) On occaſion of this battle Herodotus takes notice of an extraordinary circumſtance, of which he himſelf was a witneſs. The bones of the Perſians and Egyptians were ſtill in the place where the battle was fought, but ſeparated from one another. The ſkulls of the Egyptians were ſo hard, that a violent ſtroke of a ſtone would hardly break them; and thoſe of the Perſians ſo ſoft, that you might break them, or pierce them thro', with the greateſt eaſe imaginable. The reaſon of this difference was, that the former from their infancy were accuſtom'd to have their heads

(*n*) Polyen. l. 7. (*o*) Her. l. 3. c. 11. (*p*) C. 12.

ſhav'd,

ſhav'd, and to go uncovered, whereas the latter had their heads always cover'd with their tiara's, which is one of their principal ornaments.

(*p*) Cambyſes, having purſued the run-aways to Memphis, ſent an herald into the city, in a veſſel of Mitylene, by the river Nile, on which Memphis ſtood, to ſummon the inhabitants to ſurrender. But the people, tranſported with rage, fell upon the herald, and tore him to pieces, and all that were with him. Cambyſes, having ſoon after taken the place, fully reveng'd the indignity, cauſing ten times as many Egyptians, of the prime nobility, as there had been of his people maſſacred, to be publickly executed. Among theſe was the eldeſt ſon of Pſammenitus. As for the king himſelf, Cambyſes was inclin'd to treat him kindly. He not only ſpared his life, but appointed him an honourable maintenance. But the Egyptian monarch, little affected with this kind uſage, did what he could to raiſe new troubles and commotions, in order to recover his kingdom; as a puniſhment for which he was made to drink bull's blood, and died immediately. His reign laſted but ſix months; after which all Egypt ſubmitted to the conqueror. On the news of this ſucceſs the Libyans, the Cyrenians, and the Barceans, all ſent embaſſadors with preſents to Cambyſes, to make him their ſubmiſſions.

(*q*) From Memphis he went to the city of Sais, which was the burying-place of the kings of Egypt. Aſſoon as he enter'd the palace, he caus'd the body of Amaſis to be taken out of its tomb; and, after having expos'd it to a thouſand indignities in his own preſence, he order'd it to be caſt into the fire, and to be burnt; which was a thing equally contrary to the cuſtoms of the Perſians and Egyptians. The rage this prince teſtified againſt the dead carcaſs of Amaſis ſhews to what a degree he hated his perſon. Whatever was the cauſe of that averſion, it ſeems to have been one of the chief motives Cambyſes had of carrying his arms into Egypt.

(*p*) C. 13. (*q*) C. 16.

(r) The next year, which was the ſixth of his reign, he reſolv'd to make war in three different countries; againſt the Carthaginians, the Ammonians, and the Ethiopians. The firſt of theſe projects he was obliged to lay aſide, becauſe the Phœnicians, without whoſe aſſiſtance he could not carry on that war, refuſed to ſuccour him againſt the Carthaginians, who were deſcended from them, Carthage being originally a Tyrian colony.

(s) But, being determin'd to invade the other two nations, he ſent embaſſadors into Ethiopia, who under that character were to act as ſpies for him, to learn the ſtate and ſtrength of the country, and give him intelligence of both. They carried preſents along with them, ſuch as the Perſians were us'd to make, as purple, golden bracelets, compound perfumes, and wine. Theſe preſents, amongſt which there was nothing uſeful, or ſerviceable to life, except the wine, were deſpiſed by the Ethiopians; neither did they make much more account of his embaſſadors, whom they took for what they really were, ſpies and enemies in diſguiſe. However, the king of Ethiopia was willing after his way to make a preſent to the king of Perſia; and taking a bow in his hands, which a Perſian was ſo far from being able to draw, that he could ſcarce lift it, he drew it in preſence of the embaſſadors, and told them: "This is the preſent and the counſel the king of Ethi-
"opia gives the king of Perſia. When the Perſians
"ſhall be able to uſe a bow, of this bigneſs and
"ſtrength, with as much eaſe as I have now bent it,
"then let them come to attack the Ethiopians, and
"bring more troops with them than Cambyſes is ma-
"ſter of. In the mean time let them thank the gods
"for not having put it into the hearts of the Ethio-
"pians to extend their dominions beyond their own
"country."

(t) This anſwer having enraged Cambyſes, he commanded his army to begin their march immediately,

(r) C. 17, 19. (s) C. 20—24. (t) C. 25.

without

without conſidering, that he neither had proviſions, nor any thing neceſſary for ſuch an expedition: but he left the Grecians behind him, in his new-conquer'd country, to keep it in ſubjection during his abſence.

(*u*) Aſſoon as he arrived at Thebes, in upper Egypt, he detach'd fifty thouſand of his men againſt the Ammonians, ordering them to ravage the country, and to deſtroy the temple of Jupiter Ammon, which was famous there. But, after they had made ſeveral days march in the deſart, a violent wind blowing from the ſouth, brought ſuch a vaſt quantity of ſand upon the army, that the men were all over-whelm'd, and bury'd under it.

In the mean time, Cambyſes march'd forwards like a mad-man towards the Ethiopians, notwithſtanding his being deſtitute of all ſorts of proviſions; which quickly caus'd a terrible famine in his army. He had ſtill time, ſays Herodotus, to remedy this evil: but Cambyſes would have thought it a diſhonour to have deſiſted from his undertaking, and therefore he proceeded in his expedition. At firſt his army was obliged to live upon herbs, roots, and leaves of trees: But, coming afterwards into a country entirely barren, they were reduced to the neceſſity of eating their beaſts of burden. At laſt they were brought to ſuch a cruel extremity, as to be oblig'd to eat one another; every tenth man, upon whom the lot fell, being doom'd to ſerve as meat for his companions; a meat, ſays Seneca, more cruel and terrible than famine itſelf: (*x*) *Decimum quemque ſortiti, alimentum habucrunt fame ſævius.* Notwithſtanding all this, the king ſtill perſiſted in his deſign, or rather in his madneſs, nor did the miſerable deſolation of his army make him ſenſible of his error. But at length, beginning to be afraid for his own perſon, he order'd them to return. During all this dreadful famine among the troops (who would believe it?) here was no abatement of delicacies at his table, and camels were ſtill reſerv'd to carry his kitchen furniture,

(*u*) C. 25, 26. (*x*) De Ira, l. 3. c. 20.

and the inſtruments of his luxury: (y) *Servabantur illi interim generoſæ aves, & inſtrumenta epularum camelis vehebantur, cum ſortirentur milites ejus quis malè periret, quis pejùs viveret.*

The remainder of his army, of which the greateſt part was loſt in this expedition, he brought back to Thebes; (z) where he ſucceeded much better in the war he declared againſt the gods, whom he found more eaſy to be conquer'd than men. Thebes was full of temples, that were incredibly rich and magnificent. All theſe Cambyſes pillaged, and then ſet them on fire. The richneſs of theſe temples muſt have been vaſtly great, ſince the very remains, ſav'd from the flames, amounted to an immenſe ſum, three hundred talents of gold, and two thouſand three hundred talents of ſilver. (a) He likewiſe carried away at this time the famous circle of gold, that encompaſſed the tomb of king Ozymandias, being three hundred and fifty-five cubits in circumference, and in which were repreſented all the motions of the ſeveral conſtellations.

(b) From Thebes he went back to Memphis, where he diſmiſs'd all the Greeks, and ſent them to their reſpective homes: but on his return into the city, finding it full of rejoicings, he fell into a great rage, ſuppoſing all this to have been for the ill ſucceſs of his expedition. He therefore call'd the magiſtrates before him, to know the meaning of theſe public rejoicings; and upon their telling him, that it was becauſe they had found their god Apis, he would not believe them, but caus'd them to be put to death, as impoſtors that inſulted him and his misfortunes. And then he ſent for the prieſts, who made him the ſame anſwer: upon which he replied, that ſince their god was ſo kind and familiar as to appear among them, he would be acquainted with him, and therefore commanded him forthwith to be brought to him. But, when inſtead of a god he ſaw a calf, he was ſtrangely aſtoniſh'd, and

(y) Ibid. (z) Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 43. (a) Ibid. p. 46.
(b) Her. l. 3. c. 27—29.

falling

falling again into a rage, he drew out his dagger, and run it into the thigh of the beaſt; and then upbraiding the prieſts for their ſtupidity, in worſhipping a brute for a god, order'd them to be ſeverely whipt, and all the Egyptians in Memphis, that ſhould be found celebrating the feaſt of Apis, to be ſlain. The god was carried back to the temple, where he languiſh'd of his wound for ſome time, and then died.

(*c*) The Egyptians ſay, that after this fact, which they reckon to have been the higheſt inſtance of impiety, that ever was committed among them, Cambyſes grew mad. But his actions ſhew'd him to have been mad long before, of which he continued to give various inſtances: among the reſt are theſe following.

(*d*) He had a brother, the only ſon of Cyrus beſides himſelf, and born of the ſame mother: His name, according to Xenophon, was Tanaoxares, but Herodotus calls him Smerdis, and Juſtin Mergis. He accompanied Cambyſes in his Egyptian expedition. But being the only perſon among all the Perſians, that could draw the bow, which Cambyſes's embaſſadors brought him from the king of Ethiopia, Cambyſes from hence conceived ſuch a jealouſy againſt him, that he could bear him no longer in the army, but ſent him back into Perſia. And not long after dreaming, that ſomebody told him that Smerdis ſat on the throne, he conceived a ſuſpicion that his brother aſpired to the throne, and ſent after him into Perſia Prexaſpes, one of his chief confidents, with orders to put him to death, which he accordingly executed.

(*e*) This murder was the cauſe of another ſtill more criminal. Cambyſes had with him in the camp his youngeſt ſiſter, whoſe name was Meroe. Herodotus acquaints us after what a ſtrange manner this ſiſter became his wife. As the princeſs was exceedingly beautiful, Cambyſes abſolutely reſolved to marry her. To that end he called together all the judges of the Perſian nation, to whom belonged the interpretation of their

(*c*) Ibid. c. 30. (*d*) Ibid. (*e*) C. 31, 32.

laws, to know of them, whether there was any law, that would allow a brother to marry a ſiſter. The judges, being unwilling on one hand directly to authoriſe ſuch an inceſtuous marriage, and on the other, fearing the king's violent temper, ſhould they contradict him, endeavour'd to find out a ſalvo, and gave him this crafty anſwer, That they had no law indeed which permitted a brother to marry his ſiſter, but they had a law which allow'd the king of Perſia to do what he pleaſed. Which ſerving his purpoſe as well as a direct approbation, he ſolemnly marry'd her, and hereby gave the firſt example of that inceſt, which was afterwards practiſed by moſt of his ſucceſſors, and by ſome of them carried ſo far as to marry their own daughters, how repugnant ſoever it be to modeſty and good order. This lady he carried with him in all his expeditions, and her name being Meroe, he from her gave that name to an iſland in the Nile, between Egypt and Ethiopia, on the conquering of it; for ſo far he advanced in his wild march againſt the Ethiopians. The thing, that gave occaſion to his murdering this princeſs, was as follows. One day Cambyſes was diverting himſelf in ſeeing a combat between a young lion and a young dog: the lion having the better, another dog, brother to him that was engaged, came to his aſſiſtance, and help'd him to maſter the lion. This adventure mightily delighted Cambyſes, but drew tears from Meroe, who being obliged to tell her huſband the reaſon of her weeping, confeſs'd, that this combat made her call to mind the fate of her brother Smerdis, who had not had the ſame good fortune as that little dog. There needed no more than this to excite the rage of this brutal prince, who immediately gave her, notwithſtanding her being with child, ſuch a blow with his foot on the belly, that ſhe died of it. So abominable a marriage deſerv'd no better an end.

(*f*) He caus'd alſo ſeveral of the principal of his followers to be buried alive, and daily ſacrificed ſome

(*f*) Her. l. 3. c. 34, 35. Sen. l. 3. de Ira, c. 14.

or

or other of them to his wild fury. He had obliged Prexaſpes, one of his principal officers and favourites, to declare to him what his Perſian ſubjects thought and ſaid of him. "They admire, Sir, (ſays Prexaſpes) a "great many excellent qualities they ſee in you, but "they are ſomewhat mortified at your immoderate "love of wine." "I underſtand you (reply'd the "king) that is, they pretend that wine deprives me "of my reaſon. You ſhall be judge of that imme-"diately." Upon which he began to drink exceſſively, pouring it down in larger quantities, than ever he had done at any time before. Then ordering Prexaſpes's ſon, who was his chief cup-bearer, to ſtand upright at the end of the room, with his left hand upon his head, he took his bow, and level'd it at him; and declaring that he aim'd at his heart, let fly, and actually ſhot him in the heart. He then order'd his ſide to be open'd, and ſhewing the father the heart of his ſon, which the arrow had pierced, aſk'd him, in an inſulting ſcoffing manner, if he had not a ſteady hand. The wretched father, who ought not to have had either voice or life remaining after a ſtroke like this, was ſo mean-ſpirited as to reply: "Apollo himſelf could not have ſhot bet-"ter". Seneca, who copied this ſtory from Herodotus, after having ſhewn his deteſtation of the barbarous cruelty of the prince, condemns ſtill more the cowardly and monſtrous flattery of the father: *Sceleratius telum illud laudatum eſt, quam miſſum.*

(g) When Crœſus took upon him to adviſe Cambyſes againſt theſe proceedings, and laid before him the ill conſequences they would lead to, he order'd him to be put to death. And, when thoſe who receiv'd his orders, knowing he would repent of it the next day, deferr'd the execution, he caus'd them all to be put to death, becauſe they had not obey'd his commands, tho' at the ſame time he expreſſed great joy that Crœſus was alive.

It was about this time, Oretes, one of Cambyſes's ſatrapæ, who had the government of Sardis, after a

(g) Her. l. 3. c. 36.

very ſtrange and extraordinary manner brought about the death of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos. The ſtory of this Polycrates is of ſo ſingular a nature, that the reader will not be diſpleaſed, if I repeat it here.

(*b*) This Polycrates was a prince, who through the whole courſe of his life had been perfectly proſperous and ſucceſsful in all his affairs, and had never met with the leaſt diſappointment, or unfortunate accident, to diſturb his felicity. Amaſis, king of Egypt, his friend and ally, thought himſelf obliged to ſend him a letter of admonition upon that ſubject. In this letter he declared to him, that he had terrible apprehenſions concerning his condition; that ſuch a long and uninterrupted courſe of proſperity was to be ſuſpected; that ſome malignant, invidious god, who looks upon the fortune of men with a jealous eye, would certainly ſooner or later bring ruin and deſtruction upon him; that, in order to prevent ſuch a fatal ſtroke, he adviſed him to procure ſome misfortune to himſelf, by ſome voluntary loſs, that he was perſuaded would prove a ſenſible mortification to him.

The tyrant follow'd this advice. Having an emerald ring, which he mightily eſteem'd particularly for its curious workmanſhip, as he was walking upon the deck of one of his galleys, with his courtiers, he threw it into the ſea without any one's perceiving what he had done. Not many days after, ſome fiſhermen, having caught a fiſh of an extraordinary bigneſs, made a preſent of it to Polycrates. When the fiſh came to be open'd, the king's ring was found in the belly of it. His ſurpriſe was very great, and his joy ſtill greater.

When Amaſis heard what had happened, he was very differently affected with it. He writ another letter to Polycrates, telling him, that, to avoid the mortification of ſeeing his friend and ally fall into ſome grievous calamity, he from that time renounc'd his friendſhip and alliance. A ſtrange, whimſical notion

(*b*) Ibid. c. 39—43.

this! as if friendſhip was merely a name, or a title, deſtitute of all ſubſtance and reality.

(*i*) Be that as it will, the thing however did really happen, as the Egyptian king apprehended. Some years after, about the time Cambyſes fell ſick, Oretes, who, as I ſaid before, was his governor at Sardis, not being able to bear the reproach, which another *ſatrapa* had made him in a private quarrel, of his not having yet conquer'd the iſle of Samos, which lay ſo near his government, and would be ſo commodious for his maſter; Oretes upon this reſolv'd at any rate to deſtroy Polycrates, that he might get poſſeſſion of the iſland. The way he took to effect his deſign was this. He feign'd an inclination upon ſome pretended diſcontent to revolt from Cambyſes; but muſt firſt take care, he ſaid, how to ſecure his treaſure and effects; for which end he was determined to depoſit them in the hands of Polycrates, and at the ſame time make him a preſent of one half of it, which would enable him to conquer Ionia, and the adjacent iſlands, a thing he had long had in view. Oretes knew the tyrant lov'd money, and paſſionately coveted to enlarge his dominions. He therefore laid that double bait before him, by which he equally tempted his avarice and ambition. Polycrates, that he might not raſhly engage in an affair of that importance, thought it proper to inform himſelf more ſurely of the truth of the matter, and to that end ſent a meſſenger of his own to Sardis. When he came there, they ſhew'd him a vaſt number of bags full of gold, as he thought, but in truth fill'd with ſtones, and having only the mouth of them cover'd over with gold. As ſoon as he was return'd home, Polycrates, impatient to go and ſeize his prey, ſet out for Sardis, contrary to the advice of all his friends; and took along with him Democedes, a celebrated phyſician of Crotona. Immediately on his arrival Oretes had him arreſted, as an enemy to the ſtate, and as ſuch caus'd him to be hang'd: In ſuch an

(*i*) Ibid. c. 120—125.

ignominious

ignominious and ſhameful manner did he end a life, which had been but one continued ſeries of proſperity and good fortune.

(k) Cambyſes, in the beginning of the eighth year of his reign, left Egypt, in order to return into Perſia. When he came into Syria, he found an herald there, ſent from Suſa to the army, to let them know, that Smerdis, the ſon of Cyrus, was proclaim'd king, and to command them all to obey him. This event had been brought about in this manner. Cambyſes, at his departure from Suſa on his Egyptian expedition, had left the adminiſtration of affairs during his abſence in the hands of Patiſithes, one of the chief of the Magi. This Patiſithes had a brother extremely like Smerdis, the ſon of Cyrus, and who perhaps for that reaſon was call'd by the ſame name. As ſoon as Patiſithes was fully aſſured of the death of that prince, which was conceal'd from the public, knowing at the ſame time, that Cambyſes indulged his extravagance to ſuch a degree that he was grown inſupportable, he placed his own brother upon the throne, giving out, that he was the true Smerdis, the ſon of Cyrus; and immediately diſpatched heralds into all the parts of the empire, to give notice of Smerdis's acceſſion, and to require all the ſubjects thereof to pay him their obedience.

(l) Cambyſes cauſed the herald, that came with theſe orders into Syria, to be arreſted; and, having ſtrictly examin'd him in the preſence of Prexaſpes, who had received orders to kill his brother, he found that the true Smerdis was certainly dead, and he, who had uſurp'd the throne, was no other than Smerdis the Magian. Upon this he made great lamentations, that, being deceiv'd by a dream, and the identity of the names, he had been induced to deſtroy his own brother: and immediately gave orders for his army to march, and cut off the uſurper. But, as he was mounting his horſe for this expedition, his ſword

(*k*) Ibid. c. 61. (*l*) C. 62--64.

ſlipp'd

ſlipp'd out of its ſcabbard, and gave him a wound in the thigh, of which he died ſoon after. The Egyptians remarking, that it was in the ſame part of the body, where he had wounded their god Apis, reckon'd it as a judgment upon him for that ſacrilegious impiety.

(*m*) While he was in Egypt, having conſulted the oracle of Butus, which was famous in that country, he was told, that he ſhould die at Ecbatana; which underſtanding of Ecbatana in Media, he reſolv'd to preſerve his life by never going thither; but what he thought to avoid in Media, he found in Syria. For the town, where he lay ſick of this wound, was of the ſame name, being alſo call'd Ecbatana. Of which when he was inform'd, taking it for certain that he muſt die there, he aſſembled all the chief of the Perſians together, and repreſenting to them the true ſtate of the caſe, that it was Smerdis, the Magian, who had uſurp'd the throne, earneſtly exhorted them not to ſubmit to that impoſtor, nor to ſuffer the ſovereignty to paſs from the Perſians again to the Medes, of which nation the Magian was, but to take care to ſet up a king over them of their own people. The Perſians, thinking that he ſaid all this out of hatred to his brother, had no regard to it; but upon his death quietly ſubmitted to him, whom they found on the throne, ſuppoſing him to be the true Smerdis.

(*n*) Cambyſes reign'd ſeven years and five months. In ſcripture he is call'd Ahaſuerus. When he firſt came to the crown, the enemies of the Jews made their addreſſes directly to him, deſiring him to hinder the building of their temple. And their application was not in vain. Indeed he did not openly revoke the edict of his father Cyrus, perhaps out of ſome remains of reſpect for his father's memory, but in a great meaſure fruſtrated its intent, by the many diſcouragements he laid the Jews under; ſo that the work went on very ſlowly during his reign.

(*m*) C. 64--66. (*n*) 1 Eſd. iv. 4, 6.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The history of Smerdis, the Magian.

THIS prince is called in ſcripture Artaxerxes. As ſoon as he was ſettled in the throne, by the death of Cambyſes, (*o*) the inhabitants of Samaria wrote a letter to him, ſetting forth what a turbulent, ſeditious and rebellious people the Jews were. By virtue of this letter they obtained an order from the king prohibiting the Jews from proceeding any farther in the rebuilding of their city and temple. So that the work was ſuſpended till the ſecond year of Darius, for about the ſpace of two years.

The Magian, ſenſible how important it was for him, that the impoſture ſhould not be diſcover'd, affected, according to the cuſtom of the eaſtern monarchs in thoſe times, never to appear in public, but to live retired in his palace, and there tranſact all his affairs by the intercourſe of his eunuchs, without admitting any but his moſt intimate confidents to his preſence.

(*p*) And, the better to ſecure himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the throne he had uſurp'd, he ſtudied from his firſt acceſſion to gain the affections of his ſubjects, by granting them an exemption from taxes, and from all military ſervice for three years: and did ſo many things for their benefit, that his death was much lamented by the generality of the Perſians, on the revolution that happen'd afterwards.

(*q*) But theſe very precautions, he made uſe of to keep himſelf out of the way of being diſcover'd either by the nobility or the people, did but make it the more ſuſpected, that he was not the true Smerdis. He had married all his predeceſſors wives, and among the reſt Atoſſa a daughter of Cyrus, and Phedyma a daughter of Otanes, a noble Perſian of the firſt quality. This

(*o*) A. M. 3482. Ant. J. C. 522. 1 Eſd. iv. 7--14.
(*p*) Her. l. 3. c. 67. (*q*) C. 69.

nobleman

nobleman ſent a truſty meſſenger to his daughter, to know of her, whether the king was really Smerdis, the ſon of Cyrus, or ſome other man. She anſwer'd, that having never ſeen Smerdis, the ſon of Cyrus, ſhe could not tell. He then by a ſecond meſſage deſired her to inquire of Atoſſa (who could not but know her own brother) whether this were he or not. Whereupon ſhe inform'd him, that the preſent king kept all his wives apart, ſo that they never could converſe with one another, and that therefore ſhe could not come at Atoſſa, to aſk this queſtion of her. He ſent her a third meſſage, whereby he directed her, that when he ſhould next lie with her, ſhe ſhould take the opportunity, when he was faſt aſleep, to feel whether he had any ears or no. For Cyrus having caus'd the ears of Smerdis the Magian to be cut off for ſome crime, he told her, that if the perſon ſhe lay with had ears, ſhe might ſatisfy herſelf, that he was Smerdis the ſon of Cyrus; but if not, he was Smerdis the Magian, and therefore unworthy of poſſeſſing either the crown or her. Phedyma, having received theſe inſtructions, took the next opportunity of making the trial ſhe was directed to, and finding that the perſon ſhe lay with had no ears, ſhe ſent word to her father of it, whereby the whole fraud was diſcovered.

(r) Otanes immediately enter'd into a conſpiracy with five more of the chief Perſian nobility; and Darius, an illuſtrious Perſian nobleman, whoſe father Hyſtaſpes was governor of * Perſia, coming very ſeaſonably, as they were forming their plan, was admitted into the aſſociation, and vigorouſly promoted the execution. The affair was conducted with great ſecrecy, and the very day fixed, leſt it ſhould be diſcover'd.

(s) While they were concerting their meaſures, an extraordinary occurrence, which they had not the leaſt expectation of, ſtrangely perplex'd the Magians. In

(r) C. 70-73. (s) C. 74, 75.

* *The province ſo called.*

order

order to remove all ſuſpicion, they had propoſed to Prexaſpes, and obtained a promiſe from him, that he would publickly declare before the people, who were to be aſſembled for that purpoſe, that the king upon the throne was truly Smerdis, the ſon of Cyrus. When the people were aſſembled, which was on the very ſame day, Prexaſpes ſpoke from the top of a tower, and to the great aſtoniſhment of all preſent, ſincerely declared all that had paſſed; that he had kill'd with his own hand Smerdis the ſon of Cyrus, by Cambyſes's order; that the perſon who now poſſeſſed the throne was Smerdis the Magian; that he begg'd pardon of the gods and men for the crime he had committed, by compulſion, and againſt his will. Having ſaid this, he threw himſelf headlong from the top of the tower, and broke his neck. 'Tis eaſy to imagine, what confuſion the news of this accident occaſioned in the palace.

(t) The conſpirators, without knowing any thing of what had happened, were going to the palace at this juncture, and were ſuffered to enter unſuſpected. For the outer guard, knowing them to be perſons of the firſt rank at court, did not ſo much as aſk them any queſtions. But coming near the king's apartment, and finding the officers there unwilling to give them admittance, they drew their ſcymitars, fell upon the guards, and forced their paſſage. Smerdis the Magian, and his brother, who were deliberating together upon the affair of Prexaſpes, hearing a ſudden uproar, ſnatch'd up their arms, made the beſt defence they could, and wounded ſome of the conſpirators. One of the two brothers being quickly kill'd, the other fled into a diſtant room to ſave himſelf, but was purſued thither by Gobryas and Darius. Gobryas having ſeized him, held him faſt in his arms; but, as it was quite dark in that place, Darius was afraid to kill him, leſt at the ſame time he ſhould kill his friend. Gobryas, judging what it was that reſtrain'd him, obliged him to run his ſword through the Magian's body, tho'

(t) C. 76--78.

he

he ſhould happen to kill them both together. But Darius did it with ſo much dexterity and good fortune, that he killed the Magian without hurting his companion.

(*u*) In the ſame inſtant, with their hands all ſmear'd with blood, they went out of the palace, expoſed the heads of the falſe Smerdis, and his brother Patiſithes, to the eyes of the people, and declared the whole impoſture. Upon this the people grew ſo enraged againſt the impoſtors, that they fell upon their whole ſect, and ſlew as many of them as they could find. For which reaſon the day, on which this was done, thenceforward became an annual feſtival among the Perſians, by whom it was celebrated with great rejoicings. It was called *The ſlaughter of the Magi*; nor durſt any of that ſect appear in public upon that feſtival.

When the tumult and diſorder, inſeparable from ſuch an event, were appeas'd, the lords, who had ſlain the uſurper, enter'd into conſultation among themſelves what ſort of government was moſt proper for them to eſtabliſh. Otanes, who ſpoke firſt, declar'd directly againſt monarchy, ſtrongly repreſenting and exaggerating the dangers and inconveniencies, to which that form of government is liable; chiefly flowing, according to him, from the abſolute and unlimited power annex'd to it, by which the moſt virtuous man is almoſt unavoidably corrupted. He therefore concluded, by declaring for a popular government. Megabyſus, who next deliver'd his opinion, admitting all that the other had ſaid againſt a monarchical government, confuted his reaſons for a democracy. He repreſented the people as a violent, fierce, and ungovernable animal, that acts only by caprice and paſſion. "A king, ſaid "he, knows what he does: but the people neither "know, nor hear any thing; and blindly give them-"ſelves up to thoſe that know how to amuſe them." He therefore declar'd for an ariſtocracy, wherein the ſupreme power is confided to a few wiſe and expe-

(*u*) C. 79.

rienc'd

rienc'd perſons. Darius, who ſpoke laſt, ſhewed the inconveniencies of an ariſtocracy, otherwiſe called oligarchy; wherein reign diſtruſt, envy, diſſenſions, and ambition, all natural ſources of faction, ſedition, and murder; for which there is uſually no other remedy than ſubmitting to one man's authority; and this is called monarchy, which of all forms of government is the moſt commendable, the ſafeſt, and the moſt advantagious; inexpreſſibly great being the good that can be done by a prince, whoſe power is equal to the goodneſs of his inclinations. "In ſhort, ſaid he, to determine this point by a fact which to me ſeems deciſive and undeniable, to what form of government is owing the preſent greatneſs of the Perſian empire? Is it not to that which I am now recommending?" Darius's opinion was embrac'd by the reſt of the lords; and they reſolv'd, that the monarchy ſhould be continu'd on the ſame foot whereon it had been eſtabliſh'd by Cyrus.

(x) The next queſtion was to know, which of them ſhould be king, and how they ſhould proceed to the election. This they thought fit to refer to the gods. Accordingly they agreed to meet, the next morning by ſun-riſing, on horſeback, at a certain place in the ſuburbs of the city; and he, whoſe horſe firſt neigh'd, ſhould be king. For the ſun being the chief deity of the Perſians, they imagin'd, that taking this courſe would be giving him the honour of the election. Darius's groom, hearing of the agreement, made uſe of the following artifice to ſecure the crown to his maſter. He carried the night before, a mare into the place appointed for their meeting the next day, and brought to her his maſter's horſe. The lords aſſembling the next morning at the rendezvous, no ſooner was Darius's horſe come to the place where he had ſmelt the mare, but he fell a neighing; whereupon Darius was ſaluted king by the others, and plac'd on the throne. He was

(x) C. 84—87.

the

the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, a Perſian by birth, and of the royal family of Achæmenes.

(*y*) The Perſian empire being thus reſtor'd and ſettled by the wiſdom and valour of theſe ſeven lords, they were rais'd by the new king to the higheſt dignities, and honour'd with the moſt ample privileges. They had acceſs to his perſon whenever they would, and in all publick affairs were the firſt to deliver their opinions. Whereas the Perſians wore their tiara or turban with the top bent backwards, except the king, who wore his erect; theſe lords had the privilege of wearing theirs with the top bent forwards, becauſe, when they attack'd the Magi, they had bent theirs in that manner the better to know one another in the hurry and confuſion. From that time forwards, the Perſian kings of this family always had ſeven counſellors, honour'd with the ſame privilege.

Here I ſhall conclude the hiſtory of the Perſian empire, reſerving the remainder of it for the following volumes.

CHAP. IV.

The manners and cuſtoms of the ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS, LYDIANS, MEDES *and* PERSIANS.

I SHALL give in this place a joint account of the manners and cuſtoms of all theſe ſeveral nations, becauſe they agree in ſeveral points; and if I was to treat them ſeparately, I ſhould be obliged to make frequent repetitions; and that, excepting the Perſians, the ancient authors ſay very litle of the manners of the other nations. I ſhall reduce what I have to ſay of them to theſe four heads.

I. Their government.
II. Their art of war.
III. Their arts and ſciences: And,
IV. Their religion.

After which I ſhall lay down the cauſes of the declenſion and ruin of the great Perſian empire.

(*y*) Ibid.

ART I.

ARTICLE I.

Of GOVERNMENT.

AFTER a ſhort account of the nature of the government of Perſia, and the manner of educating the children of their kings, I ſhall proceed to conſider theſe few things: their publick council, wherein the affairs of ſtate were conſidered; the adminiſtration of juſtice; their care of their provinces; and the good order obſerv'd in their revenues.

SECT. I. *Their monarchical form of government. The reſpect they paid their kings. The manner of educating their children.*

MONARCHICAL, or regal government, as we call it, is of all others the moſt ancient, the moſt univerſal, the beſt adapted to keep the people in peace and union, and the leaſt expos'd to the revolutions and viciſſitudes incident to ſtates. For theſe reaſons the wiſeſt writers among the ancients, as Plato, Ariſtotle, Plutarch, and, before them all, Herodotus, have thought fit to prefer this form of government to all others. 'Tis likewiſe the only form, that was ever eſtabliſh'd among the eaſtern nations, a republican government being utterly unknown in that part of the world.

(z) Thoſe people paid extraordinary honours to the prince on the throne, becauſe in his perſon they reſpected the character of the deity, whoſe image and vice-gerent he was with regard to them, being plac'd on the throne by the hands of the ſupreme governor of the world, and cloathed with his authority and power, in order to be the miniſter of his providence, and the diſpenſer of his goodneſs towards the people. In this manner did the pagans themſelves in old times both think and ſpeak: (a) *Principem dat Deus, qui erga omne hominum genus vice ſuâ fungatur.*

(z) Plut. in Themiſt. p. 125. ad Princ. indoct. p. 780.
(a) Plin. in Paneg. Traj.

Theſe

Theſe ſentiments are very laudable and juſt. For certainly the moſt profound reſpect and reverence are due to the ſupreme power; becauſe it cometh from God, and is entirely appointed for the good of the publick: beſides, 'tis evident, that an authority not reſpected according to the full extent of his commiſſion, muſt thereby either become uſeleſs, or at leaſt very much limited in the good effects, which ought to flow from it. But in the times of paganiſm theſe honours and homages, tho' juſt and reaſonable in themſelves, were often carried too far; the chriſtian being the only religion, that has known how to keep within bounds in that particular. * We honour the emperor, ſaid Tertullian in the name of all the chriſtians; but in ſuch a manner, as is lawful for us, and proper for him: that is, as a man, who is next after God in rank and authority, from whom he has received all that he is, and whatever he has, and who knows no ſuperior but God alone. For this reaſon he calls in another place the emperor a ſecond majeſty, inferior to nothing but the firſt: (*b*) *Religio ſecundæ majeſtatis.*

Among the Aſſyrians, and more particularly among the Perſians, the prince uſed to be ſtil'd, *The great king*, *the king of kings*. Two reaſons might induce thoſe princes to take that oſtentatious title. The one, becauſe their empire was form'd of many conquered kingdoms, all united under one head: the other, becauſe they had ſeveral kings, their vaſſals, either in their court, or dependent upon them.

(*c*) The crown was hereditary among them, deſcending from father to ſon, and generally to the eldeſt. When an heir to the crown was born, all the empire teſtified their joy by ſacrifices, feaſts, and all manner of publick rejoicings; and his birth-day was thence-

(*b*) Apolog. c. 1. p. 35.

* Colimus Imperatorem, ſic, quomodo & nobis licet, & ipſi expedit; ut hominem à Deo ſecundum, & quicquid eſt, à Deo conſecutum, & ſolo Deo minorem. *Tertul. L. ad Scap.*

(*c*) Plat. in Alcib. c. 1. p. 121.

forward

forward an annual feſtival, and day of ſolemnity for all the Perſians.

(*d*) The manner of educating the future maſter of the empire is admir'd by Plato, and recommended to the Greeks as a perfect model for a prince's education.

He was never wholly committed to the care of the nurſe, who generally was a woman of mean and low condition. But from among the eunuchs, that is, the chief officers of the houſhold, ſome of the moſt approv'd merit and probity were choſen, to take care of the young prince's perſon and health, till he was ſeven years of age, and to begin to form his manners and behaviour. He was then taken from them, and put into the hands of other maſters, who were to continue the care of his education, to teach him to ride aſſoon as his ſtrength would permit, and to exerciſe him in hunting.

At fourteen years of age, when the mind begins to attain ſome maturity, four of the wiſeſt, and moſt virtuous men of the ſtate, were appointed to be his preceptors. The firſt, ſays Plato, taught him magic, that is, in their language, the worſhip of the gods according to their ancient maxims, and the laws of Zoroaſter, the ſon of Oromaſus, he alſo inſtructed him in the principles of government. The ſecond was to accuſtom him to ſpeak truth, and to adminiſter juſtice. The third was to teach him not to be overcome by pleaſures, that he might be truly a king and always free, maſter of himſelf and his deſires. The fourth was to fortify his courage againſt fear, which would have made him a ſlave, and to inſpire him with a noble and prudent aſſurance, ſo neceſſary for thoſe that are born to command. Each of theſe governors excell'd in his way, and was eminent in that part of education aſſign'd to him. One was particularly diſtinguiſh'd for his knowledge in religion, and the art of governing: another for his love of truth and juſtice: this for his moderation and abſtinence from pleaſures: that for a

(*d*) Ibid.

ſuperior ſtrength of mind, and uncommon intrepidity.

I do not know, whether ſuch a diverſity of maſters, who, without doubt, were of different tempers, and perhaps had different intereſts in view, was proper to anſwer the end propos'd: or whether it was poſſible, that four men ſhould agree together in the ſame principles, and harmoniouſly purſue the ſame end. Probably, the reaſon of having ſo many was, that they apprehended it impoſſible to find any one perſon poſſeſs'd of all the qualities they judg'd neceſſary for giving a right education to the preſumptive heir of the crown; ſo great an idea had they, even in thoſe corrupt times, of the importance of a prince's education.

Be this as it will, all this care, as Plato remarks in the ſame place, was fruſtrated by the luxury, pomp, and magnificence, with which the young prince was ſurrounded; by the numerous train of attendants, that paid him with a ſervile ſubmiſſion; by all the appurtenances and equipage of a voluptuous and effeminate life, in which pleaſure, and the inventing of new diverſions, ſeem'd to engroſs all attention: dangers which the moſt excellent diſpoſition could never ſurmount. The corrupt manners of the nation therefore quickly debauch'd the prince, and drew him into the reigning pleaſures, againſt which no education is a ſufficient defence.

The education here ſpoken of by Plato, can relate only to the children of Artaxerxes, ſurnam'd Longimanus, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Xerxes, in whoſe time lived Alcibiades, who is introduc'd in the dialogue, from whence this obſervation is taken. For Plato, in another paſſage, which we ſhall cite hereafter, informs us, that neither Cyrus, nor Darius ever thought of giving the princes, their ſons, a good education: and what we find in hiſtory concerning Artaxerxes Longimanus, gives us reaſon to believe, that he was more careful than his predeceſſors in the point of educating his children; but was not much imitated in that reſpect by his ſucceſſors.

SECT.

SECT. II. *The publick council, wherein the affairs of state are considered.*

AS absolute as the regal authority was among the Persians, yet was it, in some measure, kept within bounds by the establishment of this council, appointed by the state; a council, which consisted of seven of the princes, or chief lords, of the nation, no less distinguish'd for their wisdom and abilities, than for their extraction. We have already seen the origin of this establishment in the conspiracy of the seven Persian noblemen, who enter'd into an association against Smerdis, the Magian, and killed him.

The scripture relates, that Ezra was sent into Judæa, in the name, and by the authority of king Artaxerxes and his seven counsellors: (c) *From before the king and his seven counsellors.* The same scripture, a long time before this, in the reign of Darius, otherwise called Ahasuerus, who succeeded the Magian, informs us, That these counsellors were well vers'd in the laws, ancient customs, and maxims of the state; that they always attended the prince, who never transacted any thing, or determin'd any affair of importance without their advice.

This last passage gives room for some reflections, which may very much contribute to the knowledge of the genius and character of the Persian government.

In the first place, the king there spoken of, that is, Darius, was one of the most celebrated princes that ever reign'd in Persia, and one of the most deserving, on account of his wisdom and prudence; tho' he had his failings. 'Tis to him, as well as to Cyrus, that the greatest part of those excellent laws are ascrib'd, which have ever since subsisted in that country, and have been the foundation and standard of their government. Now this prince, notwithstanding his extraordinary penetration and ability, thought he stood in need of counsel; nor did he apprehend, that the joining a

(c) 1 Esd. vii. 14.

number of assistants to himself, for the determination of affairs, would be any discredit to his own understanding: by which proceeding, he really shew'd a superiority of genius which is very uncommon, and supposes a great fund of merit. For a prince of slender talents, and a narrow capacity, is generally full of himself; and the less understanding he has, the more obstinate and untractable he generally is. He thinks it want of respect, to offer to discover any thing to him which he does not perceive; and is affronted, if you seem to doubt that he, who is supreme in power, is not the same in penetration and understanding. But Darius had a different way of thinking, and did nothing without counsel and advice: *illorum faciebat cuncta consilio.*

Secondly, Darius, however absolute he was, and how jealous soever he might be of his prerogative, did not think he derogated from either, when he instituted that council; for the council did not at all interfere with the king's authority of ruling and commanding, which always resides in the person of the prince, but was confin'd entirely to that of reason, which consisted in communicating and imparting their knowledge and experience to the king. He was persuaded, that the noblest character of sovereign power, when it is pure, and has neither degenerated from its origin, nor deviated from its end, is to * govern by the laws; to make them the rule of his will and desire; and to think nothing allowable for him, which they prohibit.

In the third place, this council, which every where accompanied the king, was a perpetual standing council, consisting of the greatest men, and the best heads in the kingdom; who, under the direction of the sovereign, and always with a dependency upon him, were in a manner the source of publick order, and the principle of all the wise regulations and transactions at home and abroad. Upon this council the king dis-

* Regimur à te, & subjecti tibi, sed quemadmodum legibus, sumus. *Plin. Paneg. Traj.*

charged himself of several weighty cares, which he must otherwise have been over-burden'd with; and by them he likewise executed whatever had been resolved on. 'Twas by means of this standing council, that the great maxims of the state were preserv'd; the knowledge of its true interest perpetuated; affairs carried on with harmony and order; and innovations, errors, and oversights, prevented. For in a publick and general council things are discuss'd by unsuspected persons; all the ministers are mutual inspectors of one another; all their knowledge and experience in publick matters are united together; and they all become equally capable of every part of the administration: because, tho' as to the executive part, they move only in one particular sphere of business; yet they are oblig'd to inform themselves in all affairs relating to the publick, that they may be able to deliver their opinions in a judicious manner.

The fourth and last reflection I have to make on this head is, that we find it mention'd in scripture, that the persons of which this council consisted, were throughly acquainted with the customs, laws, maxims, and rights of the kingdom.

Two things, which, as the scriptures inform us, were practised by the Persians, might very much contribute to instruct the king and his council in the methods of governing with wisdom and prudence. *(f)* The first was, their having publick registers, wherein all the prince's edicts and ordinances, all the privileges granted to the people, and all the favours confer'd upon particular persons, were enter'd and recorded. *(g)* The second was, the annals of the kingdom, in which all the events of former reigns, all resolutions taken, regulations establish'd, and services done by any particular persons, were exactly entered. These annals were carefully preserv'd, and frequently perused both by the kings and the ministers, that they might acquaint themselves with times past; might have a true and

(f) 1 Ez. v. 17. and vi. 2. (g) Ibid. iv. 15. and Esth. vi. 1.

clear

clear idea of the ſtate of the kingdom; avoid an arbitrary, unequal, uncertain conduct; maintain an uniformity in the courſe of affairs; and in ſhort, acquire ſuch light from the peruſal of theſe books, as ſhould qualify them to govern the ſtate with wiſdom.

SECT. III. *The adminiſtration of juſtice.*

TO be king, and to be judge, is but one and the ſame thing. The throne is a tribunal, and the ſovereign power is the higheſt authority for adminiſtring juſtice. *God hath made you king over his people* (ſaid the queen of Sheba to Solomon) *to the end that you ſhould judge them, and render juſtice and judgment unto them.* God hath made every thing ſubject to princes, to put them into a condition of fearing none but him. His deſign, in making them independent, was to give them the more inviolable attachment to juſtice. That they might not excuſe themſelves on pretence of inability, or want of power, he has delegated his whole power unto them; he has made them maſters of all the means requiſite for the reſtraining injuſtice and oppreſſion, that iniquity ſhould tremble in their preſence, and be incapable of hurting any perſons whatſoever.

But what is that juſtice which God hath put into the hands of kings, and whereof he hath made them depoſitaries? Why, it is nothing elſe but order; and and order conſiſts in obſerving an univerſal equity, and that force do not uſurp the place of law; that one man's property be not expoſed to the violence of another; that the common band of ſociety be not broken; that artifice and fraud may not prevail over innocence and ſimplicity; that all things may reſt in peace under the protection of the laws; and the weakeſt among the people may find his ſanctuary in the publick authority.

(*b*) We learn from Joſephus, that the kings of Perſia uſed to adminiſter juſtice in their own perſons. And

(*b*) Antiq. Judaic. l. xi. c. 3.

'twas to qualify them for the due diſcharge of this duty, that care was taken to have them inſtructed, from their tendereſt youth, in the knowledge of the laws of their country; and that in their publick ſchools, as we have already mention'd in the hiſtory of Cyrus, they were taught equity and juſtice, in the manner as rhetorick and philoſophy are taught in other places.

Theſe are the great and eſſential duties of the regal dignity. Indeed it is reaſonable, and abſolutely neceſſary, that the prince be aſſiſted in the execution of that auguſt function, as he is in others: but to be aſſiſted, is not to be depriv'd, or diſpoſſeſs'd. He continues judge, as long as he continues king. Tho' he communicates his authority, yet does he not reſign or divide it. 'Tis therefore abſolutely neceſſary for him to beſtow ſome time upon the ſtudy of equity and juſtice; not that he need enter into the whole detail of particular laws, but only acquaint himſelf with the principal rules and maxims of the law of his country, that he may be capable of doing juſtice, and of ſpeaking wiſely upon important points. For this reaſon, the kings of Perſia never aſcended the throne, till they had been for ſome time under the care and inſtruction of the Magi, who were to teach them that ſcience, whereof they were the only maſters and profeſſors, as well as of theology.

Now ſince to the ſovereign alone, is committed the right of adminiſtering juſtice; and that within his dominions there is no other power of adminiſtering it, than what is delegated by him; how greatly does it behove him to take care into what hands he commits a part of ſo great a truſt; to know whether thoſe he places ſo near the throne, are worthy to partake of ſuch a prerogative; and induſtriouſly to keep all ſuch at a diſtance from it, as he judges unworthy? We find that in Perſia, their kings were extremely careful to have juſtice rendered with integrity and impartiality. (*i*) One of their royal judges (for ſo they call'd them)

(*i*) Herod. l. 5. c. 25.

having

having ſuffer'd himſelf to be corrupted by bribery, was condemn'd by Cambyſes to be put to death without mercy, and to have his ſkin put upon the ſeat where he had uſed to ſit and give judgment, and where his ſon, who ſucceeded him in his office, was to ſit, that the very place, whence he gave judgment, ſhould remind him of his own duty.

(*k*) Their ordinary judges were taken out of the claſs of old men, into which none were admitted till the age of fifty years; ſo that a man could not exerciſe the office of a judge before that age, the Perſians being of opinion, that too much maturity could not be required in an employment which diſpoſed of the fortunes, reputations, and lives of their fellow-citizens.

(*l*) Amongſt them, it was not lawful either for a private perſon to put any of his ſlaves to death, or for the prince to inflict capital puniſhment upon any of his ſubjects for the firſt offence; becauſe it might rather be conſider'd as an effect of human weakneſs and frailty, than of a confirmed malignity of mind.

The Perſians thought it reaſonable to put the good as well as the evil, the merits of the offender as well as his demerits, into the ſcales of juſtice: nor was it juſt, in their opinion, that one ſingle crime ſhould obliterate all the good actions a man had done during his life. (*m*) Upon this principle it was, that Darius, having condemned a judge to death for ſome prevarication in his office, and afterwards calling to mind the important ſervices he had render'd both the ſtate and the royal family, revok'd the ſentence at the very moment of its going to be executed, (*n*) and acknowledg'd, that he had pronounc'd it with more precipitation than wiſdom.

But one important and eſſential rule which they obſerv'd in their judgments, was, in the firſt place, never to condemn any perſon without bringing his accuſer

(*k*) Xenoph. Cyrop. l. 1. p. 7. (*l*) Herod. l. 1. c. 137.
(*m*) Herod. l. 7. c. 194. (*n*) Γνοὺς ὡς ταχύτερα αὐτὸς ἢ σοφώτερα ἐργασμένος εἴη, ἔλυσε.

to his face, and without giving him time, and all other means neceſſary, for defending himſelf againſt the articles laid to his charge: and in the ſecond place, if the perſon accuſed was found innocent, to inflict the very ſame puniſhment upon the accuſer, as the other was to have ſuffer'd, had he been found guilty. (o) Artaxerxes gave a fine example of the juſt rigor which ought to be exerciſed on ſuch occaſions. One of the king's favourites, ambitious of getting a place poſſeſſed by one of his beſt officers, endeavoured to make the king ſuſpect the fidelity of that officer; and to that end, ſent informations to court full of calumnies againſt him, perſuading himſelf that the king, from the great credit he had with his majeſty, would believe the thing upon his bare word, without farther examination. For ſuch is the general character of calumniators. They are afraid of evidence and light: they make it their buſineſs to ſhut out the innocent from all acceſs to the prince, and thereby put it out of their power to vindicate themſelves. The officer was impriſon'd; but he deſir'd of the king, before he was condemn'd, that his cauſe might be heard, and his accuſers order'd to produce their evidence againſt him. The king did ſo: and as there was no proof but the letters which his enemy had writ againſt him, he was clear'd, and his innocence fully juſtify'd by the three commiſſioners that ſat upon his trial; all the king's indignation fell upon the perfidious accuſer, who had thus attempted to abuſe the favour and confidence of his royal maſter. This prince, who was very wiſe, and knew that one of the true ſigns of a prudent government, was to have the ſubjects ſtand more in fear of the * laws, than of informers, would have thought that to have acted otherwiſe than he did, would have been a direct violation of the moſt com-

(o) Diodor. l. 15. p. 333—336.

* Non jam delatores, ſed leges timentur. *Plin. in Paneg. Traj.*

mon

mon rules of † natural equity and humanity; it would have been opening a door to envy, hatred, calumny, and revenge; it would have been expoſing the honeſt ſimplicity of good and faithful ſubjects to the cruel malice of deteſtable informers, and arming theſe with the ſword of publick authority: in a word, it would have been diveſting the throne of the moſt noble privilege belonging to it, namely, of being a ſanctuary for innocence and juſtice, againſt violence and calumny.

(*p*) There is upon record a ſtill more memorable example of firmneſs and love of juſtice, in another king of Perſia, before Artaxerxes; in him, I mean, whom the ſcripture calls Ahaſuerus, and who is thought to be the ſame as Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, from whom Haman had, by his earneſt ſollicitations, extorted that fatal edict, which was calculated to exterminate the whole race of the Jews throughout the Perſian empire in one day. When God had, by the means of Eſther, opened his eyes, he made haſte to make amends for his fault, not only by revoking his edict, and inflicting an exemplary puniſhment upon the impoſtor who had deceiv'd him; but, which is more, by a publick acknowledgment of his error, which ſhould be a pattern to all ages, and to all princes, and teach them, that far from debaſing their dignity, or weakening their authority thereby, they procure them both the more reſpect. After declaring, that it is but too common for calumniators to impoſe, by their miſrepreſentations and craftineſs, on the goodneſs of their princes, whom their natural ſincerity induces to judge favourably of others; he is not aſhamed to acknowledge, that he had been ſo unhappy as to ſuffer himſelf to be prejudiced by ſuch means againſt the Jews, who were his faithful ſubjects, and the children of the moſt high God, through whoſe goodneſs he and his anceſtors had attained to the throne.

(*p*) Eſth. c. iii, &c.

† Princeps, qui delatores non caſtigat, irritat. *Sueton. in vit. Domit. c.* 9.

(q) The Perſians were not only enemies of injuſtice, as we have now ſhewn; but alſo abhorr'd lying, which always was deem'd amongſt them as a mean and infamous vice. What they eſteem'd moſt pitiful, next to lying, was to live upon truſt, or by borrowing. Such a kind of life ſeem'd to them idle, ignominious, ſervile, and the more deſpicable, becauſe it makes people liars.

SECT. IV. *Their care of the provinces.*

IT ſeems to be no difficult matter to maintain good order in the metropolis of a kingdom, where the conduct of the magiſtrates and judges is nearly inſpected; and the very ſight of the throne is capable of keeping the ſubjects in awe. The caſe is otherwiſe with reſpect to the provinces, where the diſtance from the ſovereign, and the hopes of impunity, may occaſion many miſdemeanors on the part of the magiſtrates and officers, as well as great licentiouſneſs and diſorder on that of the people. In this the Perſian policy exerted itſelf with the greateſt care; and, we may alſo ſay, with the greateſt ſucceſs.

The Perſian empire was divided into * an hundred and twenty-ſeven governments, the governors whereof were called ſatrapæ. Over them were appointed three principal miniſters, who inſpected their conduct, to whom they gave an account of all the affairs of their ſeveral provinces, and who were afterwards to make their report of the ſame to the king. It was Darius the Mede, that is, Cyaxares, or rather Cyrus, in the name of his uncle, who put the government of the empire into this excellent method. Theſe ſatrapæ were, by the very deſign of their office, each in his reſpective diſtrict, to have the ſame care and regard for the intereſts of the people, as for thoſe of the prince: for it was a maxim with Cyrus, that no difference ought

(q) Herod. l. 1. c. 138.

* *Authors differ about the number of governments or provinces.* Xenoph. Cyrop. l. 8. p. 229, 232.

to

to be admitted between theſe two intereſts, which are neceſſarily link'd together; ſince neither the people can be happy, unleſs the prince is powerful, and in a condition to defend them; nor the prince truly powerful, unleſs his people be happy.

Theſe ſatrapæ being the moſt conſiderable perſons in the kingdom, Cyrus aſſign'd them certain funds and revenues proportionable to their ſtation and the importance of their employments. He was willing they ſhou'd live nobly in their reſpective provinces, that they might gain the reſpect of the nobility and common people within their juriſdiction; and for that reaſon their retinue, their equipage, and their table, ſhou'd be anſwerable to their dignity, yet without exceeding the bounds of prudence and moderation. He himſelf was their model in this reſpect, as he deſired they ſhould be to all perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank within the extent of their authority: ſo that the ſame order, which reign'd in the prince's court, might likewiſe proportionably be obſerv'd in the courts of the ſatrapæ, and in the noblemen's families. And to prevent, as far as poſſible, all abuſes, which might be made of ſo extenſive an authority as that of the ſatrapæ, the king reſerv'd to himſelf alone the nomination of them, and cauſed the governors of places, the commanders of the troops, and other ſuch like officers, to depend immediately upon the prince himſelf; from whom alone they were to receive their orders and inſtructions, that, if the ſatrapæ were inclin'd to abuſe their power, they might be ſenſible thoſe officers were ſo many overſeers and cenſors of their conduct. And to make this correſpondence, by letters, the more ſure and expeditious, the king caus'd poſt-houſes to be erected throughout all the empire, and appointed couriers, who travell'd night and day, and made wonderful diſpatch. But I ſhall ſpeak more particularly on this article at the end of this ſection, that I may not break in upon the matter in hand.

Notwithſtanding all this, the care of the provinces was not entirely left to the ſatrapæ and governors: the king himſelf took cognizance of them in his own perſon, being perſuaded, that the governing only by others, is but to govern by halves. An officer of the houſhold was order'd to repeat theſe words to the king every morning, when he wak'd: (r) *Riſe, Sir, and think of diſcharging the duties, for which Oromaſdes has plac'd you upon the throne.* Oromaſdes was the principal God, anciently worſhipp'd by the Perſians. A good prince, ſays Plutarch in the account he gives of this cuſtom, has no occaſion for an officer to give him this daily admonition: his own heart, and the love he has for his people, are ſufficient monitors.

(s) The king of Perſia thought himſelf oblig'd, according to the antient cuſtom eſtabliſh'd in that country, from time to time perſonally to viſit all the provinces of his empire; being perſuaded, as Pliny ſays of Trajan, that the moſt ſolid glory, and the moſt exquiſite pleaſure, a good prince can enjoy, is from time to time to let the people ſee their common father; to * reconcile the diſſenſions and mutual animoſities of rival cities; to calm commotions or ſeditions among the people, and that not ſo much by the dint of power and ſeverity, as by reaſon and temper; to prevent injuſtice and oppreſſion in magiſtrates; and cancel and reverſe whatever has been decreed againſt law and equity: in a word, like a beneficent planet, to ſhed his ſalutary influences univerſally, or rather like a kind of divinity to be preſent every-where, to ſee, to hear, and know every thing, without rejecting any man's petition or complaint.

When the king was not able to viſit the provinces

(r) Plut. ad Princ. indoct. p. 780. (s) Xenoph. in Oeconom. p. 228.

* Reconciliare æmulas civitates, tumenteſque populos non imperio magis quàm ratione compeſcere, intercedere iniquitatibus magiſtratuum, infectumque reddere quicquid fieri non oportuerit; poſtremò velociſſimi ſideris more omnia inviſere, omnia audire, & undecumque invocatum, ſtatim, velut numen, adeſſe & adſiſtere. *Plin. in Panegyr. Traj.*

himſelf,

himſelf, he ſent, in his ſtead, ſome of the greateſt men of the kingdom, ſuch as were the moſt eminent for wiſdom and virtue. Theſe perſons were generally call'd the eyes and ears of the prince, becauſe by their means he ſaw and was inform'd of every thing. When theſe, or any other of his great miniſters, or the members of his council were ſaid to be the eyes and ears of the prince, it was at once an admonition to the king, that he had his miniſters, as we have the organs of our ſenſes, not that he ſhould lie ſtill and be idle, but act by their means; and to the miniſters, that they ought not to act for themſelves, but for the king their head, and for the advantage of the whole body politick.

The particular detail of affairs, which the king, or the commiſſioners appointed by him, enter'd into, is highly worthy of admiration, and ſhews how well they underſtood in thoſe days, wherein the wiſdom and ability of governors conſiſt. The attention of the king and his miniſters was not only employ'd upon great objects, as war, the revenue, juſtice and commerce; but matters of leſs importance, as the ſecurity and beauty of towns and cities, the convenient habitation of the inhabitants, the reparations of high roads, bridges, cauſe-ways, the keeping of woods and foreſts from being laid waſte and deſtroy'd, and above all, the improvement of agriculture, and the encouraging and promoting of all ſorts of trades, even to the loweſt and meaneſt of handicraft employments; every thing in ſhort came within the ſphere of their policy, and was thought to deſerve their care and inſpection. And indeed, whatever belongs to the ſubjects, as well as the ſubjects themſelves, is a part of the truſt committed to the head of the commonwealth, and is entitled to his care, concern, and activity. His love for the commonweal is univerſal. * It extends itſelf to all matters, and takes in every thing: It is the ſupport of private perſons, as well as of the public. Every province,

* Is, cui curæ ſunt univerſa, nullam non reip. partem tanquam ſui vitrit. *Senec. lib. de Clem. c. 13.*

even

every city, every family has a place in his heart and affections. Every thing in the kingdom has a relation to, and concerns him; every thing challenges his attention and regard.

(*t*) I have already said, that agriculture was one of the main things, on which the Persians bestowed their care and attention. Indeed one of the prince's first cares was, to make husbandry flourish; and those satrapæ, whose provinces were the best cultivated, had the most of his favour. And as there were offices erected for the regulation of the military part of the government; so were there likewise for the inspecting their rural labours and œconomy. For these two employments had a near relation; the business of the one being to guard the country, and the other to cultivate it. The prince protected both almost with the same degree of affection; because both concur'd, and were equally necessary for the publick good. For if the lands cannot be cultivated without the aid and protection of armies for their defence and security; so neither can the soldiers on the other hand be fed and maintain'd without the labour of the husbandmen, who cultivate the ground. 'Twas with good reason therefore, that the prince, since it was impossible for himself to see into every thing, caus'd an exact account to be given him, how every province and canton was cultivated; that he might know, whether each country brought forth abundantly such fruits, as it was capable of producing; that he descended so far into those particulars, as Xenophon remarks of Cyrus the younger, as to inform himself, whether the private gardens of his subjects were well kept, and yielded plenty of fruit; that he rewarded the super-intendants and overseers, whose provinces or cantons were the best cultivated, and punish'd the laziness and negligence of those idle persons, who did not labour and improve their grounds. Such a care as this is by no means unworthy of a king, as it naturally tends to propagate riches and plenty

(*t*) Xenoph. Oecon. p. 827—830.

throughout

throughout his kingdom, and to beget a ſpirit of induſtry amongſt his ſubjects, which is the ſureſt means of preventing that encreaſe of drones and idle fellows, that are ſuch a burden upon the publick, and a diſhonour to the ſtate.

(*u*) Xenophon, in the next paſſage to this I have now cited, puts into the mouth of Socrates, who is introduc'd as a ſpeaker therein, a very noble encomium upon agriculture, which he repreſents as the employment in the world the moſt worthy of men's application, the moſt ancient, and the moſt ſuitable to their nature; as the common nurſe of perſons of all ages and conditions of life; as the ſource of health, ſtrength, plenty, riches, and a thouſand ſober delight and honeſt pleaſures; as the miſtreſs and ſchool of ſobriety, temperance, juſtice, religion; and in a word, of all kinds of virtues both civil and military. After which he relates the fine ſaying of Lyſander, the Lacedæmonian, who, as he was walking at Sardis with the younger Cyrus, hearing from that prince's own mouth, that he himſelf had planted ſeveral of the trees he was looking at, made the following anſwer: that the world had reaſon to extol the happineſs of Cyrus, whoſe virtue was as eminent as his fortune; and who, in the midſt of the greateſt affluence, ſplendor, and magnificence, had yet preſerv'd a taſte ſo pure and ſo conformable to right reaſon. (*x*) *Cùm Cyrus reſpondiſſet, Ego iſta ſum dimenſus, mei ſunt ordines, mea deſcriptio, multæ etiam iſtarum arborum meâ manu ſunt ſatæ: tum Lyſandrum, intuentem ejus purpuram, & nitorem corporis, ornatumque Perſicum multo auro multiſque gemmis, dixiſſe:* * RECTE VERO TE, CYRE, BEATUM FERUNT, QUONIAM VIRTUTI TUÆ FORTUNA CONJUNCTA EST. How much is it to be wiſh'd, that

(*u*) Xenoph. Oecon. p. 830—833.

(*x*) Cic. de ſenect. num. 59.

* *In the original Greek there is ſtill a greater energy.* Δικαίως μοι δοκεῖς, ὦ Κῦρε, εὐδαίμων εἶναι· ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν ἀνὴρ εὐδαιμονεῖς. *Thou art worthy, Cyrus, of that happineſs thou art poſſeſs'd of; becauſe with all thy affluence and proſperity thou art alſo virtuous.*

our

our young nobility, who, in the time of peace, do not know how to employ themſelves, had the like taſte for planting and agriculture, which ſurely, after ſuch an example as that of Cyrus, ſhould be thought no diſhonour to their quality; eſpecially if they would conſider, that for ſeveral ages it was the conſtant employment of the braveſt and moſt warlike people in the world! The reader may eaſily perceive, that I mean the ancient Romans.

The invention of poſts and couriers.

(*y*) I promiſed to give ſome account in this place of the invention of poſts and couriers. This invention is aſcrib'd to Cyrus: nor indeed can I find any mention of ſuch an eſtabliſhment before his time. As the Perſian empire, after its laſt conqueſts, was of a vaſt extent, and Cyrus requir'd, that all his governors of provinces, and his chief commanders of his troops, ſhould write to him, and give an exact account of every thing that paſs'd in their ſeveral diſtricts and armies, in order to render that correſpondence the more ſure and expeditious, and to put himſelf into a condition of receiving ſpeedy intelligence of all occurrences and affairs, and of ſending his orders thereupon with expedition, he caus'd poſt-houſes to be built, and meſſengers to be appointed in every province. Having computed how far a good horſe, with a briſk rider, could go in a day, without being ſpoil'd, he had ſtables built in proportion at equal diſtances from each other, and had them furniſh'd with horſes, and grooms to take care of them. At each of theſe places he likewiſe appointed a poſt-maſter, to receive the packets from the couriers as they arriv'd, and give them to others; and to take the horſes that had perform'd their ſtage, and to find freſh ones. Thus the poſt went continually night and day, with extraordinary ſpeed: nor did either rain or ſnow, heat or cold, or any inclemency of the ſeaſon, interrupt its progreſs.

(*y*) Xen. Cyrop. l. 8. p. 232.

Hero-

(z) Herodotus ſpeaks of the ſame ſort of couriers in the reign of Xerxes.

Theſe couriers were called in the Perſian language, Ἄγγαροι *. The ſuperintendency of the poſts became a conſiderable employment. (a) Darius, the laſt king of the ancient Perſians, had it before he came to the crown. Xenophon takes notice, that this eſtabliſhment ſubſiſted in his time; which perfectly agrees with what is related in the book of Eſther, concerning the edict publiſh'd by Ahaſuerus in favour of the Jews: which edict was carried thro' that vaſt empire with a rapidity that would have been impoſſible, without theſe poſts erected by Cyrus.

The world is juſtly ſurpriz'd to find, that this eſtabliſhment of poſts and couriers, firſt invented in the eaſt by Cyrus, and continu'd for ſo many ages afterwards by his ſucceſſors, eſpecially conſidering the uſefulneſs of it to a government, ſhould never be imitated in the weſt, particularly by people ſo expert in politicks, as the Greeks and the Romans.

'Tis more aſtoniſhing, that, where this invention was put in execution, it was not farther improv'd, and that the uſe of it was confin'd only to affairs of ſtate, without conſidering the many advantages the publick might have reap'd from it, by facilitating a mutual correſpondence, as well as the buſineſs of merchants and tradeſmen of all kinds; by the expedition it would have procur'd to the affairs of private perſons; the diſpatch of journeys, which requir'd haſte; the eaſy communication between families, cities and provinces; and by the ſafety and conveniency of remitting money from one country to another. 'Tis well known what difficulty people at a diſtance had then, and for many ages afterwards, to communicate any

(z) Her. l. 8. c. 98. (a) Plut. l. 1. de fortun. Alex. p. 326. & in vit. Alex. p. 674. ubi pro Ἀσγάνδης, legendum Ἀσάνδης.

* Ἄγγαροι *is derived from a word which in that language ſignifies a ſervice render'd by compulſion.* 'Tis *from thence the Greeks borrow'd their verb* ἀγγαρεύειν, compellere, cogere: *and the Latins,* angariare. *According to Suidas they were likewiſe called* aſtendæ.

news,

news, or to treat of affairs together; being oblig'd either to ſend a ſervant on purpoſe, which could not be done without great charge and loſs of time; or to wait for the departure of ſome other perſon, that was going into the province, or country, whither they had letters to ſend; which method was liable to numberleſs diſappointments, accidents and delays.

At preſent we enjoy this general conveniency at a ſmall expence; but we do not thoroughly conſider the advantage of it; the want whereof would make us fully ſenſible of our happineſs in this reſpect. France is indebted for it to the univerſity of Paris, which I cannot forbear obſerving here: I hope the reader will excuſe the digreſſion. The univerſity of Paris, being formerly the only one in the kingdom, and having great numbers of ſcholars reſorting to her from all parts of the kingdom, did, for their ſakes and conveniency, eſtabliſh meſſengers, whoſe buſineſs was, not only to bring cloaths, ſilver and gold for the ſtudents, but likewiſe to carry bags of law-proceedings, informations and inqueſts; to conduct all ſorts of perſons indifferently to, or from Paris, finding them both horſes and diet; as alſo to carry letters, parcels and packets for the publick, as well as the univerſity.

In the univerſity-regiſters of the four nations, as they are call'd, of the faculty of arts, theſe meſſengers are often ſtil'd *Nuntii volantes*, to ſignify the great ſpeed and diſpatch they were oblig'd to make.

The ſtate then is indebted to the univerſity of Paris for the invention and eſtabliſhment of theſe meſſengers and letter-carriers. And it was at her own charge and expence that ſhe erected theſe offices; to the ſatisfaction both of our kings and the public. She has moreover mantain'd and ſupported them ſince the year 1576, againſt all the various attempts of the farmers, which has coſt her immenſe ſums. For there never were any ordinary royal meſſengers, till Henry III. firſt eſtabliſh'd them in the year 1576, by his edict of November, appointing them in the ſame cities as the univer-

ſity

ſity had theirs in, and granting them the ſame rights and privileges, as the kings, his predeceſſors, had granted the meſſengers of the univerſity.

The univerſity never had any other fund, or ſupport, than the profits ariſing from the poſt-office. And it is upon the foundation of the ſame revenue, that king Lewis XV, now on the throne, by his decree of the council of ſtate, of the 14th of April 1719, and by his letters patent, bearing the ſame date, regiſter'd in parliament and in the chamber of accompts, has ordain'd, that in all the colleges of the ſaid univerſity the ſtudents ſhall be taught gratis, and has to that end, for the time to come, appropriated to the univerſity an eight and twentieth part of the revenue ariſing from the general leaſe or farm of the poſts and meſſengers of France: which eight and twentieth part amounted that year to the ſum of one hundred and eighty-four thouſand livres, or thereabouts *.

'Tis not therefore without reaſon, that the univerſity, to whom this regulation has reſtor'd a part of her ancient luſtre, reckons Lewis XV. as a kind of new founder, whoſe bounty has at length deliver'd her from the unhappy and ſhameful neceſſity of receiving wages for her labours; which in ſome meaſure diſhonour'd the dignity of her profeſſion, as it was contrary to that noble, diſintereſted ſpirit, which becomes it. And indeed, the labour of maſters and profeſſors, who inſtruct others, ought not to be given for nothing: but neither ought it to be ſold. (*b*) *Nec venire hoc beneficium oportet, nec perire.*

SECT. V. *Adminiſtration of the revenues.*

THE prince is the ſword and buckler of the ſtate; by him is the peace and tranquillity thereof ſecur'd. But to enable him for theſe ends, he has occaſion for arms, ſoldiers, arſenals, fortified towns, and ſhips: and all theſe things require great expences. 'Tis more-

(*b*) Quintil. l. 12. c. 7.

* *About* 8500 *l. ſterling.*

over

over juſt and reaſonable, that the king have wherewithal to ſupport the dignity of the crown, and the majeſty of empire; as alſo to procure reverence and reſpect to his perſon and authority. Theſe are the two principal reaſons, that have given occaſion for the exacting of tribute and impoſition of taxes. As the publick advantage, and the neceſſity of defraying the expences of the ſtate, have been the firſt cauſes of theſe burdens; ſo ought they likewiſe to be the conſtant ſtandard of their uſe. Nor is there any thing in the world more juſt and reaſonable than ſuch impoſitions; ſince every private perſon ought to think himſelf very happy, that he can purchaſe his peace and ſecurity at the expence of ſo ſlender a contribution.

(*c*) The revenues of the Perſian kings conſiſted partly in monies impos'd upon the people, and partly in their being furniſh'd with ſeveral of the products of the earth in kind; as corn, and other proviſions, forage, horſes, camels, or whatever rarities each particular province afforded. (*d*) Strabo relates, that the ſatrapa of Armenia ſent regularly every year to the king of Perſia, his maſter, twenty thouſand young colts. By this we may form a judgment of the other levies in the ſeveral provinces. But we are to conſider, that the tributes were only exacted from the conquer'd nations: for the natural ſubjects, that is, the Perſians, were exempt from all impoſitions. Nor was the cuſtom of impoſing taxes, and of determining the ſums each province was yearly to pay, introduc'd till the reign of Darius: at which time, the pecuniary impoſitions, as near as we can judge from the computation made by Herodotus, which is attended with great difficulties, amounted to near forty-four millions French money *.

(*e*) The place wherein was kept the publick treaſure, was call'd in the Perſian language Gaza. There were treaſures of this kind at Suſa, at Perſepolis, at Paſargada, at Damaſcus, and other cities. The gold and

(*c*) Herod. l. 3. c. 89—97.
(*e*) Q. Curt l. 3 c. 12.
(*d*) Lib. 11. p. 530.
* *About two millions ſterling.*

ſilver

ſilver were there kept in ingots, and coin'd into money, according as the king had occaſion. The money chiefly uſed by the Perſians, was of gold; and call'd *Daricus* from the name of * Darius, who firſt caus'd them to be coin'd, with his image on one ſide, and an archer on the reverſe. The Daric is ſometimes alſo call'd *Stater aureus*, becauſe the weight of it, like that of the *Attic Stater*, was two drachms of gold, which were equivalent to twenty drachms of ſilver, and conſequently were worth ten livres of French money.

(*f*) Beſides theſe tributes, which were paid in money, there was another contribution made in *kind*, by furniſhing victuals and proviſions for the king's table and houſhold, grain, forage, and other neceſſaries for the ſubſiſtence of his armies, and horſes for the remounting of his cavalry. This contribution was impos'd upon the ſix-ſcore ſatrapies, or provinces, each of them furniſhing ſuch a part as they were ſeverally tax'd at. Herodotus obſerves, that the province of Babylon, the largeſt and wealthieſt of them all, did alone furniſh the whole contribution for the ſpace of four months, and conſequently bore a third part of the burden of the whole impoſition, whilſt all the reſt of Aſia together did but contribute the other two thirds.

By what has been already ſaid on this ſubject, we ſee the kings of Perſia did not exact all their taxes and impoſitions in money, but were content to levy a part of them in money, and to take the reſt in ſuch products and commodities as the ſeveral provinces afforded: which is a proof of the great wiſdom, moderation, and humanity of the Perſian government. Without doubt they had obſerv'd, how difficult it often is for the people, eſpecially in countries at a diſtance from commerce, to convert their goods into money without ſuffering great loſſes; whereas nothing can tend ſo much to the rendering of taxes eaſy, and to ſhelter

(*f*) Her. l. 3. c. 91--97. & l. 1. c. 192.

* *Darius the Mede, otherwiſe call'd Cyaxares, is ſuppos'd to have been the firſt who caus'd this money to be coin'd.*

the

the people from vexation and trouble, as well as expence, as the taking in payment from each country ſuch fruits and commodities as that country produceth; by which means the contribution becomes eaſy, natural, and equitable.

(g) There were likewiſe certain cantons aſſign'd and ſet apart for the maintaining of the queen's toilet and wardrobe; one for her girdle, another for her veil, and ſo on for the reſt of her veſtments: and theſe cantons, which were of a great extent, ſince one of them contain'd as much ground as a man could walk over in a day; theſe cantons, I ſay, took their names from the particular uſe, or part of the garments to which they were appropriated; and were accordingly call'd, one the queen's girdle, another the queen's veil, and ſo on. In Plato's time, the ſame cuſtom continued among the Perſians.

(h) The way of the king's giving penſions in thoſe days to ſuch perſons as he had a mind to gratify, was exactly like what I have obſerv'd concerning the queen. We read, that the king of Perſia aſſign'd the revenue of four cities to Themiſtocles; one of which was to ſupply him with wine, another with bread, the third with meats for his table, and the fourth with his cloaths and furniture. (i) Before that time, Cyrus had acted in the ſame manner with Pytharchus of Cyzicus, for whom he had a particular conſideration, and to whom he gave the revenue of ſeven cities. In following times, we find many inſtances of a like nature.

ARTICLE II.

Of their war.

THE people of Aſia in general were naturally of a warlike diſpoſition, and did not want courage; but in time they all grew effeminate through luxury and pleaſure. When I ſay all, I muſt be underſtood

(g) Plat. in Alcib. p. 123. (h) Plut. in Themiſt. p. 127.
(i) Athen. l. 1. p. 30.

to

to except the Perſians, who even before Cyrus, as well as in his reign, had the reputation of being a people of a very military genius. The ſituation of their country, which is rugged and mountainous, might be one reaſon of their hard and frugal manner of living; which is a thing of no little importance for the forming of good ſoldiers. But the good education which the Perſians gave their youth, was the chief cauſe of the courage and martial ſpirit of that people.

With reſpect therefore to the manners, and particularly to the article which I am now treating of, we muſt make ſome diſtinction between the different nations of Aſia. So that in the following account of military affairs, what perfection and excellence you find in the rules and principles of war, is to be applied only to the Perſians, as they were in Cyrus's reign: the reſt belongs to the other nations of Aſia, the Aſſyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Lydians, and to the Perſians likewiſe after they had degenerated from their antient valour, which happen'd not long after Cyrus, as will be ſhewn in the ſequel.

I. *Their entrance into the ſervice, or into military diſcipline.*

(*k*) The Perſians were train'd up to the ſervice from their tender years, by paſſing through different exerciſes. Generally ſpeaking, they ſerv'd in the armies, from the age of twenty to fifty years. And whether they were in peace or war, they always wore ſwords, as our gentlemen do, which was never practis'd among the Greeks or the Romans. They were oblig'd to liſt themſelves at the time appointed; and it was eſteem'd a crime to deſire to be diſpens'd with in that reſpect, as will be ſeen hereafter, by the cruel treatment given by Darius and Xerxes (*l*) to two young noblemen, whoſe fathers had deſired, as a favour, that their ſons

(*k*) Strab. l. 15. p. 734. Am. Mar. l. 23. ſub finem. (*l*) Herod. l. 4. & 6. Sen. de ira, l. 3. c. 16. & 17.

might

might be permitted to ſtay at home, for a comfort to them in their old age.

(m) Herodotus ſpeaks of a body of troops appointed to be the king's guard, which were called immortal, becauſe this body, which conſiſted of ten thouſand, perpetually ſubſiſted, and was always complete: for as ſoon as any of the men died, another was immediately put into his place. The eſtabliſhment of this body probably began with the ten thouſand men ſent for by Cyrus out of Perſia to be his guard. They were diſtinguiſhed from all the other troops by the richneſs of their armour, and ſtill more by their ſingular courage. *(n)* Quintus Curtius mentions alſo this body of men, and another body beſides, conſiſting of fifteen thouſand, deſign'd in like manner to be a guard to the king's perſon: the latter were call'd Doryphori, or the Lancers.

II. *Their armour.*

The ordinary arms of the Perſians were a ſabre, or ſcymitar, *acinaces*, as 'tis call'd in Latin; a kind of dagger, which hung in their belt on the right ſide; a javelin, or half-pike, having a ſharp-pointed iron at the end.

It ſeems that they carry'd two javelins, or lances, one to fling, and the other to fight with. They made great uſe of the bow, and of the quiver in which they carry'd their arrows. The ſling was not unknown amongſt them; but they did not ſet much value upon it.

It appears from ſeveral paſſages in antient authors, that the Perſians wore no helmets, but only their common caps, which they call'd tiara's: this is particularly ſaid of Cyrus the younger, *(o)* and of his army. And yet the ſame authors, in other places, make mention of their helmets; from whence we muſt conclude, that their cuſtom had chang'd according to the times.

The foot for the moſt part wore cuiraſſes made of braſs, which were ſo artificially fitted to their bodies,

(m) L. 7. c. 83. (n) L. 3. c. 3. (o) De exped. Cyr. l. 1. p. 263.

that

that they were no impediment to the motion and agility of their limbs; no more than the vambraces, or other pieces of armour, which cover'd the arms, thighs and legs of the horſe-men. Their horſes themſelves for the moſt part had their faces, breaſts, and flanks cover'd with braſs. Theſe were what are call'd *equi cataphracti*, barbed horſes.

Authors differ very much about the form and faſhion of their ſhields. At firſt they made uſe of very ſmall and light ones; made only of twigs of oſier, *gerra*. But it appears from ſeveral paſſages, that they had alſo ſhields of braſs, which were of a great length.

We have already obſerv'd, that in the firſt ages the light-arm'd ſoldiers, that is, the archers, ſlingers, &c. compoſed the bulk of the armies amongſt the Perſians and Medes. Cyrus, who had found by experience, that ſuch troops were only fit for ſkirmiſhing, or fighting at a diſtance, and who thought it moſt advantagious to come directly to cloſe fight; he, I ſay, for theſe reaſons, made a change in his army, and reduc'd thoſe light-arm'd troops to a very few, arming the far greater number at all points, like the reſt of the army.

III. *Chariots arm'd with ſcythes.*

(*p*) Cyrus introduc'd a conſiderable change likewiſe with reſpect to the chariots of war. Theſe had been in uſe a long while before his time, as appears both from Homer and the ſacred writings. Theſe chariots had only two wheels, and were generally drawn by four horſes a-breaſt, with two men in each; one of diſtinguiſhed birth and valour, who fought, and the other only for driving the chariot. Cyrus thought this method, which was very expenſive, was but of little ſervice; ſince for the equipping of three hundred chariots, were required twelve hundred horſes and ſix hundred men, of which there were but three hundred who really fought, the other three hundred, tho' all men of merit and diſtinction, and capable of doing great ſervice, if otherwiſe employ'd,

(*p*) Xen. Cyr. l. 6. p. 152.

ſerving

ſerving only as charioteers, or drivers. To remedy this inconvenience, he alter'd the form of the chariots, and doubled the number of the fighting-men that rode in them, by putting the drivers into a condition to fight, as well as the others.

He caus'd the wheels of the chariots to be made ſtronger, that they ſhould not be ſo eaſily broken; and their axle-trees to be made longer, to make them the more firm and ſteady. At each end of the axle-tree he caus'd ſcythes to be faſten'd that were three foot long, and plac'd horizontally; and caus'd other ſcythes to be fix'd under the ſame axle-tree with their edges turn'd to the ground, that they might cut in pieces men, or horſes, or whatever the impetuous violence of the chariots ſhould overturn. *(q)* It appears from ſeveral paſſages in authors, that in after-times, beſides all this, they added two long iron-ſpikes at the end of the pole, in order to pierce whatever came in the way; and that they arm'd the hinder part of the chariot with ſeveral rows of ſharp knives to hinder any one from mounting behind.

Theſe chariots were in uſe for many ages in all the eaſtern countries. They were look'd upon as the principal ſtrength of the armies, as the moſt certain cauſes of the victory, and as an apparatus the moſt capable of all other to ſtrike the enemy with conſternation and terror.

But in proportion as the military art improv'd, the people found the inconveniencies of them, and at length laid them aſide. For to reap any advantage from them, it was neceſſary to fight in vaſt large plains, where the ſoil was very even, and where there were no rivulets, gutters, woods, nor vineyards.

In after-times ſeveral methods were invented to render theſe chariots abſolutely uſeleſs. *(r)* It was enough to cut a ditch in their way, which immediately ſtop'd their courſe. Sometimes an able and experienc'd general, as Eumenes in the battle which Scipio fought

(q) Liv. l. 37. n. 41. *(r)* Liv. l. 37. n. 41.

with

with Antiochus, would attack the chariots with a detachment of ſlingers, archers and ſpearmen, who ſpreading themſelves on all ſides, would pour ſuch a ſtorm of ſtones, arrows and lances upon them, and at the ſame time fall a ſhouting ſo loud with the whole army, that they terrify'd the horſes of the chariots, and occaſion'd ſuch a diſorder and confuſion among them, as often made them turn about and run foul upon their own forces. (*s*) At other times they would render the chariots ineffectual and unactive, only by marching over the ſpace, which ſeparated the two armies, with an extraordinary ſwiftneſs, and advancing ſuddenly upon the enemy. For the ſtrength and execution of the chariots proceeded from the length of their courſe, which was what gave that impetuoſity and rapidity to their motion, without which they were but very feeble and inſignificant. It was after this manner, that the Romans under Sylla, at the battle of Chæronea, defeated and put to flight the enemy's chariots by raiſing loud peals of laughter, as if they had been at the games of the Circus, and by crying out, that they ſhould ſend more.

IV. *Their diſcipline in peace as well as war.*

Nothing can be imagin'd more perfect, than the diſcipline and good order of the troops in Cyrus's reign, whether in peace or war.

The methods uſed by that great prince, as is fully related in Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, in order to form his troops by frequent exerciſes, to inure them to fatigue by keeping them continually breathing and employed in laborious works, to prepare them for real battles by mock engagements, to fire them with courage and reſolution by exhortations, praiſes and rewards: all this, I ſay, is a perfect model for all who have the command of troops, to which, generally ſpeaking, peace and tranquillity become extremely pernicious: for a relaxation of diſcipline, which uſually enſues, enervates the vigour of the ſoldiers; and their inaction blunts that

(*s*) Plut. in Syl. p. 463.

edge of courage, which the motion of armies, and the approach of enemies, infinitely ſharpen and excite. * A wiſe preſcience of the future ought to make us prepare in time of peace whatever will be needful in time of war.

Whenever the Perſian armies march'd, every thing was order'd and carry'd on with as much regularity and exactneſs, as on a day of battle; not a ſoldier or officer daring to quit his rank, or remove from the colours. It was the cuſtom amongſt all Aſiatics, whenever they encamp'd, tho' but for a day or a night, to have their camp ſurrounded with pretty deep ditches. This they did to prevent being ſurpriz'd by the enemy, and that they might not be forc'd to engage againſt their inclinations. *(t)* They uſually contented themſelves with covering their camp with a bank of earth dug out of theſe ditches; tho' ſometimes they fortified them with good paliſado's, and long ſtakes driven into the ground.

By what has been ſaid of their diſcipline in time of peace, and of their manner of marching and encamping their armies, we may judge of their exactneſs on a day of battle. Nothing can be more wonderful than the accounts we have of it in ſeveral parts of the Cyropædia. No ſingle family can be better regulated, or pay a more ſpeedy and exact obedience to the firſt ſignal, than the whole army of Cyrus. He had long accuſtom'd them to that prompt obedience, on which the ſucceſs of all enterprizes depends. For what avails the beſt head in the world, if the arms do not act conformably, and follow its directions? At firſt he had uſed ſome ſeverity, which is neceſſary in the beginning, in order to eſtabliſh a good diſcipline: but this ſeverity was always accompany'd with reaſon, and temper'd with kindneſs. The example of their † leader,

(t) Diod. l. 1. p. 24, 25.

* ——————— Metuenſque futuri,
In pace, ut ſapiens, aptarit idonea bello. *Hor. Satyr.* 2. l. 2.

† Dux, cultu levi, capite intecto, in agmine, in laboribus frequens adeſſe: laudem ſtrenuis, ſolatium invalidis, exemplum omnibus oſtendere. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 13. c. 35.

who

who was the firſt upon all duty, gave weight and authority to his diſcourſe, and ſoften'd the rigour of his commands. The unalterable rule he laid down to himſelf, of granting nothing but to merit only, and of refuſing every thing to favour, was a ſure means of keeping all the officers attach'd to their duty, and of making them perpetually vigilant and careful. * For there is nothing more diſcouraging to perſons of that profeſſion, even to thoſe who love their prince and their country, than to ſee the rewards, to which the dangers they have undergone, and the blood they have ſpilt, entitle them, conferr'd upon others. Cyrus had the art of inſpiring his common ſoldiers even with a zeal for diſcipline and order, by firſt inſpiring them with a love for their country, for their honour, and their fellow-citizens; and above all, by endearing himſelf to them, by his bounty and liberality. Theſe are the true methods of eſtabliſhing and ſupporting military diſcipline in its full force and vigour.

V. *Their order of battle.*

As there were but very few fortify'd places in Cyrus's time, all their wars were little elſe but field expeditions: for which reaſon that wiſe prince found out by his own reflection and experience, that nothing contributed more to victory, than a numerous and good cavalry; and that the gaining of one ſingle pitch'd battle was often attended with the conqueſt of a whole kingdom. Accordingly we ſee, that having found the Perſian army entirely deſtitute of that important and neceſſary ſuccour, he turn'd all his thoughts towards remedying that defect; and ſo far ſucceeded by his great application and activity, as to form a body of Perſian cavalry, which became ſuperior to that of his enemies, in goodneſs at leaſt, if not in number. (*a*) There were ſeveral breeds of horſes in Perſia and Media: but in the latter province, thoſe of a place, call'd

(*a*) Herod. l. 7. c. 40. Strab. l. 11. p. 530.

* Cecidiſſe in irritum labores, ſi præmia periculorum ſoli aſſequantur, qui periculis non aſſuerunt. *Tacit. Hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 53.*

Niſea, were the moſt eſteem'd; and 'twas from thence the king's ſtable was furniſh'd. We ſhall now examine what uſe they made of their cavalry and infantry.

The celebrated battle of Thymbræa may ſerve to give us a juſt notion of the tactics of the ancients in the days of Cyrus, and to ſhew how far their ability extended either in the uſe of arms, or the diſpoſition of armies.

They knew, that the moſt advantageous order of battle was to place the infantry in the center, and the cavalry, which conſiſted chiefly of the cuiraſſiers, on the two wings of the army. By this diſpoſition the flanks of the foot were cover'd, and the horſe were at liberty to act and extend themſelves, as occaſion ſhould require.

They likewiſe underſtood the neceſſity of drawing out an army into ſeveral lines, in order to ſupport one another; becauſe otherwiſe, one ſingle line might eaſily be pierc'd through and broken; ſo would not be able to rally, and conſequently the army would be left without reſource. For which reaſon, they form'd the firſt line of foot heavily arm'd, * twelve men deep, who, on the firſt onſet, made uſe of the half-pike; and afterwards, when the fronts of the two armies came cloſe together, engag'd the enemy body to body with their ſwords, or ſcymitars.

The ſecond line conſiſted of ſuch men as were lightly arm'd, whoſe manner of fighting was to fling their javelins over the heads of the firſt. Theſe javelins were made of a heavy wood, were pointed with iron, and were flung with great violence. The deſign of them was to put the enemy into diſorder, before they came to cloſe fight.

The third line conſiſted of archers, whoſe bows being bent with the utmoſt force, carried their arrows over the heads of the two preceding lines, and extremely annoy'd the enemy. Theſe archers were ſometimes mixed with ſlingers, who ſlung great ſtones with

* *Before Cyrus's time it was of twenty-four men.*

a ter-

a terrible force: but, in after-time, the Rhodians, inſtead of ſtones, made uſe of leaden-bullets, which the ſlings carried a great deal farther.

A fourth line, form'd of men in the ſame manner as thoſe of the firſt, formed the rear of the main body. This line was intended for the ſupport of the others, and to keep them to their duty, in caſe they gave way. It ſerv'd likewiſe for a rear-guard, and a body of reſerve to repulſe the enemy, if they ſhould happen to penetrate ſo far.

They had beſides moving towers, carried upon huge waggons, drawn by ſixteen oxen each, in which were twenty men, whoſe buſineſs was to diſcharge ſtones and javelins. Theſe were plac'd in the rear of the whole army behind the body of reſerve, and ſerv'd to ſupport their troops, when they were driven by the enemy; and to favour their rallying when in diſorder.

They made great uſe too of their chariots arm'd with ſcythes, as we have already obſerv'd. Theſe they generally plac'd in the front of the battle, and ſome of them at certain times upon the flanks of the army; or, when they had any reaſon to fear their being ſurrounded.

Thus far, and not much farther, did the ancients carry their knowledge in the military art with reſpect to their battles and engagements. But we do not find they had any ſkill in chuſing advantageous poſts, in ſeaſonably poſſeſſing themſelves of a favourable country, of bringing the war into a cloſe one; of making uſe of defiles and narrow paſſes, either to moleſt the enemy in their march, or to cover themſelves from their attacks; of laying artful ambuſcades; of protracting a campaign to a great length by wiſe delays; of not ſuffering a ſuperior enemy to force them to a deciſive action, and of reducing him to the neceſſity of preying upon himſelf through the want of forage and proviſions. Neither do we ſee, that they had much regard to the defending of their right and left with rivers, marſhes, or mountains; and by that means to make the front of

a ſmaller army equal to that of another much more numerous; and to put it out of the enemy's power to ſurround or flank them.

Yet in Cyrus's firſt campaign againſt the Armenians, and afterwards againſt the Babylonians, there ſeems to have been ſome beginnings and a kind of eſſays of this art; but they were not improv'd, or carried to any degree of perfection in thoſe days. Time, reflection and experience made the great commanders in after-ages acquainted with theſe precautions and ſubtleties of war: and we have already ſhewn, in the wars of the Carthaginians, what uſe Hannibal, Fabius, Scipio, and other generals of both nations made of them.

VI. *Their manner of attacking and defending ſtrong places.*

The ancients both devis'd and executed all that could be expected from the nature of the arms known in their days, as alſo from the force and the variety of engines then in uſe, either for attacking or defending fortify'd places.

1. *Their way of attacking places.*

The firſt method of attacking a place was by blockade. They inveſted the town with a wall built quite round it, and in which, at proper diſtances, were made redoubts and places of arms: and between the wall and the town they dug a deep trench, which they ſtrongly fenc'd with palliſado's, to hinder the beſieged from going out, as well as to prevent ſuccours or proviſions from being brought in. In this manner they waited till famine did what they could not effect by force or art. From hence proceeded the length of the ſieges related by the antients; as that of * Troy, which laſted ten years; that of Azoth by Pſammeticus, which laſted twenty; that of Nineveh, where we find Sardanapalus defended himſelf for the ſpace of ſeven. And Cyrus might have lain a long time before Babylon, where they had laid in a ſtock of proviſions for twenty years, if he had not uſed a different method for taking it.

* *Homer makes no mention of the ram, or any warlike engine.*

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As they found blockades extremely tedious from their duration, they invented the method of ſcaling, which was done by raiſing a great number of ladders againſt the walls, by means whereof a great many files of ſoldiers might climb up together, and force their way in.

To render this method of ſcaling impracticable, or at leaſt ineffectual, they made the walls of their city extremely high, and the towers, wherewith they were flank'd, ſtill conſiderably higher, that the ladders of the beſiegers might not be able to reach the top of them. This obliged them to find out ſome other way of getting to the top of ramparts: and this was building moving towers of wood, ſtill higher than the walls, and by approaching them with thoſe wooden towers. On the top of theſe towers, which form'd a kind of platform, was plac'd a competent number of ſoldiers, who, with darts and arrows, and the aſſiſtance of their baliſtæ and catapultæ, ſcowr'd the ramparts, and clear'd them of the defenders: and then from a lower ſtage of the tower, they let down a kind of draw-bridge, which reſted upon the wall, and gave the ſoldiers admittance.

A third method, which extremely ſhorten'd the length of their ſieges, was that of the battering-ram, by which they made breaches in the walls, and open'd themſelves a paſſage into the places beſieg'd. This battering-ram was a vaſt thick beam of timber, with a ſtrong head of iron or braſs at the end of it: which was puſh'd with the utmoſt force againſt the walls. There were ſeveral kinds of them; but I ſhall give a more ample and particular account of theſe, as well as of other warlike engines, in another place.

They had ſtill a fourth method of attacking places, which was, that of ſapping and undermining; and this was done two different ways: that is, either to carry on a ſubterranean path quite under the walls, into the heart of the city, and ſo open themſelves a paſſage and entrance into it; or elſe, after they had ſap'd the foun-

dation of the wall, and put supporters under it, to fill the space with all sorts of combustible matter, and then to set that matter on fire, in order to burn down the supporters, calcine the materials of the wall, and throw down part of it.

2. *Their manner of defending places.*

With respect to the fortifying and defending of towns, the ancients made use of all the fundamental principles and essential rules, now practis'd in the art of fortification. They had the method of overflowing the country round about, to hinder the enemy's approaching the town; they made their ditches deep, and of a steep ascent, and fenc'd them round with palisado's, to make the enemy's ascent or descent the more difficult; they made their ramparts very thick, and fenc'd them with stone, or brick-work, that the battering-ram should not be able to demolish them; and very high, that the scaling of them should be equally impracticable; they had their projecting towers, from whence our modern bastions deriv'd their origin, for the flanking of the courtains, the ingenious invention of different machines for the shooting of arrows, throwing of darts and lances, and hurling of great stones with vast force and violence; their parapets and battlements in the walls for the soldiers security, and their cover'd galleries, which went quite round the walls, and serv'd as subterraneous passages; their intrenchments behind the breaches, and necks of the towers; they made their sallies too, in order to destroy the works of the besiegers, and to set their engines on fire; as also their countermines to defeat the mines of the enemy; and lastly, they built citadels, as places of retreat in case of extremity, to serve as the last resource to a garrison upon the point of being forc'd, and to make the taking of the town of no effect, or at least to obtain a more advantageous capitulation. All these methods of defending places against those that besieg'd them, were known in the art of fortification, as it was practis'd among the ancients; and they are

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the very ſame as are now in uſe among the moderns, allowing for ſuch alteration as the difference of arms has occaſion'd.

I thought it neceſſary to enter into this detail, in order to give the reader an idea of the ancient manner of defending fortify'd towns; as alſo to remove a prejudice which prevails among many of the moderns, who imagine, that, becauſe new names are now given to the ſame things, the things themſelves are therefore different in nature and principle. Since the invention of gun-powder, cannon indeed have been ſubſtituted in the place of the battering-ram; and muſket-ſhot in the room of baliſtæ, catapultæ, ſcorpions, javelins, ſlings and arrows. But does it therefore follow, that any of the fundamental rules of fortification are chang'd? By no means. The ancients made as much of the ſolidity of bodies, and the mechanick powers of motion, as art and ingenuity would admit.

VII. *The condition of the Perſian forces after Cyrus's time.*

I have already obſerv'd, more than once, that we muſt not judge of the merit and courage of the Perſian troops at all times, by what we ſee of them in Cyrus's reign. I ſhall conclude this article of war with a judicious reflection made by Monſieur Boſſuet, biſhop of Meaux, on that ſubject. He obſerves, that, after the death of that prince, the Perſians, generally ſpeaking, were ignorant of the great advantages that reſult from ſeverity, order, or diſcipline; from the drawing up of an army; their order in marching and encamping; and that happineſs of conduct which moves thoſe great bodies without diſorder or confuſion. Full of a vain oſtentation of their power and greatneſs; and relying more upon ſtrength than prudence, upon the number rather than the choice of their troops, they thought they had done all that was neceſſary, when they had drawn together immenſe numbers of people, who fought indeed with reſolution enough, but without order, and who found themſelves incumber'd with the

vaſt multitudes of uſeleſs perſons, in the retinue of the king and his chief officers. For to ſuch an height was their luxury grown, that they would needs have the ſame magnificence, and enjoy the ſame pleaſures and delights in the army, as in the king's court: ſo that in their wars the kings marched accompanied with their wives, their concubines, and all their eunuchs. Their ſilver and gold plate, and all their rich furniture, were carried after them in prodigious quantities; and, in ſhort, all the equipage and utenſils ſo voluptuous a life requires. An army compoſed in this manner, and already clogged with the exceſſive number of troops, had the additional load of vaſt multitudes of ſuch as did not fight. In this confuſion, the troops could not act in concert: their orders never reach'd them in time; and in action every thing went on at random, as it were, without the poſſibility of any commander's preventing diſorder. Add to this, the neceſſity they were under of finiſhing an expedition quickly, and of paſſing into an enemy's country with great rapidity; becauſe ſuch a vaſt body of people, greedy not only of the neceſſaries of life, but of ſuch things alſo as were requiſite for luxury and pleaſure, conſumed all that could be met with in a very ſhort time; nor indeed is it eaſy to comprehend from whence they could procure ſubſiſtence.

But with all this vaſt train, the Perſians aſtoniſhed thoſe nations that were as unexpert in military affairs as themſelves; and many of thoſe that were better vers'd therein, were yet overcome by them, being either weaken'd or diſtreſs'd by their own diviſions, or overpower'd by their enemy's numbers. And by this means Egypt, as proud as ſhe was of her antiquity, her wiſe inſtitutions, and the conqueſts of her Seſoſtris, became ſubject to the Perſians. Nor was it difficult for them to conquer the leſſer Aſia, and ſuch Greek colonies as the luxury of Aſia had corrupted. But when they came to engage with Greece itſelf, they found what they had never met with before, regular and well-diſciplin'd troops, ſkilful and experienc'd commanders,

manders, ſoldiers accuſtom'd to temperance, whoſe bodies were inur'd to toil and labour, and render'd both robuſt and active, by wreſtling and other exerciſes practis'd in that country. The Grecian armies indeed were but ſmall; but they were like your ſtrong, vigorous bodies, that ſeem to be all nerves and ſinews, and full of ſpirits in every part: at the ſame time they were ſo well commanded, and ſo prompt in obeying the orders of their generals, that one would have thought all the ſoldiers had been actuated by one ſoul; ſo perfect an harmony was there in all their motions.

ARTICLE III.

Arts and Sciences.

I Do not pretend to give an account of the eaſtern poetry, of which we know little more than what we find in the books of the Old Teſtament. Thoſe precious fragments are ſufficient to let us know the origin of poeſy; its true deſign; the uſe that was made of it by thoſe inſpir'd writers, namely, to celebrate the perfections, and ſing the wonderful works of God, as alſo the dignity and ſublimity of ſtile which ought to accompany it, and be adapted to the majeſty of the ſubjects it treats. The diſcourſes of Job's friends, who liv'd in the eaſt, as he himſelf did, and who were diſtinguiſh'd among the Gentiles, as much by their learning as their birth, may likewiſe give us ſome notion of the eaſtern eloquence in thoſe early ages.

What the Egyptian prieſts ſaid of the Greeks in general, and of the Athenians in particular, according to (*x*) Plato, that they were but children in antiquity, is very true with reſpect to arts and ſciences, of which they have falſely aſcrib'd the invention to chimerical perſons, much poſterior to the deluge. (*y*) The holy ſcripture informs us, that before that epocha, God had diſcover'd to mankind the art of tilling and cultivating the ground; of feeding their flocks and cattle, when

(*x*) In Timæo, p. 22. (*y*) Gen. c. iv.

their

their habitation was in tents; of ſpinning wool and flax, and weaving it into ſtuffs and linnen; of forging and poliſhing iron and braſs, and putting them to numberleſs uſes that are neceſſary and convenient for life and ſociety.

We learn from the ſame ſcriptures, that very ſoon after the deluge, human induſtry had made ſeveral diſcoveries very worthy of admiration; as, 1. The art of ſpinning gold thread, and of interweaving it with ſtuffs. 2. That of beating gold, and with light thin leaves of it to gild wood and other materials. 3. The ſecret of caſting metals; as braſs, ſilver, or gold; and of making all ſorts of figures with them in imitation of nature; of repreſenting any kind of different objects; and of making an infinite variety of veſſels of thoſe metals, for uſe and ornament. 4. The art of painting, or carving upon wood, ſtone, or marble: and, 5. To name no more, that of dying their ſilks and ſtuffs, and giving them the moſt exquiſite and beautiful colours.

As it was in Aſia that men firſt ſettled after the deluge, it is eaſy to conceive that Aſia muſt have been the nurſe, as it were, of arts and ſciences, of which the remembrance had been preſerv'd by tradition; and which were afterwards reviv'd again, and reſtor'd by means of men's wants and neceſſities, which put them upon all the methods of induſtry and application.

SECT. I. *Architecture.*

THE building of the tower of Babel, and ſhortly after, of thoſe famous cities Babylon and Niniveh, which have been look'd upon as prodigies; the grandeur and magnificence of royal and other palaces, divided into ſundry halls and apartments, and adorn'd with every thing that either decency or conveniency could require; the regularity and ſymmetry of the pillars and vaulted roofs, rais'd and multiplied one upon another; the noble gates of their cities; the breadth and thickneſs of their ramparts; the height and ſtrength

of their towers; their large commodious keys on the banks of their great rivers; and their curious bold bridges built over them: all theſe things, I ſay, with many other works of the like nature, ſhew to what a pitch of perfection architecture was carried in thoſe antient times.

Yet I cannot ſay, whether in thoſe ages this art roſe to that degree of perfection, which it afterwards attained in Greece and Italy; or thoſe vaſt ſtructures in Aſia and Egypt, ſo much boaſted of by the antients, were as remarkable for their beauty and regularity, as they were for their magnitude and ſpaciouſneſs. We hear of five orders in architecture, the Tuſcan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Compoſite: but we never hear of an Aſiatic or Egyptian order; which gives us reaſon to doubt whether the ſymmetry, meaſures, and proportions of pillars, pilaſters, and other ornaments in architecture, were exactly obſerv'd in thoſe antient ſtructures.

SECT. II. *Muſick.*

IT is no wonder, if, in a country like Aſia, addicted to voluptuous and luxurious living, muſick, which is in a manner the ſoul of ſuch enjoyments, was in high eſteem, and cultivated with great application. The very names of the principal notes of antient muſick, which the modern has ſtill preſerv'd, namely, the Doric, Phrygian, Lydian, Ionian, and Æolian, ſufficiently indicate the place where it had its origin; or at leaſt, where it was improv'd and brought to perfection. (z) We learn from holy ſcripture, that in Laban's time inſtrumental muſick was much in uſe in the country where he dwelt, that is, in Meſopotamia; ſince, among the other reproaches he makes to his ſon-in-law Jacob, he complains, that by his precipitate flight, he had put it out of his power to conduct him and his family *with mirth and with ſongs, with tabret and with harp.* (a) Amongſt the booty that Cyrus or-

(z) Gen. xxxi. 27. (a) Cyrop. l. 4. p. 13.

der'd

der'd to be ſet apart for his uncle Cyaxares, mention is made of two famous † female muſicians, very ſkilful in their profeſſion, who accompany'd a lady of Suſa, and were taken priſoners with her.

To determine what degree of perfection muſick was carried to by the antients, is a queſtion which very much puzzles the learned. It is the harder to be decided, becauſe, to determine juſtly upon it, it ſeems neceſſary we ſhould have ſeveral pieces of muſick compos'd by the antients, with their notes, that we might examine it both with our eyes and our ears. But, unhappily, it is not with muſick in this reſpect, as with antient ſculpture and poetry, of which we have ſo many noble monuments remaining; whilſt, on the contrary, we have not any one piece of their compoſition in the other ſcience, by which we can form a certain judgment of it, and determine whether the muſic of the antients was as perfect as ours.

'Tis generally allow'd, that the antients were acquainted with the triple ſymphony, that is, the harmony of voices, that of inſtruments, and that of voices and inſtruments in concert.

'Tis alſo agreed, that they excelled in what relates to the rythmus. What is meant by rythmus, is the aſſemblage, or union of various times in muſic, which are joined together with a certain order, and in certain proportions. To underſtand this definition, it is to be obſerved, that the muſic we are here ſpeaking of, was always ſet and ſung to the words of certain verſes, in which every ſyllable was diſtinguiſh'd into long and ſhort; that the ſhort ſyllable was pronounc'd as quick again as the long; that therefore the former was reckon'd to make up but one time, whilſt the latter made up two; and conſequently the ſound which anſwer'd to this, was to continue twice as long, as the ſound which anſwer'd to the other; or, which is the ſame thing, it was to conſiſt of two times, or meaſures, whilſt the other comprehended but one; that the verſes

† Μεσαργὲς δύο τὰς χράτισας.

which

which were ſung, conſiſted of a certain number of feet form'd by the different combination of theſe long and ſhort ſyllables; and that the rythmus of the ſong regularly followed the march of theſe feet. As theſe feet, of what nature or extent ſoever, were always divided into two equal or unequal parts, of which the former was called ἄρσις, elevation or raiſing; and the latter θέσις, depreſſion or falling: ſo the rythmus of the ſong, which anſwer'd to every one of thoſe feet, was divided into two parts equally or unequally by what we now call a *beat*, and a reſt or intermiſſion. The ſcrupulous regard the antients had to the quantity of their ſyllables in their vocal muſic, made their rythmus much more perfect and regular than ours: for our poetry is not form'd upon the meaſure of long and ſhort ſyllables; but nevertheleſs a ſkilful muſician amongſt us, may in ſome ſort expreſs, by the length of the ſounds, the quantity of every ſyllable. This account of the rythmus of the antients I have copied from one of the diſſertations of Monſieur Burette; which I have done out of regard for young ſtudents, to whom this little explanation may be of great uſe for the underſtanding of ſeveral paſſages in antient authors. I now return to my ſubject.

The principal point in diſpute among the learned, concerning the muſic of the antients, is to know whether they underſtood muſic in ſeveral parts; that is, a compoſition conſiſting of ſeveral parts, and in which all thoſe different parts form each by itſelf a compleat piece, and at the ſame time have an harmonious connexion, as it is in our counter-point or concert, whether ſimple or compounded.

If the reader be curious to know more concerning this matter, and whatever elſe relates to the muſic of the antients, I refer him to the learned diſſertations of the above-mention'd Mr. Burette, inſerted in the 3d, 4th, and 5th volumes of the Memoirs of the royal academy *des Belles-lettres*; which ſhew the profound erudition and exquiſite taſte of that writer.

SECT.

SECT. III. *Phyſic.*

WE likewiſe diſcover in thoſe early times the origin of phyſic, the beginnings of which, as of all other arts and ſciences, were very rude and imperfect. (*b*) Herodotus, and after him Strabo, obſerve, that it was a general cuſtom among the Babylonians to expoſe their ſick perſons to the view of paſſengers, in order to learn of them whether they had been afflicted with the like diſtemper, and by what remedies they had been cured. From hence ſeveral people have pretended that phyſic is nothing elſe but a conjectural and experimental ſcience, entirely reſulting from obſervations made upon the nature of different diſeaſes, and upon ſuch things as are conducive or prejudicial to health. It muſt be confeſs'd, that experience will go a great way; but that alone is not ſufficient. The famous Hippocrates made great uſe of it in his practice; but he did not entirely rely upon it. (*c*) The cuſtom was in thoſe days for all perſons that had been ſick, and were cured, to put up a picture of Æſculapius, wherein they gave an account of the remedies that had reſtored them to their health. That celebrated phyſician cauſed all theſe inſcriptions and memorials to be copied out, which were of great advantage to him.

(*d*) Phyſic was, even in the time of the Trojan war, in great uſe and eſteem. Æſculapius, who flouriſhed at that time, is reckon'd the inventor of that art, and had even then brought it to a great perfection by his profound knowledge in botany, by his great ſkill in medicinal preparations and chirurgical operations: for in thoſe days theſe ſeveral branches were not ſeparated from one another, but were all included together under the denomination of phyſic.

(*e*) The two ſons of Æſculapius, Podalirius and Machaon, who commanded a certain number of troops

(*b*) Her. l. 1. c. 197. Strab. l. 16. p. 746. (*c*) Plin. l. 29. c. 1. Strab. l. 8. p. 374. (*d*) Diod. l. 5. p. 341. (*e*) Hom. Iliad. l. 10. v. 821—847.

at

at the ſiege of Troy, were both excellent phyſicians and brave officers; and render'd as much ſervice to the Grecian army by their ſkill in their phyſical, as they did by their courage and conduct in their military capacity. (*f*) Nor did Achilles himſelf, or even Alexander the Great in after-times, think the knowledge of this ſcience improper for a general, or beneath his dignity. On the contrary, he learnt it himſelf of Chiron, the centaur, and afterwards inſtructed his governor and friend Patroclus in it, who did not diſdain to exerciſe the art, in healing the wound of Eurypilus. This wound he heal'd by the application of a certain root, which immediately aſſwag'd the pain, and ſtop'd the bleeding. Botany, or that part of phyſic which treats of herbs and plants, was very much known, and almoſt the only branch of the ſcience uſed in thoſe early times. (*g*) Virgil ſpeaking of a celebrated phyſician, who was inſtructed in his art by Apollo himſelf, ſeems to confine that profeſſion to the knowledge of ſimples: *Scire poteſtates herbarum uſumque medendi maluit.* 'Twas nature herſelf that offer'd thoſe innocent and ſalutary remedies, and ſeem'd to invite mankind to make uſe of them. (*h*) Their gardens, fields and woods ſupply'd them gratis with an infinite plenty and variety. (*i*) As yet no uſe was made of minerals, treacles, and other compoſitions, ſince diſcover'd by cloſer and more inquiſitive reſearches into nature.

(*k*) Pliny ſays, that phyſic, brought by Æſculapius into great reputation about the time of the Trojan war, was ſoon after neglected and loſt, and lay in a manner buried in darkneſs till the time of the Peloponneſian war, when it was reviv'd by Hippocrates, and reſtor'd to its antient honour and credit. This may be true with reſpect to Greece: but in Perſia we find it always cultivated, and conſtantly held in great reputation. (*l*) The great Cyrus, as is obſerv'd by Xenophon,

(*f*) Plut. in Alex. p. 668.
(*g*) Æn. l. 12. v. 396.
(*h*) Plin. l. 26. c. 1.
(*i*) Id. l. 24. c. 1.
(*k*) L. 29. c. 9.
(*l*) Cyrop. l. 1. p. 29. & l. 8. p. 212.

never

never fail'd to take a certain number of excellent phyſicians along with him in the army, rewarding them very liberally, and treating them with particular regard: he further remarks, that in this Cyrus only followed a cuſtom, that had been anciently eſtabliſh'd among their generals; (*m*) and that the younger Cyrus acted in the ſame manner.

It muſt nevertheleſs be acknowledg'd, that it was Hippocrates, who carried this ſcience to its higheſt perfection: and tho' it be certain, that ſeveral improvements and new diſcoveries have been made in that art ſince his time, yet is he ſtill look'd upon by the ableſt phyſicians, as the firſt and chief maſter of the faculty, and as the perſon whoſe writings ought to be the chief ſtudy of thoſe that would diſtinguiſh themſelves in that profeſſion.

Men thus qualified, who, beſide their having ſtudied the moſt celebrated phyſicians, as well ancient as modern, beſide the knowledge they have acquir'd of the virtues of ſimples, the principles of natural philoſophy, and the conſtitution and contexture of human bodies, have had a long practice and experience, and to that have added their own ſerious reflections; ſuch men as theſe, in a well-order'd ſtate, deſerve to be highly rewarded and diſtinguiſhed, as the holy Spirit itſelf ſignifies to us in the ſacred writings: (*n*) *The ſkill of the phyſicians ſhall lift up his head: and in the ſight of great men he ſhall be in admiration*; ſince all their labours, lucubrations and watchings are devoted to the people's health, which of all human bleſſings is the deareſt and moſt valuable. And yet this bleſſing is what mankind are the leaſt careful to preſerve. They do not only deſtroy it by riot and exceſs, but thro' a blind credulity they fooliſhly entruſt it with perſons of no ſkill or experience, * who impoſe upon them by their impudence

(*m*) De exped. Cyr. l. 2. p. 311.

(*n*) Ecclus. xxxviii. 3.

* Palam eſt, ut quiſque inter iſtos loquendo polleat, imperatorem illico vitæ noſtræ neciſque fieri— Adeo blanda eſt ſperandi pro ſe cuique dulcedo. *Plin. l. 29. c. 1.*

and

and presumption, or seduce them by their flattering assurances of infallible recovery.

SECT. IV. *Astronomy.*

AS much as the Grecians desir'd to be esteem'd the authors and inventors of all arts and sciences, they could never absolutely deny the Babylonians the honour of having laid the foundations of astronomy. The * advantageous situation of Babylon, which was built upon a wide, extended flat country, where no mountains bounded the prospect; the constant clearness and serenity of the air in that couutry, so favourable to the free contemplation of the heavens; perhaps also the extraordinary height of the tower of Babel, which seem'd to be intended for an observatory; all these circumstances were strong motives to engage this people to a more nice observation of the various motions of the heavenly bodies, and the regular course of the stars. † The abbot Renaudot, in his dissertation upon the sphere, observes, that the plain, which in scripture is call'd Shinar, and in which Babylon stood, is the same as is call'd by the Arabians Sinjar, where the caliph Almamon, the seventh of the Habbassides, in whose reign the sciences began to flourish among the Arabians, caus'd the astronomical observations to be made, which for several ages directed all the astronomers of Europe: and that the sultan Gelaleddin Melikschah, the third of the Seljukides, caus'd a course of the like observations to be made near three hundred years afterwards in the same place: from whence it appears, that this place was always reckon'd one of the propereſt in the world for astronomical observations.

The ancient Babylonians could not have carried theirs to any great perfection for want of he help of telescopes, which are of modern invention, and have greatly contributed of late years to render our astrono-

* A Principio Assyrii propter planitiem magnitudinemque regionum quas incolebant, cùm cœlum ex omni parte patens & apertum intuerentur, trajectiones motusque stellarum observaverunt. *Cic. lib.* 1, *de Divin. n.* 2.

† *Memoirs of the Academy des Belles-lettres, Vol. I. Part* 2. *p.* 2.

mical

mical enquiries more perfect and exact. Whatever they were, they have not come down to us. Epigenes, a great and credible author, according to Pliny (*o*), ſpeaks of obſervations made for the ſpace of ſeven hundred and twenty years, and imprinted upon ſquares of brick; which, if it be true, muſt reach back to a very early antiquity. (*p*) Thoſe of which Calliſthenes, a philoſopher in Alexander's court, makes mention, and of which he gave Ariſtotle an account, include 1903 years, and conſequently muſt commence very near the deluge, and the time of Nimrod's building the city of Babylon.

We are certainly under great obligations, which we ought to acknowledge, to the labours and curious inquiries of thoſe who have contributed to the diſcovery or improvement of ſo uſeful a ſcience; a ſcience, not only of great ſervice to agriculture and navigation, by the knowledge it gives us of the regular courſe of the ſtars, and of the wonderful, conſtant and uniform proportion of days, months, ſeaſons and years; but even to religion itſelf; with which, as Plato ſhews, (*q*) the ſtudy of that ſcience has a very cloſe and neceſſary connexion; as it directly tends to inſpire us with great reverence for the deity, who with an infinite wiſdom preſides over the government of the univerſe, and is preſent and attentive to all our actions. But at the ſame time we cannot ſufficiently deplore the misfortune of thoſe very philoſophers, who, by their ſucceſsful * application and aſtronomical inquiries, came very near the creator, and yet were ſo unhappy as not to find him, becauſe they did not ſerve and adore him as they ought to do, nor govern their actions by the rules and directions of that divine model.

SECT. V. *Judicial Aſtrology.*

As to the Babylonian and other eaſtern philoſophers,

(*o*) Plin. hiſt. nat. l. 7. c. 56. (*p*) Porphyr. apud. Simplic. in l. 2. de cœlo. (*q*) In Epinom. p. 989—992.

* Magna induſtria, magna ſollertia: ſed ibi Creatorem ſcrutati ſunt poſitum non longè à ſe, & non invenerunt——quia quærere neglexerunt. *Auguſt. de verb. Evang. Matth. Serm.* 68. *c.* 1.

the

the ſtudy of the heavenly bodies was ſo far from leading them, as it ought to have done, to the knowledge of him who is both their creator and director, that for the moſt part it carried them into impious practices, and the extravagancies of judicial aſtrology. So we term that deceitful and preſumptuous ſcience, which teaches to judge of things to come by the knowledge of the ſtars, and to foretel events by the ſituation of the planets, and by their different aſpects: a ſcience juſtly look'd upon as a madneſs and folly by all the moſt ſenſible writers among the pagans themſelves. (r) *O delirationem incredibilem!* cries Cicero, in refuting the extravagant opinions of thoſe aſtrologers, frequently call'd Chaldeans from the country that firſt produc'd them, who, in conſequence of the obſervations made, as they affirm'd, by their predeceſſors upon all paſt events, for the ſpace only of four hundred and ſeventy thouſand years, pretended to know aſſuredly by the aſpect and combination of the ſtars and planets at the inſtant of a child's birth, what would be his genius, temper, manners, the conſtitution of his body, his actions; and in a word, all the events, with the duration of his life. He repeats a thouſand abſurdities of this opinion, the very ridicule of which ſufficiently expoſes it to contempt; and aſks, why of all that vaſt number of children, that are born in the ſame moment, and without doubt exactly under the aſpect of the ſame ſtars, there are not two of them, whoſe lives and fortunes reſemble each other. He puts this further queſtion, whether that great number of men, that periſh'd at the battle of Cannæ, and died of one and the ſame death, were all born under the ſame conſtellations.

(s) It is hardly credible, that ſo abſurd an art, founded entirely upon fraud and impoſture, *fraudulentiſſima artium*, as Pliny calls it, ſhould ever acquire ſo much credit, as this has done, throughout the whole world and in all ages. What has ſupported and brought it into ſo great vogue, continues that author,

(r) L. 2. de Div. n. 87, 99. (s) Plin. Proœm. l. 30.

is

is the natural curioſity men have to penetrate into futurity, and to know beforehand the things that are to befall them: *nullo non avido futura de ſe ſciendi*; attended with a ſuperſtitious credulity, which finds itſelf agreeably flatter'd with the large and grateful promiſes, of which thoſe fortune-tellers are never ſparing. *Ita blandiſſimis deſideratiſſimiſque promiſſis addidit vires religionis, ad quas maximè etiamnum caligat humanum genus.*

(*t*) Modern writers, and among others two of our greateſt philoſophers, Gaſſendus and Rohault, have inveigh'd againſt the folly of that pretended ſcience with the ſame energy, and have demonſtrated it to be equally void of principles and experience.

As for its principles. The heaven, according to the ſyſtem of the aſtrologers, is divided into twelve equal parts: which parts are taken not according to the poles of the world, but according to thoſe of the zodiac: theſe twelve parts, or proportions of heaven, have each of them its attribute, as riches, knowledge, parentage, &c. the moſt important and deciſive portion is that which is next under the horizon, and which is call'd the aſcendant, becauſe it is ready to aſcend and appear above the horizon, when a man comes into the world: the planets are divided into the propitious, the malignant, and the mixt: the aſpects of theſe planets, which are only certain diſtances from one another, are likewiſe either happy or unhappy. I ſay nothing of ſeveral other hypotheſes, which are all equally arbitrary; and I aſk, whether any man of common ſenſe can give into them upon the bare word of theſe impoſtors, without any proofs, or even without the leaſt ſhadow of probability. The critical moment, and that on which all their predictions depend, is that of the birth. And why not as well the moment of conception? Why have the ſtars no influence during the nine months of child-bearing? Or is it poſſible, conſidering the incredibile rapidity of the heavenly bodies,

(*t*) Gaſſendi phyſ. ſect. 2. l. 6. Rohault's phyſ. part 2. ch. 27.

always to be ſure of hitting the preciſe, determinate moment, without the leaſt variation of more, or leſs, which is ſufficient to overthrow all? A thouſand other objections of the ſame kind might be made, which are altogether unanſwerable.

As for experience, they have ſtill leſs reaſon to flatter themſelves on that ſide. Whatever they have of that, muſt conſiſt in obſervations founded upon events, that have always come to paſs in the ſame manner, whenever the planets were found in the ſame ſituation. Now, 'tis unanimouſly agreed by all aſtronomers, that ſeveral thouſands of years muſt paſs, before any ſuch ſituation of the ſtars, as they wou'd imagine, can twice happen: and 'tis very certain, that the ſtate, in which the heavens will be to morrow, has never yet been ſince the creation of the world. The reader may conſult the two philoſophers above mention'd, particularly Gaſſendus, who has more copiouſly treated this ſubject. But ſuch, and no better, are the foundations upon which the whole ſtructure of judicial aſtrology is built.

But, what is aſtoniſhing, and argues an abſolute want of all reaſon, is, that certain pretended wits, who obſtinately harden themſelves againſt the moſt convincing proofs of religion, and who refuſe to believe even the cleareſt and moſt certain prophecies upon the word of God, do ſometimes give entire credit to the vain predictions of theſe aſtrologers and impoſtors.

St. Auſtin, in ſeveral paſſages of his writings, informs us, that this ſtupid and ſacrilegious credulity is a juſt * chaſtiſement from God, who frequently puniſheth the voluntary blindneſs of men, by inflicting a ſtill greater blindneſs; and who ſuffers evil ſpirits, that they may keep their ſervants ſtill faſter in their nets, ſometimes to foretel them things which do really come to

* His omnibus conſideratis, non immeritò creditur, cum aſtrologi mirabiliter multa vera reſpondent, occulto inſtinctu fieri ſpirituum non bonorum, quorum cura eſt has falſas & noxias opiniones de aſtralibus ſatis inſerere humanis mentibus atque firmare, non horoſcopi notati & inſpecti aliqua arte, quæ nulla eſt. *De Civ. Dei, l.* 5. *c.* 7.

paſs,

paſs, and of which the expectation very often ſerve only to torment them.

God, who alone foreſees future contingencies and events, becauſe he alone is the ſovereign diſpoſer and director of them, * does often in ſcripture revile the ignorance of the Babylonian aſtrologers, ſo much boaſted of, calling them forgers of lies and falſhoods: he moreover defies all their falſe gods to foretel any thing whatſoever, and conſents, if they do, that they ſhould be worſhipped as gods. Then, addreſſing himſelf to the city of Babylon, he particularly declares all the circumſtances of the miſeries, with which ſhe ſhall be overwhelm'd above two hundred years after that prediction; and that none of her prognoſticators, who had flatter'd her with the aſſurances of a perpetual grandeur they pretended to have read in the ſtars, ſhould be able to avert the judgment, or even to foreſee the time of its accompliſhment. Indeed how ſhould they? ſince at the very time of its execution, when (*u*) Belſhazzar, the laſt king of Babylon, ſaw a hand come out of the wall, and write unknown characters thereon, the Magi, Chaldeans, and in a word, all the pretended ſages of the country were not able ſo much as to read the writing. Here then we ſee aſtrology and magick convicted of ignorance and impotence, in the very place where they were moſt in vogue, and on an occaſion when it was certainly their intereſt to diſplay their ſcience and whole power.

(*u*) Dan. c. v.

* *Therefore ſhall evil come upon thee, thou ſhalt not know from whence it riſeth: and miſchief ſhall fall upon thee, thou ſhall not be able to put it off: and deſolation ſhall come upon thee ſuddenly, which thou ſhalt not know. Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy ſorceries, wherein thou haſt laboured from thy youth; if ſo be thou ſhalt be able to profit, if ſo be thou may'ſt prevail. Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counſels: let now the aſtrologers, the ſtar-gazers, the prognoſticators ſtand up, and ſave thee from theſe things that ſhall come upon thee. Behold, they ſhall be as ſtubble: the fire ſhall burn them: they ſhall not deliver themſelves from the power of the flame.* Iſai. xlvii. 11—14.

ARTI-

ARTICLE IV.

Religion.

THE moſt authentick and general idolatry in the world, is that wherein the ſun and moon were the objects of divine worſhip. This idolatry was founded upon a miſtaken gratitude; which, inſtead of aſcending up to the deity, ſtop'd ſhort at the veil, which both cover'd and diſcover'd him. With the leaſt reflection or penetration they might have diſcern'd the ſovereign who commanded, from the * miniſter who did but obey.

In all ages mankind have been ſenſibly convinc'd of the neceſſity of an intercourſe between God and man: and adoration ſuppoſes God to be both attentive to man's deſires, and capable of fulfilling them. But the diſtance of the ſun and of the moon is an obſtacle to this intercourſe. Therefore fooliſh men endeavoured to remedy this inconvenience, by laying their † hands upon their mouths, and then lifting them up to thoſe falſe gods, in order to teſtify that they would be glad to unite themſelves to them, but that they could not. This was that impious cuſtom ſo prevalent throughout all the eaſt, from which Job eſteem'd himſelf happy to have been preſerv'd: ‖ *If I beheld the ſun when it ſhined, or the moon walking in brightneſs: and my heart hath been ſecretly enticed, or my mouth hath kiſſed my hand.*

(*x*) The Perſians adored the ſun, and particularly the riſing ſun, with the profoundeſt veneration. To him they dedicated a magnificent chariot, with horſes of the greateſt beauty and value, as we have ſeen in Cyrus's ſtately cavalcade. (This ſame ceremony was practis'd

(*x*) Her. l. 1. c. 131.

* *Among the Hebrews the ordinary name for the ſun ſignifies* miniſter.

† Superſtitioſus vulgus manum ori admovens, oſculum labiis preſſit. *Minuc. p.* 2. *From thence is come the word* adorare; *that is to ſay,* ad os manum admovere.

‖ *The text is a kind of oath.* Job xxxi. 26, 27.

by the Babylonians; of whom ſome impious kings of Judah borrow'd it, and brought it into Paleſtine.) (*y*) Sometimes they likewiſe ſacrific'd oxen to this god, who was very much known amongſt them by the name of Mithra.

(*z*) By a natural conſequence of the worſhip they paid to the ſun, they likewiſe paid a particular veneration to fire, always invok'd it firſt in their ſacrifices, (*a*) carried it with great reſpect before the king in all his marches; entruſted the keeping of their ſacred fire, which came down from heaven, as they pretended, to none but the Magi; and would have look'd upon it as the greateſt of misfortunes, if it had been ſuffer'd to go out. (*b*) Hiſtory informs us, that the emperor Heraclius, when he was at war with the Perſians, demoliſh'd ſeveral of their temples, and particularly the chapel in which the ſacred fire had been preſerv'd till that time, which occaſion'd great mourning and lamentation throughout the whole country. (*c*) The Perſians likewiſe honour'd the water, the earth, and the winds, as ſo many deities.

The cruel ceremony of making children paſs thro' the fire, was undoubtedly a conſequence of the worſhip paid to that element: for this fire-worſhip was common to the Babylonians and Perſians. The ſcripture poſitively ſays of the people of Meſopotamia, who were ſent as a colony into the country of the Samaritants, that *they cauſed their children to paſs through the fire.* 'Tis well known how common this barbarous cuſtom became in many provinces of Aſia.

(*d*) Beſides theſe, the Perſians had two gods of a more extraordinary nature, namely, Oromaſdes and Arimanius. The former they look'd upon as the author of all the bleſſings and good things that happened to them; and the latter as the author of all the evils

(*y*) 4 Kings xxiii. 11. Strab. l. 15. p. 732. (*z*) Ibid.
(*a*) Xenoph. Cyrop. l. 8. p. 215. Am. Mar. l. 23. (*b*) Zonar. Annal. Vol. II. (*c*) Her. l. 1. c. 131. (*d*) Plut. in lib. de Iſid. & Oſirid. p. 369.

where-

wherewith they were afflicted. I ſhall give a large account of theſe deities hereafter.

(*d*) The Perſians erected neither ſtatues, nor temples, nor altars to their gods; but offered their ſacrifices in the open air, and generally on the tops of hills, or on high places. (*e*) It was in the open fields that Cyrus acquitted himſelf of that religious duty, when he made the pompous and ſolemn proceſſion already ſpoken of. * It is ſuppoſed to have been through the advice and inſtigation of the Magi, that Xerxes, the Perſian king, burnt all the Grecian temples, eſteeming it injurious to the majeſty of God to ſhut him up within walls, to whom all things are open, and to whom the whole world ſhould be reckon'd as an houſe or a temple.

† Cicero thinks, that in this the Greeks and Romans acted more wiſely than the Perſians, in that they erected temples within their cities, and thereby ſuppoſed their gods to reſide among them, which was a proper way to inſpire the people with ſentiments of religion and piety. Varro was not of the ſame opinion: (*f*) (St. Auſtin has preſerv'd that paſſage of his works.) After having obſerv'd, that the Romans had worſhip'd their gods without ſtatues or images for above an hundred and ſeventy years, he adds, that, if they had ſtill preſerv'd that ancient cuſtom, their religion would have been the purer and freer from corruption: *Quod ſi adhuc manſiſſet, caſtius dii obſervarentur:* and to confirm his ſentiment, he cites the example of the Jewiſh nation.

The laws of Perſia ſuffer'd no man to confine the motive of his ſacrifices to any private or domeſtick intereſt. This was a fine way of attaching all particular

(*d*) Herod l. 1. c. 131.

(*e*) Cyrop. l. 8. p. 233.

(*f*) L. 4. de Civ. Dei. l. 31.

* Auctoribus Magis Xerxes inflammaſſe templa Græciæ dicitur, quòd parietibus includerent deos, quibus omnia deberent eſſe patentia ac libera, quorumque hic mundus omnis templum eſſet & domus. *Cic. l. 2. de Legib.*

† Meliùs Græci atque noſtri, qui, ut angerent pietatem in deos, eaſdem illos urbes, quas nos, incolere voluerunt. Adfert enim hæc opinio religionem utilem civitatibus. *Ibid.*

perſons to the publick good, by teaching them, that they ought never to ſacrifice for themſelves alone, but for the king and the whole ſtate, wherein every man was comprehended with the reſt of his fellow-citizens.

The Magi were the guardians of all the ceremonies relating to their worſhip; and 'twas to them the people had recourſe, in order to be inſtructed therein, and to know on what days, to what gods, and after what manner they were to offer their ſacrifices. As theſe Magi were all of one tribe, and that none but the ſon of a prieſt could pretend to the honour of the prieſthood, they kept all their learning and knowledge, whether in religious or political concerns, to themſelves and their families; nor was it lawful for them to inſtruct any ſtranger in thoſe matters, without the king's permiſſion. It was granted in favour of Themiſtocles, (*g*) and was, according to Plutarch, a particular effect of the prince's great conſideration for that diſtinguiſh'd perſon.

This knowledge and ſkill in religious matters, which made Plato define magic, or the learning of the Magi, the art of worſhipping the gods in a becoming manner, θεῶν θεραπείαν, gave the Magi great authority both with the prince and people, who could offer no ſacrifice without their preſence and miniſtration.

* And before a prince in Perſia could come to the crown, he was oblig'd to receive inſtruction for a certain time from ſome of the Magi, and to learn of them both the art of reigning, and that of worſhipping the gods after a proper manner. Nor did he determine any important affair of the ſtate when he was upon the throne, without taking their advice and opinion beforehand: for which reaſon † Pliny ſays, that even in his time they were look'd npon in all the eaſtern countries as

(g) In Them. p. 126.

* Nec quiſquam rex Perſarum poteſt eſſe, qui non ante magorum diſciplinam ſcientiamque perceperit. *Cic. de Divin. l.* 1. *n.* 91.

† In tantum faſtigii adolevit (auctoritas magorum) ut hodieque etiam in magnâ parte gentium prævaleat, & in oriente regum regibus imperet. *Plin.* l. 30. *c.* 1.

as the maſters and directors of princes, and of thoſe who ſtiled themſelves the kings of kings.

They were the ſages, the philoſophers, and men of learning in Perſia; as the Gymnoſophiſts and Brachmans were amongſt the Indians, and the Druids among the Gauls. Their great reputation made people come from the moſt diſtant countries to be inſtructed by them in philoſophy and religion; and we are aſſur'd it was from them Pythagoras borrow'd the principles of that learning, by which he acquired ſo much veneration and reſpect among the Greeks, excepting only his doctrine of tranſmigration, which he learn'd of the Egyptians, and by which he corrupted and debas'd the antient doctrine of the Magi concerning the immortality of the ſoul.

'Tis generally agreed, that Zoroaſter was the original author and founder of this ſect: but authors are conſiderably divided in their opinions about the time in which he liv'd. (*b*) What Pliny ſays upon this head, may reaſonably ſerve to reconcile that variety of opinions, as is very judiciouſly obſerv'd by Dr. *Prideaux*. We read in that author, that there were two perſons named Zoroaſter, between whoſe lives there might be the diſtance perhaps of ſix hundred years. The firſt of them was the founder of the Magian ſect about the year of the world 2900; and the latter, who certainly flouriſh'd between the beginning of Cyrus's reign in the eaſt, and the end of Darius's, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, was the reſtorer and reformer of it.

Throughout all the eaſtern countries, idolatry was divided into two principal ſects; that of the Sabeans, who ador'd images; and that of the Magians, who worſhip'd fire. The former of theſe ſects had its riſe among the Chaldeans, who, from their knowledge of aſtronomy, and their particular application to the ſtudy of the ſeveral planets, which they believ'd to be inhabited by ſo many intelligences, who were to thoſe orbs what the ſoul of man is to his body, were induc'd

(*b*) Hiſt. Nat. l. 30. c. 1.

to repreſent Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Venus, and Diana, or the Moon, by ſo many images, or ſtatues, in which they imagin'd thoſe pretended intelligences, or deities, were as really preſent as in the planets themſelves. In time, the number of their gods conſiderably increas'd: this image-worſhip from Chaldea ſpread itſelf throughout all the eaſt; from thence paſſed into Egypt; and at length came among the Greeks, who propagated it through all the weſtern nations.

To this ſect of the Sabeans was diametrically oppoſite that of the Magians, which alſo took its riſe in the ſame eaſtern countries. The Magians utterly abhor'd images, and worſhip'd God only under the form of fire; looking upon that, on account of its purity, brightneſs, activity, ſubtilty, fecundity, and incorruptibility, as the moſt perfect ſymbol or repreſentation of the Deity. They began firſt in Perſia, and there and in India were the only places where this ſect was propagated, where they remain even to this day. Their chief doctrine was, that there were two principles; one the cauſe of all good, and the other the cauſe of all evil. The former is repreſented by light, and the other by darkneſs, as their trueſt ſymbols. The good god they name Yazdan and Ormuzd, and the evil god Abraman. The former is by the Greeks called Oromaſdes, and the latter Arimanius. *(i)* And therefore when Xerxes prayed, that his enemies might always reſolve to baniſh their beſt and braveſt citizens, as the Athenians had Themiſtocles, he addreſs'd his prayer to Arimanius, the evil god of the Perſians, and not to Oromaſdes, their good god.

Concerning theſe two gods they had this difference of opinion; that whereas ſome held both of them to have been from all eternity; others contended, that the good god only was eternal, and the other was created. But they both agreed in this, that there will be a continual oppoſition between theſe two, till the

(*i*) Plut. in Themiſt. p. 126.

end

end of the world: that then the good god ſhall overcome the evil god, and that from thence-forward each of them ſhall have his world to himſelf; that is, the good god, his world with all the good; and the evil god, his world with all the wicked.

The ſecond Zoroaſter, who lived in the time of Darius, undertook to reform ſome articles in the religion of the Magian ſect, which for ſeveral ages had been the predominant religion of the Medes and Perſians; but, ſince the death of Smerdis and his chief confederates, and the maſſacre of their adherents and followers, was fallen into great contempt. 'Tis thought this reformer made his firſt appearance in Ecbatana.

The chief reformation he made in the Magian religion, was in the firſt principle of it. For whereas before they had held as a fundamental principle the being of the two ſupreme firſt cauſes; the firſt light, which was the author of all good; and the other darkneſs, the author of all evil; and that of the mixture of theſe two, as they were in a continual ſtruggle with each other, all things were made; he introduc'd a principle ſuperior to them both, one ſupreme God, who created both light and darkneſs; and who, out of theſe two principles, made all other things according to his own will and pleaſure.

But, to avoid making God the author of evil, his doctrine was, that there was one ſupreme being, independent and ſelf-exiſting from all eternity: that under him there were two angels; one the angel of light, who is the author of all good; and the other the angel of darkneſs, who is the author of all evil: that theſe two out of the mixture of light and darkneſs made all things that are; that they are in a perpetual ſtruggle with each other; and that where the angel of light prevails, there good reigns; and that where the angel of darkneſs prevails, there evil takes place; that this ſtruggle ſhall continue to the end of the world; that then there ſhall be a general reſurrection and a day of judgment, wherein all ſhall receive a juſt re-

tribution according to their works. After which the angel of darkneſs and his diſciples ſhall go into a world of their own, where they ſhall ſuffer in everlaſting darkneſs the puniſhments of their evil deeds: and the angel of light and his diſciples ſhall alſo go into a world of their own, where they ſhall receive in everlaſting light the reward due unto their good deeds; that after this they ſhall remain ſeparated for ever, and light and darkneſs be no more mixed together to all eternity. And all this the remainder of that ſect, which is now in Perſia and India, do, without any variation after ſo many ages, ſtill hold even to this day.

'Tis needleſs to inform the reader, that almoſt all theſe articles, tho' alter'd in many circumſtances, do in general agree with the doctrine of the holy ſcriptures; with which it plainly appears the two Zoroaſters were well acquainted, it being eaſy for both of them to have had an intercourſe or perſonal acquaintance with the people of God; the firſt of them in Syria, where the Iſraelites had been long ſettled; the latter at Babylon, to which place the ſame people were carried captive, and where Zoroaſter might confer with Daniel himſelf, who was in very great power and credit in the Perſian court.

Another reformation, made by Zoroaſter in the antient Magian religion, was, that he cauſed temples to be built, wherein their ſacred fires were carefully and conſtantly preſerv'd; and eſpecially that which he pretended himſelf to have brought down from heaven. Over this the prieſts kept a perpetual watch night and day, to prevent its being extinguiſhed.

Whatever relates to the ſect or religion of the Magians, the reader will find very largely and learnedly treated in Dean Prideaux's connexion of the old and new teſtament, *&c.* from whence I have taken this ſhort extract.

Their marriages, and their manner of burying the dead.

Having ſaid ſo much of the religion of the eaſtern nations, which is an article I thought myſelf oblig'd to enlarge

enlarge upon, becauſe I look upon it as an eſſential part of their hiſtory, I ſhall be forced to treat of their other cuſtoms with the greater brevity. Amongſt which, their marriages and burials are too material to be omitted.

(*k*) There is nothing more horrible, or that gives us a greater idea of the profound darkneſs into which idolatry had plung'd mankind, than the public proſtitution of women at Babylon, which was not only authoriz'd by law, but even commanded by the religion of the country, upon a certain feſtival of the year, celebrated in honour of the goddeſs Venus, under the name of Mylitta, whoſe temple, by means of this infamous ceremony, became a brothel, or place of debauchery. (*l*) This wicked cuſtom was ſtill in being when the Iſraelites were carried captive to that criminal city; for which reaſon the prophet Jeremiah thought fit to caution and admoniſh them againſt ſo abominable a ſcandal.

Nor had the Perſians any better notion of the dignity and ſanctity of the matrimonial inſtitution, than the Babylonians. (*m*) I do not mean only with regard to that incredible multitude of wives and concubines, with which their kings filled their ſeraglio's, and of which they were as jealous, as if they had had but one wife, keeping them all ſhut up in ſeparate apartments under a ſtrict guard of eunuchs, without ſuffering them to have any communication with one another, much leſs with perſons without doors. (*n*) It ſtrikes one with horror to read how far they neglected the moſt common laws of nature. Even inceſt with a ſiſter was allow'd amongſt them by their laws, or at leaſt authoriz'd by their Magi, thoſe pretended ſages of Perſia, as we have ſeen in the hiſtory of Cambyſes. Nor did even a father reſpect his own daughter, or a mother the ſon of her own body. (*o*) We read in

(*k*) Herod. l. 1. c. 199.
(*m*) Herod. l. 1. c. 135. Diog. Laer. in Prœm. p. 6.
(*l*) Baruch vi. 42. & 43.
(*n*) Philo. lib. de Special. leg. p. 773.
(*o*) In Artax. p. 1023.

Plutarch, that Paryſatis, the mother of Artaxerxes Mnemon, who ſtrove in all things to pleaſe the king her ſon, perceiving that he had conceived a violent paſſion for one of his own daughters, call'd Atoſſa, was ſo far from oppoſing his unlawful deſire, that ſhe herſelf adviſed him to marry her, and make her his lawful wife, and laugh'd at the maxims and laws of the Grecians, which taught the contrary. For, ſays ſhe to him, carrying her flattery to a monſtrous exceſs, *Are not you yourſelf ſet by God over the Perſians, as the only law and rule of what is becoming or unbecoming, virtuous or vicious?*

This deteſtable cuſtom continued till the time of Alexander the Great, who, being become maſter of Perſia, by the overthrow and death of Darius, made an expreſs law to ſuppreſs it. Theſe enormities may ſerve to teach us from what an abyſs the goſpel has deliver'd us; and how weak a barrier human wiſdom is of itſelf againſt the moſt extravagant and abominable crimes.

I ſhall finiſh this article by ſaying a word or two upon their manner of burying the dead. (*p*) It was not the cuſtom of the eaſtern nations, and eſpecially of the Perſians, to erect funeral piles for the dead, and to conſume their bodies in the flames. (*q*) Accordingly we find that * Cyrus, when he was at the point of death, took care to charge his children to inter his body, and to reſtore it to the earth; that is the expreſſion he makes uſe of, by which he ſeems to declare, that he look'd upon the earth as the original parent, from whence he ſprung, and to which he ought to return. (*r*) And when Cambyſes had offer'd a thouſand indignities to the dead body of Amaſis, king of Egypt, he thought he crown'd all by cauſing

(*p*) Herod. l. 3. c. 16.
(*q*) Cyrop. l. 8. p. 238.
(*r*) Her. l. 3. c. 16.

* Ac mihi quidem antiquiſſimum ſepulturæ genus id fuiſſe videtur, quo apud Xenophontem Cyrus utitur. Redditur enim terræ corpus, & ita locatum ac ſitum quaſi operimento matris obducitur. *Cic. lib. 2. de leg. n. 56.*

it

it to be burnt, which was equally contrary to the Egyptian and Persian manner of treating the dead. It was the custom of the *latter to wrap up their dead in wax, in order to keep them the longer from corruption.

I thought proper to give the larger account in this place of the manners and customs of the Persians, because the history of that people will take up a great part of this work, and because I shall say no more on that subject in the sequel. The treatise of † Barnab. Brisson, president of the parliament of Paris, upon the government of the Persians, has been of great use to me. Such collections as these, when they are made by able hands, save a writer a great deal of pains, and furnish him with matter of erudition, and costs him little, and yet often does him great honour.

ARTICLE V.

The causes of the declension of the Persian empire, and of the change that happened in their manners.

WHEN we compare the Persians, as they were before Cyrus and during his reign, with what they were afterwards in the reigns of his successors, we can hardly believe they were the same people: and we see a sensible illustration of this truth, that the declension of manners in any state is always attended with that of empire and dominion.

Among many other causes, that brought about the declension of the Persian empire, the four following may be look'd upon as the principal: their excessive magnificence and luxury; the abject subjection and slavery of the people; the bad education of their princes, which was the source of all their irregularities; and their want of faith in the execution of their treaties, oaths and engagements.

* Condiunt Ægyptii mortuos, & eos domi servant: Persæ jam cera circumlitos condiunt, ut quàm maximè permaneant diuturna corpora. *Cic. Tuscul. Quæst. lib.* 1, *n.* 108.

† Barnab. Brissonius de regio Persarum principatu, *&c. Argentorati, an.* 1710.

SECT. I. *Luxury and magnificence.*

WHAT made the Perſian troops in Cyrus's time to be look'd upon as invincible, was the temperate and hard life, to which they were accuſtom'd from their infancy, having nothing but water for their ordinary drink, bread and roots for their food, the ground, or ſomething as hard, to lie upon, inuring themſelves to the moſt painful exerciſes and labours, and eſteeming the greateſt dangers as nothing. The temperature of the country where they were born, which was rough, mountainous and woody, might ſomewhat contribute to their hardineſs; for which reaſon Cyrus (*s*) would never conſent to the project of tranſplanting them into a more mild and agreeable climate. The excellent manner of educating the ancient Perſians, of which we have already given a ſufficient account, and which was not left to the humours and fancies of parents, but was ſubject to the authority and direction of the magiſtrates, and regulated upon principles of the public good; this excellent education prepar'd them for obſerving, in all places and at all times, a moſt exact and ſevere diſcipline. Add to this the influence of the prince's example, who made it his ambition to ſurpaſs all his ſubjects in regularity, was the moſt abſtemious and ſober in his manner of life, the plaineſt in his dreſs, the moſt inur'd and accuſtom'd to hardſhips and fatigues, as well as the braveſt and moſt intrepid in the time of action. What might not be expected from ſoldiers ſo form'd and ſo train'd up? By them therefore we find Cyrus conquer'd a great part of the world.

After all his victories he continued to exhort his army and people not to degenerate from their ancient virtue, that they might not eclipſe the glory they had acquir'd, but carefully preſerve that ſimplicity, ſobriety, temperance and love of labour, which were the means by which they had obtain'd it. But I do not know, whether Cyrus himſelf did not at that very time

(*s*) Plut. in Apophth. p. 172.

ſow

ſow the firſt ſeeds of that luxury, which ſoon over-ſpread and corrupted the whole nation. In that auguſt ceremony, which we have already deſcrib'd at large, and on which he firſt ſhew'd himſelf in public to his new conquer'd ſubjects, he thought proper, in order heighten the ſplendor of his regal dignity, to make a pompous diſplay of all the magnificence and ſhew, that could be contriv'd to dazzle the eyes of the people. Among other things he chang'd his own apparel, as alſo that of his officers, giving them all garments made after the faſhion of the Medes, richly ſhining with gold and purple, inſtead of their Perſian cloaths, which were very plain and ſimple.

This prince ſeem'd to forget how much the contagious example of a court, the natural inclination all men have to value and eſteem what pleaſes the eye and makes a fine ſhew, how glad they are to diſtinguiſh themſelves above others by a falſe merit eaſily attain'd in proportion to the degrees of wealth and vanity a man has above his neighbours: he forgot how capable all this together was of corrupting the purity of ancient manners, and of introducing by degrees a general, predominant taſte for extravagance and luxury.

(*t*) This luxury and extravagance roſe in time to ſuch an exceſs, as was little better than downright madneſs. The prince carried all his wives along with him to the wars; and what an equipage ſuch a troop muſt be attended with is eaſy to judge. All his generals and officers follow'd his example, each in proportion to his rank and ability. Their pretext for ſo doing was, that the ſight of what they held moſt dear and precious in the world, would encourage them to fight with the greater reſolution: but the true reaſon was the love of pleaſure, by which they were overcome and enſlaved, before they came to engage with the enemy.

Another inſtance of their folly was, that they carried their luxury and extravagance in the army, with reſpect

(*t*) Xenoph. Cyrop. l. 4. p. 91—99.

to

to their tents, chariots, and tables, to a greater excess, if possible, than they did in their cities. (u) The most exquisite meats, the rarest birds, and the costliest dainties must needs be found for the prince, in what part of the world soever he was encamp'd. They had their vessels of gold and silver without number; * instruments of luxury, says a certain historian, not of victory, proper to allure and enrich an enemy, but not to repel or defeat him.

I do not see what reasons Cyrus could have for changing his conduct in the last years of his life. It must be own'd indeed, that the station of kings requires a suitable grandeur and magnificence, which may on certain occasions be carried even to a degree of pomp and splendor. But princes, possess'd of a real and solid merit, have a thousand ways of making up what they may seem to lose by retrenching some part of their outward state and magnificence. Cyrus himself had found by experience, that a king is more sure of gaining respect from his people by the wisdom of his conduct, than by the greatness of his expences; and that affection and confidence produce a closer attachment to his person, than a vain admiration of unnecessary pomp and grandeur. Be this as it will, Cyrus's last example became very contagious. A taste for vanity and expence first prevail'd at court, then spread itself into the cities and provinces, and in a little time infected the whole nation, and was one of the principal causes of the ruin of that empire, which he himself had founded.

What is here said of the fatal effects of luxury, is not peculiar to the Persian empire. The most judicious historians, the most learned philosophers, and the profoundest politicians, all lay it down as a certain, indisputable maxim, that wherever luxury prevails, it never fails to destroy the most flourishing states and king-

(u) Senec. l. 3. de ira, c. 20.

* Non belli sed luxuriæ apparatum——Aciem Persarum auro purpuraque fulgentem intueri jubebat Alexander, prædam, non armas gestantem. *Q. Curt.*

doms: and the experience of all ages, and all nations, does but too clearly demonstrate this maxim.

What is this subtle, secret poison then, that thus lurks under the pomp of luxury and the charms of pleasure, and is capable of enervating at the same time both the whole strength of the body, and the vigour of the mind? 'Tis not very difficult to comprehend, why it has this terrible effect. When men are accustom'd to a soft and voluptuous life, can they be very fit for undergoing the fatigues and hardships of war? Are they qualified for suffering the rigour of the seasons; for enduring hunger and thirst; for passing whole nights without sleep upon occasion; for going through continual exercise and action; for facing danger and despising death? The natural effect of voluptuousness and delicacy, which are the inseparable companions of luxury, is to render men subject to a multitude of false wants and necessities, to make their happiness depend upon a thousand trifling conveniencies and superfluities, which they can no longer be without, and to give them an unreasonable fondness for life, on account of a thousand secret ties and engagements, that endear it to them, and which by stifling in them the great motives of glory, of zeal for their prince, and love for their country, render them fearful and cowardly, and hinder them from exposing themselves to dangers, which may in a moment deprive them of all those things, wherein they place their felicity.

SECT. II. *The abject submission and slavery of the Persians.*

WE are told by Plato, that this was one of the causes of the declension of the Persian empire. And indeed, what contributes most to the preservation of states, and renders their arms victorious, is not the number; but the vigour and courage of their armies: and, as it was finely said by one of the ancients, (x) *from the day a man loseth his liberty, he loseth one*

(x) Hom. Odyss. v. 322.

half

half of his ancient virtue. He's no longer concern'd for the prosperity of the state, to which he looks upon hemself as an alien; and having lost the principal motives of his attachment to it, he becomes indifferent about the success of public affairs, about the glory or welfare of his country, in which his circumstances allow him to claim no share, and by which his own private condition is not alter'd or improv'd. It may truly be said, that the reign of Cyrus was a reign of liberty. That prince never acted in an arbitrary manner; nor did he think, that a despotic power was worthy of a king; or that there was any great glory in ruling an empire of slaves. His tent was always open; and free access allow'd to every one, that desired to speak to him. He did not live retir'd, but was visible, accessible and affable to all; heard their complaints, and with his own eyes observ'd and rewarded merit; invited to his table, not only his general officers and prime ministers, but even subalterns, and sometimes whole companies of soldiers. The * simplicity and frugality of his table made him capable of giving such entertainments frequently. His aim therein was to animate his officers and soldiers, to inspire them with courage and resolution, to attach them to his person rather than to his dignity, and to make them warmly espouse his glory, and still more the interest and prosperity of the state. This is what may truly be called the art of governing and commanding.

In the reading of Xenophon with what pleasure do we observe, not only those fine turns of wit, that justness and ingenuity in their answers and repartees, that delicacy in jesting and rallery; but at the same time that amiable chearfulness and gaiety which enliven'd their entertainments, from which all vanity and luxury were banish'd, and in which the principal seasoning was a decent and becoming freedom, that prevented all constraint, and a kind of familiarity, which was so

* Tantas vires habet frugalitas Principis, ut tot impendiis tot erogationibus sola sufficiat. *Plin. in paneg. Traj.*

far

far from leſſening their reſpect for the prince, that it gave ſuch a life and ſpirit to it, as nothing but a real affection and tenderneſs could produce. I may venture to ſay, that by ſuch a conduct as this a prince doubles and trebles his army at a ſmall expence. Thirty thouſand men of this ſort are preferable to millions of ſuch ſlaves, as the Perſians became afterwards. In time of action, on a deciſive day of battle, this truth is moſt evident; and the prince is more ſenſible of it than any body elſe. At the battle of Thymbræa, when Cyrus's horſe fell under him, Xenophon takes notice how much it concerns a commander to be lov'd by his ſoldiers. The danger of the king's perſon became the danger of the army; and his troops on that occaſion gave incredible proofs of their courage and bravery.

Things were not caried on in the ſame manner, under the greateſt part of his ſucceſſors. Their only care was to ſupport the pomp of ſovereignty. I muſt confeſs, their outward ornaments and enſigns of royalty did not a little contribute to that end. A purple robe richly embroidered and hanging down to their feet, a tiara, worn upright on their heads with an imperial diadem round it, a golden ſcepter in their hands, a magnificent throne, a numerous and ſhining court, a multitude of officers and guards; theſe things muſt needs conduce to heighten the ſplendor of royalty: but all this, when this is all, is of little or no value. What is that king in reality, who loſes all his merit and his dignity, when he puts off his ornaments?

Some of the eaſtern kings, to procure the greater reverence to their perſons, generally kept themſelves ſhut up in their palaces, and ſeldom ſhewed themſelves to their ſubjects. We have already ſeen, that Dejoces, the firſt king of the Medes, at his acceſſion to the throne, introduc'd this policy, which afterwards became very common in all the eaſtern countries. But 'tis a great miſtake, that a prince cannot deſcend from his grandeur, by a ſort of familiarity, without debaſing

or

or leſſening his greatneſs. Artaxerxes did not think ſo; and (y) Plutarch obſerves, that that prince, and queen Statira, his wife, took a pleaſure in being viſible and of eaſy acceſs to their people: and by ſo doing were but the more reſpected.

Among the Perſians no ſubject whatſoever was allow'd to appear in the king's preſence without proſtrating himſelf before him: and this law, which (z) Seneca with good reaſon calls a Perſian ſlavery, *Perſicam ſervitutem*, extended alſo to foreigners. We ſhall find afterwards, that ſeveral Grecians refus'd to comply with it, looking upon ſuch a ceremony as derogatory to men, born and bred in the boſom of liberty. Some of them, leſs ſcrupulous, did ſubmit to it, but not without great reluctancy: and we are told, that one of them, in order to cover the ſhame of ſuch a ſervile proſtration, (a) purpoſely let fall his ring, when he came near the king, that he might have occaſion to bend his body on another account. But it would have been criminal for any of the natives of the country to heſitate or deliberate about an homage, which the kings exacted from them with the utmoſt rigour.

What the ſcripture relates of two ſovereigns (b) on one hand, whereof the one commanded all his ſubjects, on pain of death, to proſtrate themſelves before his image; and the other on the ſame penalty ſuſpended all acts of religion, with regard to all the gods in general, except to himſelf only; and on the other hand, of the ready and blind obedience of the whole city of Babylon, who ran all together on the firſt ſignal to bend the knee before the idol, and to invoke the king excluſively of all the powers of heaven: all this ſhews to what an extravagant exceſs the eaſtern kings carried their pride, and the people their flattery and ſervitude.

So great was the diſtance between the Perſian king and his ſubjects, that the latter, of what rank or qua-

(y) In Artax. p. 1013. (z) Lib. 3. de Benef. c. 12. & lib. 3. de ira, c. 17. (a) Ælian. l. 1. Var. Hiſtor. cap. 21.
(b) Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. c. iii. Darius the Mede, Dan. c. vi.

lity

lity soever, whether satrapæ, governors, near relations, or even brothers to the king, were only look'd upon as slaves; whereas the king himself was always consider'd, not only as their sovereign lord and absolute master, ~~but as~~ a kind of divinity. (*b*) In a word, the peculiar character of the Asiatics, and of the Persians more particularly than any other, was servitude and slavery; which made (*c*) Cicero say, that the despotic power, some were endeavouring to establish in the Roman common-wealth, was an insupportable yoke, not only to a Roman, but even to a Persian.

It was therefore this arrogant haughtiness of the princes on one hand, and this abject submission of the people on the other, which, according to Plato, (*d*) were the principal causes of the ruin of the Persian empire, by dissolving all the ties, wherewith a king is united to his subjects and the subjects to their king. Such an haughtiness extinguishes all affection and humanity in the former; and such an abject state of slavery, leaves the people neither courage, zeal, nor gratitude. The Persian kings govern'd and commanded only by threats and menaces, and the subjects, neither obey'd nor march'd, but with unwillingness and reluctance. This is the idea Xerxes himself gives us of them in Herodotus, where that prince is represented as wondering, how the Grecians, who were a free people, could go to battle with a good will and inclination. How could any thing great or noble be expected from men, so dispirited and depress'd by slavery, as the Persians were, and reduc'd to such an abject servitude; which, to use the words of Longinus, (*e*) is a kind of imprisonment, wherein a man's soul may be said in some sort to grow little and contracted?

I am unwilling to say it; but I don't know, whether the great Cyrus himself did not contribute to introduce among the Persians, both that extravagant

(*b*) Plut. in Apophth. p. 213. (*c*) L. 10. Epist. ad Attic.
(*d*) L. 3. de Leg. p. 697. (*e*) C. 35.

pride

pride in their kings, and that abject submiſſion and flattery in the people. It was in that pompous ceremony, which I have ſeveral times mentioned, that the Perſians (till then very jealous of their liberty, and very far from being inclin'd to make a ſhameful proſtitution of it by any mean behaviour or ſervile compliances) firſt bent the knee before their prince, and ſtoop'd to a poſture of adoration. Nor was this an effect of chance: for Xenophon intimates clearly enough, that Cyrus, *(f)* who deſir'd to have that homage paid him, had appointed perſons on purpoſe to begin it; whoſe example was accordingly follow'd by the multitude, and by the Perſians as well as the other nations. In theſe little tricks and ſtratagems we no longer diſcern that nobleneſs and greatneſs of ſoul, which had ever been conſpicuous in that prince till this occaſion: and I ſhou'd be apt to think, that being arriv'd at the utmoſt pitch of glory and power, he cou'd no longer reſiſt thoſe violent attacks, wherewith proſperity is always aſſaulting even the beſt of princes, *(g)* *ſecundæ res ſapientium animos fatigant*; and that at laſt pride and vanity, which are almoſt inſeparable from ſovereign power, forc'd him and in a manner tore him from himſelf and his own natural inclinations: *vi dominationis convulſus & mutatus.*

SECT. III. *The wrong education of their princes, another cauſe of the declenſion of the Perſian empire.*

'TIS Plato *(i)* ſtill, the prince of philoſophers, who makes this reflection; and we ſhall find, if we narrowly examine the fact in queſtion, how ſolid and judicious it is, and how inexcuſable Cyrus's conduct was in this reſpect.

Never had any man more reaſon than Cyrus to be ſenſible, how highly neceſſary a good education is to a young prince. He knew the whole value of it with regard to himſelf, and had found all the advantages of

(f) Cyrop. l. 2. p. 215. *(g)* Salluſt. *(h)* Tacit. Annal. l. 6. c. 48. *(i)* Lib. 3. de Leg. p. 694, 695.

it

it by his own experience. (*k*) What he moſt earneſtly recommended to his officers, in that fine diſcourſe he made to them after the taking of Babylon, in order to exhort them to maintain the glory and reputation they had acquir'd, was to educate their children in the ſame manner, as they knew they were educated in Perſia, and to perſevere themſelves in the practice of the ſame manners, as were practis'd there.

Would one believe, that a prince, who ſpoke and thought in this manner, cou'd ever have entirely neglected the education of his own children? Yet this is what happen'd to Cyrus. Forgetting that he was a father, and employing himſelf wholly about his conqueſts, he left that care entirely to women, that is, to princeſſes, brought up in a country, where vanity, luxury and voluptuouſneſs reign'd in the higheſt degree: for the queen, his wife, was of Media. And in the ſame taſte and manner were the two young princes, Cambyſes and Smerdis, educated. Nothing they asked was ever refuſed them: nor were their deſires only granted, but prevented. The great maxim was, that their attendants ſhould croſs them in nothing, never contradict them, nor ever make uſe of reproofs or remonſtrances with them. No one open'd his mouth in their preſence, but to praiſe and commend what they ſaid and did. Every one cring'd and ſtoop'd and bent the knee before them: and it was thought eſſential to their greatneſs, to place an infinite diſtance between them and the reſt of mankind, as if they had been of a different ſpecies from them. 'Tis Plato that informs us of all theſe particulars: for Xenophon, probably to ſpare his hero, ſays not one word of the manner in which theſe princes were brought up, tho' he gives us ſo ample an account of the education of their father.

What ſurpriſes me the moſt is, that Cyrus did not, at leaſt, take them along with him in his laſt campaigns, in order to draw them out of that ſoft and

(*k*) Cyrop. l. 7. p. 200.

effeminate

effeminate courſe of life, and to inſtruct them in the art of war; for they muſt needs have been of ſufficient years: but perhaps the women oppos'd his deſign, and over-rul'd him.

Whatever the obſtacle was, the effect of the education of theſe princes was ſuch as ought to be expected from it. Cambyſes came out of that ſchool what he is repreſented in hiſtory, an obſtinate and ſelf-conceited prince, full of arrogance and vanity, abandoned to the moſt ſcandalous exceſſes of drunkenneſs and debauchery, cruel and inhuman, even to the cauſing of his own brother to be murder'd in conſequence of a dream; in a word, a furious, frantic mad-man, who by his ill conduct brought the empire to the brink of deſtruction.

His father, ſays Plato, left him at his death, a great many vaſt provinces, immenſe riches, with innumerable forces by ſea and land: but he had not given him the means for preſerving them, by teaching him the right uſe of ſuch power.

This philoſopher makes the ſame reflections with regard to Darius and Xerxes. The former, not being the ſon of a king, had not been brought up in the ſame effeminate manner, as princes were; but aſcended the throne with a long habit of induſtry, great temper and moderation, a courage little inferior to that of Cyrus, and by which he added to the empire almoſt as many provinces, as the other had conquered. But he was no better a father than him, and reap'd no benefit from the fault of his predeceſſor, in neglecting the education of his children. Accordingly, his ſon Xerxes was little better than a ſecond Cambyſes.

From all this Plato, after having ſhewn what numberleſs rocks and quickſands, almoſt unavoidable, lie in the way of perſons bred in the arms of wealth and greatneſs, concludes, that one principal cauſe of the declenſion and ruin of the Perſian empire, was the bad education of their princes; becauſe thoſe firſt examples had an influence upon, and became a kind of

rule

rule to, all their ſucceſſors, under whom every thing ſtill degenerated more and more, till at laſt their luxury exceeded all bounds and reſtraints.

SECT. IV. *Their breach of faith, or want of ſincerity.*

(*l*) WE are inform'd by Xenophon, that one of the cauſes, both of the great corruption of manners among the Perſians, and of the deſtruction of their empire, was their want of public faith. Formerly, ſays he, the king, and thoſe that govern'd under him, thought it an indiſpenſable duty to keep their word, and inviolably to obſerve all treaties, into which they had enter'd with the ſolemnity of an oath; and that even with reſpect to thoſe, that had render'd themſelves moſt unworthy of ſuch treatment, through their perfidiouſneſs and inſincerity: and 'twas by this true policy and prudent conduct, that they gain'd the abſolute confidence, both of their own ſubjects, and of all their neighbours and allies. This is a very great encomium given by the hiſtorian to the Perſians, which undoubtedly belongs to the reign of the great Cyrus; (*m*) tho' Xenophon applies it likewiſe to that of the younger Cyrus, whoſe grand maxim was, as he tells us, never to violate his faith, upon any pretence whatſoever, with regard either to any word he had given, any promiſe made, or any treaty he had concluded. Theſe princes had a juſt idea of the regal dignity, and rightly judg'd, that, if probity and truth were renounced by the reſt of mankind, they ought to find a ſanctuary in the heart of a king; who being the bond and center, as it were, of ſociety, ſhould alſo be the protector and avenger of faith engaged, which is the very foundation, whereon the other depends.

Such ſentiments as theſe, ſo noble, and ſo worthy of perſons born for government, did not laſt long. A falſe prudence, and a ſpurious artificial policy ſoon

(*l*) Cyr. l. 8. p. 239. (*m*) De exped. Cyr. l. 1. p. 267.

ſucceeded

ſucceeded in their place. Inſtead of faith, probity and true merit, ſays Xenophon, (*n*) which heretofore the prince us'd to cheriſh and diſtinguiſh, all the chief officers of the court began to be fill'd with thoſe pretended zealous ſervants of the king, who ſacrifice every thing to his humour and ſuppoſed intereſts; † who hold it as a maxim, that falſhood and deceit, perfidiouſneſs and perjury, if boldly and artfully put in practice, are the ſhorteſt and ſureſt expedients for bringing about his enterpriſes and deſigns; who look upon a ſcrupulous adherence in a prince to his word, and to the engagements into which he has enter'd, as an effect of puſillanimity, incapacity and want of underſtanding; and whoſe opinion in ſhort is, that a man is unqualify'd for government, if he does not prefer reaſons and conſiderations of ſtate, before the exact obſervation of treaties, tho' concluded in never ſo ſolemn and ſacred a manner.

The Aſiatic nations, continues Xenophon, ſoon imitated their prince, who became their example and inſtructor in double-dealing and treachery. They ſoon gave themſelves up to violence, injuſtice and impiety: and from thence proceeds that ſtrange alteration and difference we find in their manners, as alſo the contempt they conceiv'd for their ſovereigns, which is both the natural conſequence and puniſhment of the little regard princes pay to the moſt ſacred and awful ſolemnities of religion.

Surely the oath, by which treaties were ſeal'd and ratify'd, and the Deity brought in not only as preſent, but as guarantee of the conditions ſtipulated, is a moſt ſacred and auguſt ceremony, very proper for the ſubjecting of earthly princes to the ſupreme judge of heaven and earth, who alone is qualified to judge

(*n*) Cyrop. l. 8. p. 239.

† Ἐπὶ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι ὧν ἐπιθυμοίη, ξυντομωτάτην ὁδὸν εἶναι δόλῳ τὸν ἐπιόντα, καὶ ψεύδεσθαι, καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν· τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς, τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ πλοῦτε καὶ ἀληθὲς, τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ ἀληθεῖ εἶναι. De exped. Cyr. l. 1. p. 292.

them; and for the keeping all human majesty within the bounds of its duty, by making it appear before the majesty of God, in respect of which it is as nothing. Now, if princes will teach their people not to stand in fear of the supreme Being, how shall they be able to secure their respect and reverence to themselves? When once that fear comes to be extinguish'd in the subjects as well as in the prince, what will become of fidelity and obedience, and by what stays or pillars shall the throne be supported? (*o*) Cyrus had good reason to say, that he look'd upon none as good servants and faithful subjects, but such as had a sense of religion, and a reverence for the Deity: nor is it at all astonishing, that the contempt which an impious prince, who has no regard to the sanctity of oaths, shews of God and religion, should shake the very foundations of the firmest and best establish'd empires, and sooner or later occasion their utter destruction. Kings, says (*p*) Plutarch, when any revolution happens in their dominions, are apt to complain bitterly of their subjects unfaithfulness and disloyalty: but they do them wrong; and forget, that it was themselves who gave them the first lessons of their disloyalty, by shewing no regard to justice and fidelity, which on all occasions they sacrific'd without scruple to their own particular interests.

(*o*) Cyrop. l. 8. p. 204.

(*p*) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 390.

BOOK THE FIFTH.

THE HISTORY OF THE

Origin and firſt Settlement

Of the ſeveral

States and Governments of GREECE.

OF all the antient nations, ſcarce have any been ſo highly celebrated, or furniſhed hiſtory with ſo many valuable monuments and illuſtrious examples, as Greece. In what light ſoever ſhe is conſidered, whether for the glory of her arms, the wiſdom of her laws, or the ſtudy and improvement of arts and ſciences, all theſe ſhe carried to the utmoſt degree of perfection; and it may truly be ſaid, that in all theſe reſpects ſhe has in ſome meaſure been the ſchool of mankind.

It is impoſſible not to be very much affected with the hiſtory of ſuch a nation; eſpecially when we conſider that it has been tranſmitted to us by writers of extraordinary merit, many of whom diſtinguiſh'd themſelves as much by their ſwords, as by their pens; and were as great commanders and able ſtateſmen, as excellent hiſtorians. I confeſs, it is a vaſt advantage to have ſuch men for guides; men of an exquiſite judgment

judgment and conſummate prudence; of a juſt and perfect taſte in every reſpect; and who furniſh not only the facts and thoughts, as well as the expreſſions wherewith they are to be repreſented; but, what is more, who furniſh all the proper reflections that are to accompany thoſe facts; and which are the moſt uſeful improvement reſulting from hiſtory. Theſe are the rich ſources from whence I ſhall draw all that I have to ſay, after I have previouſly enquired into the firſt origin and eſtabliſhment of the Grecian ſtates. As this enquiry muſt be dry, and not capable of affording much delight to the reader, I ſhall be as brief as poſſible. But before I enter upon that, I think it neceſſary to draw a kind of a ſhort plan of the ſituation of the country, and of the ſeveral parts that compoſe it.

ARTICLE I.

A geographical deſcription of ancient Greece.

ANcient Greece, which is now the ſouth part of Turkey in Europe, was bounded on the eaſt, by the Ægean ſea, now called the Archipelago; on the ſouth, by the Cretan, or Candian ſea; on the weſt, by the Ionian ſea; and on the north, by Illyria and Thrace.

The conſtituent parts of ancient Greece, are Epirus, Peloponneſus, Greece properly ſo called, Theſſaly, and Macedonia.

EPIRUS. This province is ſituate to the weſt, and divided from Theſſaly and Macedonia, by mount Pindus, and the Acroceraunian mountains.

The moſt remarkable inhabitants of Epirus are, the MOLOSSIANS, whoſe chief city is Dodona, famous for the temple and oracle of Jupiter. The CHAONIANS, whoſe principal city is Oricum. The THESPROTIANS, whoſe city is Buthrotum, where was the palace and reſidence of Pyrrhus. The ACARNANIANS, whoſe city was Ambracia, which gives its name to the gulf. Near to this ſtood Actium, famous for the victory

tory of Auguſtus Cæſar, who built over-againſt that city, on the other ſide of the gulf, a city named Nicopolis. There were two little rivers in Epirus, very famous in fabulous ſtory, Cocytus and Acheron.

Epirus muſt have been very well peopled in former times; as (*a*) Polybius relates, that Paulus Æmilius, after having defeated Perſeus, the laſt king of Macedonia, deſtroy'd ſeventy cities in that country, the greateſt part of which belong'd to the Moloſſians; and that he carried away from thence no leſs than a hundred and fifty thouſand priſoners.

PELOPONNESUS. This is a peninuſula, now called the Morea, join'd to the reſt of Greece only by the Iſthmus of Corinth, that is but ſix miles broad. 'Tis well known, that ſeveral princes have attempted in vain to cut through this Iſthmus.

The parts of Peloponneſus are ACHAIA, properly ſo called, whoſe chief cities are Corinth, Sicyon, Patræ, &c. ELIS, in which is Olympia, otherwiſe called Piſa, ſeated on the river Alpheus, upon the banks of which the Olympic games uſed to be celebrated. Cyllene, the country of Mercury. MESSENIA, in which are the cities of Meſſene, Pylos, in the laſt of which Neſtor was born, and Corona. ARCADIA, in which ſtood the cities of Tegea, Stymphalos, Mantinea, and Megalopolis, Polybius's native place. LACONIA, wherein ſtood Sparta, or Lacedæmon, and Amyclæ; mount Taygetus; the river Eurotas, and the cape of Tenarus. ARGOLIS, in which was the city of Argos, called alſo Hippium, famous for the temple of Juno; Nemea, Mycenæ, Nauplia, Troezen, and Epidaurus, wherein was the temple of Æſculapius.

GREECE, *properly ſo called.*

The principal parts of this country were, ÆTOLIA, in which were the cities of Chalcis, Calydon and Olenus. DORIS, LOCRIS, inhabited by the Ozolæ. Naupactum, now called Lepanto, famous for the defeat of the Turks in 1571. PHOCIS. Anticyra. Delphos at the

(*a*) Apud Strab. l. 7. p. 322.

foot

foot of mount Parnaſſus, famous for the oracles deliver'd there. In this country alſo was mount Helicon. BEOTIA. Orchomenos. Theſpia. Cheronea, Plutarch's native country. Platæa, famous for the defeat of Mardonius. Thebes. Aulis, famous for its port, from whence the Grecian army ſet ſail for the ſiege of Troy. Leuctra, celebrated for the victory of Epaminondas. ATTICA. Megara. Eleuſis. Decelia. Marathon, where Miltiades defeated the Perſian army. Athens, whoſe ports were Piræus, Munichia, and Phalerus; and mountains Hymettus and Cithæron. LOCRIS.

THESSALY. The moſt remarkable towns of this province were, Gomphi, Pharſalia, near which Julius Cæſar defeated Pompey. Magneſia. Methone, at the ſiege of which Philip loſt his eye. Thermopyles, a narrow ſtrait, famous for the defeat of Xerxes's numerous army by the vigorous reſiſtance of three hundred Spartans. Phthia. Thebes. Lariſſa. Demetrias. The delightful vallies of Tempe, near the banks of the river Peneus. Olympus, Pelion, and Oſſa, three mountains celebrated in fabulous ſtory for the battle of the giants.

MACEDONIA. I ſhall only mention a few of the principal towns of this country. Epidamnus, or Dyrrachium, now called Durazzo. Apollonia. Pella, the capital of the country, and the native place of Philip and of his ſon Alexander the Great. Ægæa. Ædeſſa. Pallene. Olynthus, from whence the Olynthiacs of Demoſthenes took their name. Torone. Arcanthus. Theſſalonica, now called Salonichi. Stagira, the place of Ariſtotle's birth. Amphipolis. Philippi, famous for the victory gain'd there by Auguſtus and Anthony over Brutus and Caſſius. Scotuſſa. Mount Athos: and the river Strymon.

THE GRECIAN ISLES.

There is a great number of iſlands contiguous to Greece, that are very famous in hiſtory. In the Ionian ſea, Corcyra, with a town of the ſame name,

now called Corfu. Cephalene and Zacynthus, now Cephalona and Zant. Ithaca, the country of Ulyſſes, and Dulichium. Near the promontory Malea, over-againſt Laconia, is Cithera. In the Saronic gulf, are Ægina and Salamine, ſo famous for the naval battle between Xerxes and the Grecians. Between Greece and Aſia lie the Sporades: and the Cyclades, the moſt noted of which are Andros, Delos, and Paros, anciently famous for fine marble. Higher up in the Ægean ſea is Eubœa, now Negropont, ſeparated from the main land by a ſmall arm of the ſea, called Euripus. The moſt remarkable city of this iſle was Chalcis. Towards the north is Scyrus, and a good deal higher Lemnos, now called Stalimene; and ſtill further Samothrace. Lower down is Leſbos, whoſe principal city was Mitylene, from whence the iſle has ſince taken the name of Metelin. Chios, Scio, renown'd for excellent wine. And laſtly, Samos. Some of theſe laſt-mention'd iſles are reckon'd to belong to Aſia.

The iſland of Crete, or Candia, is the largeſt of all the iſles contiguous to Greece. It has to the north, the Ægean ſea, or the Archipelago; and to the ſouth, the African ocean. Its principal towns were Gortyna, Cydon, Gnoſſus; its mountains Dicte, Ida, and Corycus. Its labyrinth is famous over all the world.

The Grecians had colonies in moſt of theſe iſles.

They had likewiſe ſettlements in Sicily, and in part of Italy towards Calabria (*b*), which places are for that reaſon called Græcia magna.

(*c*) But their grand ſettlement was in Aſia minor, and particular in Æolis, Ionia, and Doris. The principal towns of Æolis are Cumæ, Phocæa, Elea. Of Ionia, Smyrna, Clazomene, Teos, Lebedus, Colophon and Epheſus. Of Doris, Halicarnaſſus and Cnidos.

They had alſo a great number of colonies diſperſed up and down in different parts of the world, whereof I ſhall give ſome account, as occaſion ſhall offer.

(*b*) Strab. l. 6. p. 253. (*c*) Plin l. 6. c. 2.

ARTI-

ARTICLE II.

Diviſion of the Grecian hiſtory into four ſeveral ages.

THE Grecian hiſtory may be divided into four different ages, all noted by ſo many memorable epocha's, all which together include the ſpace of 2154 years.

The firſt age extends from the foundation of the ſeveral petty kingdoms of Greece, (beginning with that of Sicyone, which is the moſt ancient) to the ſiege of Troy, and comprehends about a thouſand years, namely, from the year of the world 1820 to the year 2820.

The ſecond begins from the taking of Troy to the reign of Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, at which period the Grecian hiſtory begins to be intermix'd with that of the Perſians, and contains the ſpace of ſix hundred ſixty-three years, from the year of the world 2820 to the year 3483.

The third is dated from the beginning of the reign of Darius to the death of Alexander the Great, which is the fineſt part of the Grecian hiſtory, and takes in the term of one hundred and ninety-eight years, from the year of the world 3483 to the year 3681.

The fourth and laſt age commences from the death of Alexander, at which time the Grecians began to decline, and continues to their final ſubjection by the Romans. The epocha of the utter ruin and downfal of the Greeks may be dated, partly from the taking and deſtruction of Corinth by the conſul L. Mummius, in 3858, partly from the extinction of the kingdom of the Seleucides in Aſia by Pompey, in the year of the world 3939, and of the kingdom of the Lagides in Egypt by Auguſtus, *anno mun.* 3974. This laſt age includes in all two hundred and ninety-three years.

Of theſe four diſtinct ages, I ſhall in this place only touch upon the two firſt, in a very ſuccinct manner, juſt to give the reader ſome general notion of that ob-

ſcure period; becauſe thoſe times, at leaſt a great part of them, have more of fable in them than of real hiſtory, and are wrapt up in ſuch darkneſs and obſcurity, as are very hard, if not impoſſible, to penetrate: and I have often declar'd already, that ſuch a dark and laborious enquiry, though very uſeful for thoſe that are for going to the bottom of hiſtory, does not come within the plan of my deſign.

ARTICLE III.

The primitive origin of the Grecians.

IN order to arrive at any certain knowledge concerning the firſt origin of the Grecian nations, we muſt neceſſarily have recourſe to the accounts we have of it in holy ſcripture.

(*d*) Javan or Ion (for in Hebrew the ſame letters differently pointed form theſe two different names) the ſon of Japhet, and grandſon of Noah, was certainly the father of all thoſe nations, that went under the general denomination of Greeks, tho' he has been look'd upon as the father of the Ionians only, which were but one particular nation of the Greeks. But the Hebrews, the Chaldeans, Arabians, and others, give no other appellation to the whole body of the Grecian nations, than that of Ionians. (*e*) And for this reaſon Alexander, in the predictions of Daniel, is mentioned under the name of the king of * Javan.

(*f*) Javan had four ſons, Eliza, Tarſis, Chittim, and Dodanim. As Javan was the original father of the Grecians in general, no doubt but his four ſons were the heads and founders of the chief tribes and principal branches of that nation, which became in ſucceeding ages ſo renown'd for arts and arms.

Eliza is the ſame as Ellas, as it is render'd in the Chaldee tranſlation; and the word Ἕλληνες, which was uſed as the common appellation of the whole people, in the ſame manner as the word Ἕλλας was of the

(*d*) Gen. x. 2. (*e*) Dan. viii. 21. (*f*) Gen. x. 4.
* Hircus caprarum rex Græciæ: *in the Hebrew*, rex Javan.

whole

whole country, has no other derivation. The city of Elis, very antient in Peloponnesus, the Elysian fields, the river Eliſſus, or Ilissus, have long retain'd the marks of their being deriv'd from Eliza, and have contributed more to preserve his memory, than the historians themselves of the nation, who were inquisitive after foreign affairs, and but little acquainted with their own original; because, as they had little or no knowledge of the true religion, they did not carry their enquiries so high. Upon which account, they themselves deriv'd the words Hellenes and Iones from another fountain, as we shall see in the sequel; for I think myself oblig'd to give some account of their opinions also in this respect.

Tharsis was the second son of Javan. He settled, as his brethren did, in some part of Greece, perhaps in Achaia, or the neighbouring provinces, as Eliza did in Peloponnesus.

It is not to be doubted but that Chittim was the father of the Macedonians, according to the authority of the first book of the Maccabees, (*g*) in the beginning of which it is said, that Alexander, the son of Philip the Macedonian, went out of his country, which was that of Cetthim * [or Chittim] to make war against Darius, king of Persia. And, in the eighth chapter, speaking of the Romans and their victories over the last kings of Macedonia, Philip and Perseus †, the two last mentioned princes are call'd kings of the Cetheans.

Dodanim. It is very probable, that Thessaly and Epirus were the portion of this fourth son of Javan. The impious worship of Jupiter of Dodona, as well as the city Dodona ‖ itself, are proofs that some remembrance of Dodanim had remain'd with the people, who deriv'd their first establishment and origin from him.

(*g*) 1 Macc. i. 1.

* Egressus de terrâ Cethim.

† Philippum & Perseum Cetheorum regem. ver. 5.

‖ *Δωδώνη ἀπὸ Δωδάνου τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Εὐρώπης.* Stephanus.

This is all that can be ſaid with any certainty concerning the true origin of the Grecian nations. The holy ſcripture, whoſe deſign is not to ſatisfy our curioſity, but to nouriſh and improve our piety, after ſcattering theſe few rays of light, leaves us in utter darkneſs concerning the reſt of their hiſtory; which therefore can only be collected from prophane authors.

If we may believe (*k*) Pliny, the Grecians were ſo called from the name of an antient king, of whom they had but a very uncertain tradition. Homer, in his poems, calls them Hellenes, Danai, Argives, and Achaians. 'Tis obſervable, that the word *Græcus* is not once uſed in Virgil.

The exceeding ruſticity of the firſt Grecians would appear incredible, if we could call in queſtion the teſtimony of their own hiſtorians upon that article. But a people, ſo vain of their origin, as to adorn it by fiction and fables, we may be ſure would never think of inventing any thing in its diſparagement. (*l*) Who would imagine that the people, to whom the world is indebted for all her knowledge in literature and the ſciences, ſhould be deſcended from mere ſavages, who knew no other law than force, and were ignorant even of agriculture? And yet this appears plainly to be the caſe, from the divine honours they decreed to the perſon (*m*) who firſt taught them to feed upon acorns, as a more delicate and wholſome nouriſhment than herbs. There was ſtill a great diſtance from this firſt improvement to a ſtate of urbanity and politeneſs. Nor did they indeed arrive at the latter, till after a long proceſs of time.

The weakeſt were not the laſt to underſtand the neceſſity of living together in ſociety, in order to defend themſelves againſt violence and oppreſſion. At firſt they built ſingle houſes at a diſtance from one another; the number of which inſenſibly increaſing, form'd in time towns and cities. But the bare living

(*k*) Lib. 4. c. 7.
(*l*) Pauſan. l. 8. p. 455, 45
(*m*) Pelaſgus.

togethe

together in ſociety was not ſufficient to poliſh ſuch a people. Egypt and Phœnicia had the honour of doing this. (*n*) Both theſe nations contributed to inſtruct and civilize the Grecians, by the colonies they ſent among them. The latter taught them navigation, writing, and commerce; the former the knowledge of their laws and polity, gave them a taſte for arts and ſciences, and initiated them into their myſteries.

(*o*) Greece, in her infant ſtate, was expoſed to great commotions and frequent revolutions; becauſe, as the people had no ſettled correſpondence, and no ſuperior power to give laws to the reſt, every thing was determin'd by force and violence. The ſtrongeſt invaded the lands of their neighbours, which they thought moſt fertile and delightful, and diſpoſſeſs'd the lawful owners, who were obliged to ſeek new ſettlements elſewhere. As Attica was a dry and barren country, its inhabitants had not the ſame invaſions and outrages to fear, and therefore conſequently kept themſelves in poſſeſſion of their antient territories: for which reaſon they took the name of αὐτόχθονες, that is, men born in the country where they liv'd, to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the reſt of the nations, that had almoſt all tranſplanted themſelves from place to place.

Such were in general the firſt beginnings of Greece. We muſt now enter into a more particular detail, and give a brief account of the eſtabliſhment of the ſeveral different ſtates, whereof the whole country conſiſted.

ARTICLE IV.

The different ſtates, into which Greece was divided.

IN thoſe early times kingdoms were but inconſiderable, and of very ſmall extent, the title of kingdom being often given to a ſingle city, with a few leagues of land depending upon it.

(*n*) Herod. l. 2. c. 58. & l. 5. c. 58—60. Plin. l. 5. c. 12. & l. 7. c. 56. (*o*) Thucyd. lib. 1. p. 2.

(*p*) SICYON. The moſt antient kingdom of Greece was that of Sicyon; whoſe beginning is plac'd by Euſebius thirteen hundred and thirteen years before the firſt Olympiad. Its duration is believed to have been about a thouſand years.

(*q*) ARGOS. The kingdom of Argos, in Peloponneſus, began a thouſand and eighty years before the firſt Olympiad, in the time of Abraham. The firſt king of it was INACHUS. His ſucceſſors were, his ſon PHORONEUS; APIS; ARGUS, from whom the country took its name; and after ſeveral others, GELANOR, who was dethron'd and expell'd his kingdom by DANAUS, the Egyptian. (*r*) The ſucceſſors of this laſt were firſt LYNCEUS, the ſon of his brother Ægyptus, who alone, of fifty brothers, eſcap'd the cruelty of the Danaides; then ABAS, PROETUS and ACRISIUS.

Of Danae, daughter to the laſt, was born Perſeus, who having, when he was grown up, unfortunately killed his grand-father, Acriſius, and not being able to bear the ſight of Argos, where he committed that involuntary murder, withdrew to Mycenæ, and there fix'd the ſeat of his kingdom.

MYCENÆ. Perſeus then tranſlated the ſeat of the kingdom from Argos to Mycenæ. He left ſeveral ſons behind him: among others Alcæus, Sthenelus and Electryon. Alcæus was the father of Amphitryon; Sthenelus of Euryſtheus; and Electryon of Alcmena. Amphitryon married Alcmena, upon whom Jupiter begat Hercules.

Euryſtheus and Hercules came into the world the ſame day; but as the birth of the former was by Juno's management antecedent to that of the latter, Hercules was forc'd to be ſubject to him, and was oblig'd by his order to undertake the twelve labours, ſo celebrated in fable.

The kings, who reign'd at Mycenæ, after Perſeus,

(*p*) A. M. 1915. Ant. J. C. 2089. (*q*) Euſeb. in Chron. A. M. 2148. Ant. J. C. 1856. (*r*) A. M. 2530. Ant. J. C. 1474.

were

were ELECTRYON, STHENELUS, and EURYSTHEUS. The laſt, after the death of Hercules, declar'd open war againſt his deſcendants, apprehending they might ſome time or other attempt to dethrone him; which, as it happen'd, was done by the Heraclidæ: for, having kill'd Euryſtheus in battle, they enter'd victorious into Peloponneſus, and made themſelves maſters of the country. But, as this happen'd before the time determin'd by fate, a plague enſued, which, with the direction of an oracle, oblig'd them to quit the country. Three years after this, being deceived by the ambiguous expreſſion of the oracle, they made a ſecond attempt, which likewiſe prov'd fruitleſs. This was about twenty years before the taking of Troy.

ATREUS, the ſon of Pelops, uncle by the mother's ſide to Euryſtheus, was the latter's ſucceſſor. And in this manner the crown came to the deſcendants of Pelops, from whom Peloponneſus, which before was call'd Apia, deriv'd its name. The bloody hatred of the two brothers, Atreus and Thyeſtes, is known to all the world.

PLISTHENES, the ſon of Atreus, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of Mycenæ, which he left to his ſon AGAMEMNON, who was ſucceeded by his ſon Oreſtes. The kingdom of Mycenæ was filled with enormous and horrible crimes, from the time it came into the family of Pelops.

TISAMENES and PENTHILUS, ſons of Oreſtes, reigned after their father, and were at laſt driven out of Peloponneſus by the Heraclidæ.

ATHENS. *(r)* CECROPS, a native of Egypt, was the founder of this kingdom. Having ſettled in Attica, he divided all the country, ſubject to him, into twelve diſtricts. He alſo eſtabliſhed the Areopagus.

This auguſt tribunal, in the reign of his ſucceſſor CRANAUS, adjudged the famous difference between Neptune and Mars. In his time happen'd Deucali-

(r) A. M. 2448. Ant. J. C. 1556.

on's

on's flood. The deluge of Ogyges in Attica was much more antient, being a thouſand and twenty years before the firſt Olympiad, and conſequently in the year of the world 2208.

AMPHICTYON, the third king of Athens, procur'd a confederacy between twelve nations, which aſſembled twice a year at Thermopylæ, there to offer their common ſacrifices, and to conſult together upon their affairs in general, as alſo upon the affairs of each nation in particular. This convention was call'd the aſſembly of the Amphictyons.

The reign of ERECTHEUS is remarkable for the arrival of Ceres in Attica, after the rape of her daughter Proſerpine, as alſo for the inſtitution of the myſteries at Eleuſis.

(s) The reign of ÆGÆUS, the ſon of Pandion, is the moſt illuſtrious period of the hiſtory of the heroes. In his time are plac'd the expedition of the Argonauts; the celebrated labours of Hercules; the war of Minos, ſecond king of Crete, againſt the Athenians; the ſtory of Theſeus and Ariadne.

THESEUS ſucceeded his father Ægæus. Cecrops had divided Attica into twelve boroughs, or twelve diſtricts, ſeparated from each other. Theſeus brought the people to underſtand the advantages of common government, and united the twelve boroughs into one city or body politick, in which the whole authority was united.

CODRUS was the laſt king of Athens: he devoted himſelf to die for his people.

(t) After him the title of king was extinguiſhed among the Athenians. MEDON, his ſon, was ſet at the head of the common-wealth with the title of Archon, that is to ſay, preſident, or governour. The firſt Archontes were for life: but the Athenians, growing weary of a government, which they ſtill thought bore too great a reſemblance to royal power,

(s) A. M. 2720. Ant. J. C. 1284. (t) A. M. 2934. Ant. J. C. 1070.

made

made their Archontes elective every ten years, and at last reduc'd it to an annual office.

(*u*) THEBES. CADMUS, who came by sea from the coast of Phœnicia, that is, from about Tyre and Sidon, seiz'd upon that part of the country, which was afterwards call'd Bœotia. He built there the city of Thebes, or at least a citadel, which from his own name he call'd Cadmæa, and there fix'd the seat of his power and dominion.

The fatal misfortune of Laius, one of his successors, and of Jocasta his wife, of Oedipus their son, of Eteocles and Polynices, who were born of the incestuous marriage of Jocasta with Oedipus, have furnished ample matter for fabulous narration and theatrical representations.

SPARTA or LACEDÆMON. It is supposed, that LELIX the first king of Laconia, began his reign about 1516 years before the christian æra.

TYNDARUS, the 9th king of Lacedæmon, had, by Leda, Castor and Pollux, who were twins, besides Helena, and Clitemnestra the wife of Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ. Having survived his two sons, the twins, he began to think of chooſing a successor, by looking out for a husband for his daughter Helena. All the pretenders to this princess bound themselves by oath, to abide by, and entirely to submit to the choice, which the lady herself should make, who determined in favour of Menelaus. She had not lived above three years with her husband, before she was carried off by Alexander Paris, son of Priam, king of the Trojans: which rape was the cause of the Trojan war. Greece did not properly begin to know or experience her united strength, till the famous siege of that city, where the Achilles's, the Ajaxes, the Nestors, and the Ulysses's, gave Asia sufficient reasons to forebode her future subjection to their posterity. The Greeks took Troy after a ten years siege, much about the time that Jephtha governed the people of God, that is, ac-

(*u*) A. M. 2549. Ant. J. C. 1455.

cording

cording to biſhop Uſher, in the year of the world 2820, and 1184 years before Jeſus Chriſt. This epocha is famous in hiſtory, and ſhould carefully be remembred, as well as that of the Olympiads.

An Olympiad is the revolution of four compleat years, from one celebration of the Olympic games to another. We ſhall elſewhere give an account of the inſtitution of theſe games, which were celebrated every four years, near the town of Piſa, otherwiſe called Olympia.

The common æra of the Olympiads begins in the ſummer of the year of the world 3228, 776 years before Jeſus Chriſt, from the games, in which Corebus won the prize in the races.

Fourſcore years after the taking of Troy, the Heraclidæ re-enter'd the Peloponneſus, and ſeiz'd Lacedæmon, where two brothers, Euryſthenes and Procles, ſons of Ariſtodemus, began to reign together, and from their time the ſcepter always continued jointly in the hands of the deſcendants of thoſe two families. Many years after this, Lycurgus inſtituted that body of laws for the Spartan ſtate, which rendered both the legiſlator and republic ſo famous in hiſtory: I ſhall ſpeak of them at large in the ſequel.

CORINTH. (*x*) Corinth began later, than the other cities I have been ſpeaking of, to be govern'd by particular kings. It was at firſt ſubject to thoſe of Argos and Mycenæ: at laſt Siſyphus, the ſon of Æolus, made himſelf maſter of it. But his deſcendants were diſpoſſeſſed of the throne by the Heraclidæ, about 110 years after the ſiege of Troy.

The regal power after this, came to the deſcendants of Bacchis, under whom the monarchy was changed into an ariſtocracy, that is, the reins of the government were in the hands of the elders, who annually choſe from among themſelves a chief magiſtrate, whom they called Prytanis. At laſt Cypſelus having gain'd the people, uſurp'd the ſupreme authority, which he

(*x*) A. M. 2628. Ant. J. C. 1376.

tranſmitted to his ſon Periander; who was ranked among the Grecian ſages, on account of the love he bore to learning, and the protection and encouragement he gave to learned men.

MACEDONIA. It was a long time before the Greeks had any great regard to Macedonia. (*y*) Her *kings*, living retir'd in woods and mountains, ſeem'd not to be conſider'd as a part of Greece. They pretended, that their kings, of whom CARANUS was the firſt, were deſcended from Hercules. Philip and his ſon Alexander raiſed the glory of this kingdom to a very high pitch. It had ſubſiſted 471 years before the death of Alexander, and continued 155 more, till Perſeus was beaten and taken by the Romans, in all 626 years.

ARTICLE V.

Colonies of the Greeks ſent into Aſia minor.

WE have already obſerved, that fourſcore years after the taking of Troy, the Heraclidæ recovered Peloponneſus, after having defeated the Pelopidæ, that is, Tiſamenes and Penthilus, ſons of Oreſtes; and that they divided the kingdoms of Mycenæ, Argos and Lacedæmon among them.

So great a revolution as this almoſt changed the face of the country, and made way for ſeveral very famous tranſmigrations; which the better to underſtand, and to have the clearer idea of the ſituation of the Grecian nations, as alſo of the four dialects, or different idioms of ſpeech, that prevailed among them, it will be neceſſary to look a little farther back into hiſtory.

(*z*) Deucalion, who reign'd in Theſſaly, and under whom happen'd the flood that bears his name, had by Pyrrha his wife, two ſons, Helenus and Amphictyon. This laſt, having driven Cranaus out of Athens, reigned there in his place. Helenus, if we may believe the hiſtorians of his country, gave the name of Hellenes

(*y*) A. M. 3191. Ant. J. C. 1831. (*z*) Strab. l. 8. p. 383, &c. Pauſan. l. 7. p. 396, &c.

to

to the Greeks: He had three ſons, Æolus, Dorus and Xuthus.

Æolus, who was the eldeſt, ſucceeded his father, and beſides Theſſaly had Locris and Bœotia added to his dominions. Several of his deſcendants went into Peloponneſus with Pelops, the ſon of Tantalus, king of Phrygia, from whom Peloponneſus took its name, and ſettled themſelves in Laconia.

The country contiguous to Parnaſſus, fell to the ſhare of Dorus, and from him was called Doris.

Xuthus, compell'd by his brothers, upon ſome particular diſguſt, to quit his country, retired into Attica, where he married the daughter of Evechtheus, king of the Athenians, by whom he had two ſons, Achæus and Ion.

An involuntary murder, committed by Achæus, obliged him to retire to Peloponneſus, which was then called Egialæa, of which one part was from him called Achaia. His deſcendants ſettled at Lacedæmon.

Ion, having ſignalized himſelf by his victories, was invited by the Athenians to govern their city, and gave the country his name: for the inhabitants of Attica were likewiſe called Ionians. The number of the citizens increaſed to ſuch a degree, that the Athenians were obliged to ſend a colony of the Ionians into Peloponneſus, who likewiſe gave the name to the country they poſſeſſed.

Thus all the inhabitants of Peloponneſus, though compoſed of different people, were united under the names of Achæans and Ionians.

The Heraclidæ, fourſcore years after the taking of Troy, reſolved ſeriouſly to recover Peloponneſus, which of right belonged to them. They had three principal leaders, ſons of Ariſtomachus, namely, Timenes, Creſphontes, Ariſtodemus; the laſt dying, his two ſons, Euryſthenes and Procles, ſucceeded him. The ſucceſs of their expedition was as happy, as the motive was juſt, and they recover'd the poſſeſſion of their ancient dominion. Argos fell to Timenes, Meſ-

ſenia to Creſphontes, and Laconia to the two ſons of Ariſtodemus.

Such of the Achæans as were deſcended from Æolus, and had hitherto inhabited Laconia, being driven from thence by the Dorians, who accompanied the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus, after ſome wandering, ſettled in that part of Aſia minor, which from them took the name of Æolis, where they founded Smyrna, and eleven other cities: but the town of Smyrna came afterwards into the hands of the Ionians. The Æolians became likewiſe poſſeſſed of ſeveral cities of Leſbos.

As for the Achæans of Mycenæ and Argos, being compelled to abandon their country to the Heraclidæ, they ſeized upon that of the Ionians, who dwelt at that time in a part of Peloponneſus. The latter fled at firſt to Athens their original country, from whence they ſometime afterwards departed under the conduct of Nileus and Androcles, both ſons of Codrus, and ſeized upon that part of the coaſt of Aſia minor, which lies between Caria and Lydia, and from them was named Ionia; here they built twelve cities, Epheſus, Clazomenæ, Samos, &c.

(*a*) The power of the Athenians, who had then Codrus for their king, being very much augmented by the great number of refugees that were fled into their country, the Heraclidæ thought proper to oppoſe the progreſs of their power, and for that reaſon made war upon them. The latter were worſted in a battle, but ſtill remained maſters of Megaris, where they built Megara, and ſettled the Dorians in that country in the room of the Ionians.

(*b*) One part of the Dorians continued in the country after the death of Codrus, another went to Crete; the greateſt number ſettled in that part of Aſia minor, which from them was called Doris, where they built Halicarnaſſus, Cnidus and other cities, and made themſelves maſters of the iſland of Rhodes, Cos, &c.

(*a*) Strab. p. 393. (*b*) Ibid. p. 653.

The

The Grecian dialects.

It will now be more eaſy to underſtand what we have to ſay concerning the ſeveral Grecian dialects. Theſe were four in number: the Attick, the Ionick, the Dorick, and the Æolick. They were in reality four different languages, each of them perfect in its kind, and uſed by a diſtinct nation; but yet all derived from, and grounded upon the ſame original tongue. And this diverſity of languages can no ways appear wonderful in a country, where the inhabitants conſiſted of different nations, that did not depend upon one another, but had each its particular territories.

1. The Attick dialect is that, which was uſed in Athens and the country round about. This dialect has been chiefly uſed by Thucydides, Ariſtophanes, Plato, Iſocrates, Xenophon, and Demoſthenes.

2. The Ionick dialect was almoſt the ſame with the ancient Attick; but after it had paſſed into ſeveral towns of Aſia minor, and into the adjacent iſlands, which were colonies of the Athenians, and of the people of Achaia, it receiv'd a ſort of new tincture, and did not come up to that perfect delicacy, which the Athenians afterwards attain'd to. Hippocrates and Herodotus writ in this dialect.

3. The Dorick was firſt in uſe among the Spartans, and the people of Argos: it paſſed afterwards into Epirus, Libya, Sicily, Rhodes, and Crete. Archimedes and Theocritus, both of them Syracuſans, and Pindar, followed this dialect.

4. The Æolick dialect was at firſt uſed by the Bœotians and their neighbours, and then in Æolis, a country in Aſia minor, between Ionia and Myſia, which contained ten or twelve cities, that were Grecian colonies. Sappho and Alcæus, of whoſe works very little remains, wrote in this dialect. We find alſo a mixture of it in the writings of Theocritus, Pindar, Homer, and many others.

ARTICLE VI.

The republican form of government almoſt generally eſtabliſhed throughout Greece.

THE reader may have obſerved in the little I have ſaid about the ſeveral ſettlements of Greece, that the primordial ground of all thoſe different ſtates was monarchical government, which was the moſt ancient of all forms, the moſt univerſally received and eſtabliſhed, the moſt proper to maintain peace and concord; and which, as (c) Plato obſerves, is form'd upon the model of paternal authority, and of that gentle and moderate dominion, which fathers exerciſe over their families.

But, as the ſtate of things degenerated by degrees, through the injuſtice of uſurpers, the ſeverity of lawful maſters, the inſurrections of the people, and a thouſand accidents and revolutions, that happened in thoſe ſtates; a different ſpirit ſeized the people, which prevailed over all Greece, kindled a violent deſire of liberty, and brought about a general change of government every where, except in Macedonia; ſo that monarchy gave way to a republican government, which however was diverſified into almoſt as many various forms, as there were different cities, according to the different genius and peculiar character of each people.

However there ſtill remain'd a kind of tincture or leven of the ancient monarchical government, which frequently inflamed the ambition of private citizens, and made them deſire to become maſters of their country. In almoſt every ſtate of Greece, ſome private perſons aroſe, who, without any right to the throne, either by birth, or election of the citizens, endeavoured to advance themſelves to it by cabal, treachery and violence; and who, without any reſpect for the laws, or regard to the public good, exerciſed a ſovereign authority, with a deſpotic empire and arbitrary ſway. In

(c) Plat. l. 3. de Leg. p. 680.

order

order to ſupport their unjuſt uſurpations in the midſt of diſtruſts and alarms, they thought themſelves obliged to prevent imaginary, or to ſuppreſs real conſpiracies, by the moſt cruel proſcriptions; and to ſacrifice to their own ſecurity all thoſe, whom merit, rank, wealth, zeal for liberty, or love of their country, rendered obnoxious to a ſuſpicious and unſettled government, which found itſelf hated by all, and was ſenſible it deſerved to be ſo. It was this cruel and inhuman treatment, that render'd theſe men ſo odious, and brought upon them the appellation of * Tyrants, and which furniſhed ſuch ample matter for the declamation of orators, and the tragical repreſentations of the theatre.

All theſe cities and diſtricts of Greece, that ſeem'd ſo entirely different from one another, in their laws, cuſtoms, and intereſts, were nevertheleſs form'd and combin'd into one ſole, entire, and united body; whoſe ſtrength increaſed to ſuch a degree, as to make the formidable power of the Perſians under Darius and Xerxes tremble; and which even then, perhaps, would have entirely overthrown the Perſian greatneſs, had the Grecian ſtates been wiſe enough to have preſerv'd that union and concord among themſelves, which afterwards rendered them invincible. This is the ſcene, which I am now to open, and which certainly merits the readers whole attention.

We ſhall ſee, in the following volumes, a ſmall nation, confined within a country not equal to the fourth part of France, diſputing empire with the moſt powerful throne then upon the earth; and we ſhall ſee this handful of men, not only making head againſt the innumerable army of the Perſians, but diſperſing, routing, and cutting them to pieces, and ſometimes reducing the Perſian pride ſo low, as to make them ſubmit to conditions of peace, as ſhameful to the conquered, as glorious for the conquerors.

Among all the cities of Greece, there were two,

* *This word originally ſignified no more than king, and was anciently the title of lawful princes.*

that

that particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves, and acquired an authority and a kind of ſuperiority over the reſt, by the mere dint of their merit and conduct: theſe two were Lacedæmon and Athens. As theſe cities make a conſiderable figure, and act an illuſtrious part in the enſuing hiſtory, before I enter upon particulars, I think I ought firſt to give the readers ſome idea of the genius, character, manners and government of their reſpective inhabitants. Plutarch, in the lives of Lycurgus and Solon, will furniſh me with the greateſt part of what I have to ſay upon this head.

ARTICLE VII.

The Spartan government. Laws eſtabliſhed by Lycurgus,

THERE is perhaps nothing in profane hiſtory better atteſted, and at the ſame time more incredible, than what relates to the government of Sparta, and their diſcipline eſtabliſhed in it by Lycurgus. (*d*) This legiſlator was the ſon of Eunomus, one of the two kings who reigned together in Sparta. It would have been eaſy for Lycurgus to have aſcended the throne after the death of his eldeſt brother, who left no ſon behind him: and in effect he was king for ſome days. But as ſoon as his ſiſter-in-law was found to be with child, he declared, that the crown belonged to her ſon, if ſhe had one; and from thenceforth he governed the kingdom, only as his guardian. In the mean time, the widow ſent to him underhand, that if he would promiſe to marry her when he was king, ſhe would deſtroy the fruit of her womb. So deteſtable a propoſal ſtruck Lycurgus with horror: however he concealed his indignation, and amuſing the woman with different pretences, ſo managed it, that ſhe went out her full time and was deliver'd. As ſoon as the child was born, he proclaimed him king; and took care to have him brought up and educated in a proper manner.

(*d*) Plut. in Vit. Lyc. p. 40.

This

This prince, on account of the joy which the people teſtified at his birth, was named Charilaus.

(*e*) The ſtate was at this time in great diſorder; the authority, both of the kings and the laws, being abſolutely deſpiſed and unregarded. No curb was ſtrong enough to reſtrain the audacioufneſs of the people, which every day increaſed more and more.

Lycurgus was ſo courageous as to form the deſign of making a thorough reformation in the Spartan government: and to be the more capable of making wiſe regulations, he thought fit to travel into ſeveral countries, in order to acquaint himſelf with the different manners of other nations, and to conſult the moſt able and experienced perſons he could meet with in the art of government. He began with the iſland of Crete, whoſe hard and auſtere laws were very famous: from thence he paſſed into Aſia, where quite different cuſtoms prevailed; and laſt of all he went into Egypt, which was then the ſeat of ſcience, wiſdom, and good counſels.

(*f*) His long abſence only made his country the more deſirous of his return: and the kings themſelves importun'd him to that effect, being ſenſible how much they ſtood in need of his authority to keep the people within bounds, and in ſome degree of ſubjection and order. When he came back to Sparta, he undertook to change the whole form of their government, being perſuaded, that a few particular laws would produce no great effect.

But before he put this deſign in execution, he went to Delphos, to conſult the oracle of Apollo; where, after having offer'd his ſacrifice, he received that famous anſwer, in which the prieſteſs called him *A friend of the gods, and rather a god than a man.* And, as for the favour he deſired of being able to frame a ſet of good laws for his country, ſhe told him, the god had heard his prayers, and that the commonwealth he was

(*e*) Ib. p. 41. (*f*) Ibid. p. 42.

going

going to eſtabliſh, would be the moſt excellent ſtate in the world.

On his return to Sparta, the firſt thing he did, was to bring over to his deſigns the leading men of the city, whom he made acquainted with his views; when he was aſſured of their approbation and concurrence, he went into the public market-place, accompanied with a number of armed men, in order to aſtoniſh and intimidate thoſe who might deſire to oppoſe his undertaking.

The new form of government, which he introduced into Sparta, may properly be reduced to three principal inſtitutions.

I. INSTITUTION. *The Senate.*

(z) Of all the new regulations or inſtitutions made by Lycurgus, the greateſt and moſt conſiderable was, that of the ſenate; which, by tempering and ballancing, as Plato obſerves, the too abſolute power of the kings by an authority of equal weight and influence with theirs, became the principal ſupport and preſervation of that ſtate. For whereas before, it was ever unſteady and tending one while towards tyranny, by the violent proceeding of the kings; at other times towards democracy, by the exceſſive power of the people; the ſenate ſerved as a kind of counterpoiſe to both, which kept the ſtate in a due equilibrium, and preſerved it in a firm and ſteady ſituation; the twenty-eight * ſenators, of which it conſiſted, ſiding with the king, when the people were graſping at too much power; and on the other hand eſpouſing the intereſts of the people, whenever the kings attempted to carry their authority too far.

Lycurgus, having thus tempered the government, thoſe that came after him thought the power of the thirty, that compoſed the ſenate, ſtill too ſtrong and abſolute; and therefore as a check upon them, they

(z) Plut. in vit. Lycur. p. 42.

* *This council conſiſted of thirty perſons, including the two kings.*

devised the authority of the † Ephori, about an hundred and thirty years after Lycurgus. The Ephori were five in number, and remained but one year in office. They were all chosen out of the people; and in that respect considerably resembled the tribunes of the people among the Romans. Their authority extended to the arresting and imprisoning the persons of their kings, as it happened in the case of Pausanias. The institution of the Ephori began in the reign of Theopompus; whose wife reproaching him, that he would leave his children the regal authority in a worse condition than he had received it; on the contrary, said he, I shall leave it them in a much better condition, as it will be more permanent and lasting.

The Spartan government then was not purely monarchical. The nobility had a great share in it, and the people were not excluded. Each part of this body politick, in proportion as it contributed to the publick good, found in it their advantage; so that in spite of the natural restlessness and inconstancy of man's heart, which is always thirsting after novelty and change, and is never cured of its disgust to uniformity, Lacedæmon persevered for above seven hundred years in the exact observance of her laws.

2. INSTITUTION. *The division of the lands, and the prohibition of gold and silver money.*

(*a*) The second and the boldest institution of Lycurgus was the division of the lands, which he look'd upon as absolutely necessary for establishing peace and good order in the commonwealth. The major part of the people were so poor, that they had not one inch of land of their own, whilst a small number of particular persons were possessed of all the lands and wealth of the country: in order therefore to banish insolence, envy, fraud, luxury, and two other distempers of the state, still greater and more antient than those, I mean extream poverty, and excessive wealth, he per-

(*a*) Plut. in vit. Lyc. p. 44.

† *The word signifies* comptroller, *or* inspector.

suaded

ſuaded the citizens to give up all their lands to the commonwealth, and to make a new diviſion of them, that they might all live together in a perfect equality, and that no pre-eminences or honours ſhould be given but to virtue and merit alone.

This ſcheme, as extraordinary as it was, was immediately executed. Lycurgus divided the lands of Laconia into thirty thouſand parts, which he diſtributed among the inhabitants of the country; and the territories of Sparta into nine thouſand parts, which he diſtributed among an equal number of citizens. It is ſaid, that ſome years after, as Lycurgus was returning from a long journey, and paſſing through the lands of Laconia, in the time of harveſt, and obſerving, as he went along, the perfect equality of the reaped corn, he turned towards thoſe that were with him, and ſaid ſmiling, *Does not Laconia look like the poſſeſſion of ſeveral brothers, who have juſt been dividing their inheritance amongſt them?*

After having divided their immoveables, he undertook likewiſe to make the ſame equal diviſion of all their moveable goods and chattels, that he might utterly baniſh from among them all manner of inequality. But perceiving that this would go more againſt the grain, if he went openly about it, he endeavour'd to effect it, by ſapping the very foundations of avarice. For firſt he cried down all gold and ſilver money, and ordained, that no other ſhould be current than that of iron: which he made ſo very heavy, and fixed at ſo low a rate, that a cart and two oxen were neceſſary to carry home a ſum of ten * minas, and a whole chamber to keep it in.

The next thing he did, was to baniſh all uſeleſs and ſuperfluous arts from Sparta. But if he had not done this, moſt of them wou'd have ſunk of themſelves, and diſappear'd with the gold and ſilver money; becauſe the tradeſmen and artificers would have found no vent for their commodities; and this iron money

* *Five hundred livres French, about* 20 *l. Engliſh.*

had no currency among any other of the Grecian ſtates, who were ſo far from eſteeming it, that it became the ſubject of their banter and ridicule.

3. INSTITUTION. *Of public meals.*

Lycurgus, being deſirous to make a yet more effectual war upon ſoftneſs and luxury, and utterly to extirpate the love of riches, made a third regulation, which was that of public meals. *(b)* That he might intirely ſuppreſs all the magnificence and extravagance of expenſive tables, he ordained, that all the citizens ſhould eat together of the ſame common victuals, which the law preſcribed, and expreſsly forbad all private eating at their own houſes.

By this ſettlement of public and common meals, and this frugality and ſimplicity in eating, it may be ſaid, that he made riches in ſome meaſure change their very nature, by putting them out of a * condition of being deſired or ſtolen, or of inriching their poſſeſſors: for there was no way left for a man to uſe or enjoy this opulence, or even to make any ſhew of it; ſince the poor and the rich eat together in the ſame place, and none were allow'd to appear at the public eating-rooms, after having taken care to fill themſelves with other diet; becauſe every body preſent took particular notice of any one that did not eat or drink, and the whole company was ſure to reproach him with the delicacy and intemperance that made him deſpiſe the common food and public table.

The rich were extremely enraged at this regulation: and 'twas upon this occaſion, that in a tumult of the people a young fellow, named Alexander, ſtruck out one of Lycurgus's eyes. The people, provok'd at ſuch an outrage, deliver'd the young man into Lycurgus's hands, who knew how to revenge himſelf in a proper manner: for by the extraordinary kindneſs and gentleneſs with which he treated him, he made the

(*b*) Ibid. p. 45.

* Τὸν πλεῖστον ἀῤῥυλον, μᾶλλον ἢ ἄζηλον, καὶ ἀῤῥλεστον ἀπεμφάσατο. Plut.

violent

violent and hot-headed young man in a little time become very moderate and wiſe. The tables conſiſted of about fifteen perſons each; where none could be admitted, but with the conſent of the whole company. Each perſon furniſhed every month a buſhel of flour, eight meaſures of wine, five pounds of cheeſe, two pounds and a half of figs, and a ſmall ſum of money for preparing and cooking the victuals. Every one, without exception of perſons, was obliged to be at the common meal: and a long time after the making theſe regulations, king Agis, at his return from a glorious expedition, having taken the liberty to diſpenſe with that law, in order to eat with the queen his wife, was reprimanded and puniſhed.

The very children eat at theſe publick tables, and were carried thither as to a ſchool of wiſdom and temperance. There they were ſure to hear grave diſcourſes upon government, and to ſee nothing but what tended to their inſtruction and improvement. The converſation was often enlivened with ingenious and ſprightly raillery, but never intermix'd with any thing vulgar or ſhocking: and if their jeſting ſeem'd to make any perſon uneaſy, they never proceeded any further. Here their children were likewiſe trained up and accuſtomed to great ſecrecy: as ſoon as a young man came into the dining-room, the oldeſt perſon of the company uſed to ſay to him pointing to the door, *Nothing ſpoken here, muſt ever go out there.*

(*c*) The moſt exquiſite of all their eatables was what they called their *black broth*; and the old men preferred it before all that was ſet upon the table. Dionyſius the tyrant, when he was at one of theſe meals, was not of the ſame opinion; and what was a ragoo to them, was to him very inſipid. I don't wonder at it, ſaid the cook, for the ſeaſoning is wanting. What ſeaſoning, reply'd the tyrant? running, ſweating, fatigue, hunger, and thirſt; theſe are the ingredients, ſays the cook, with which we ſeaſon all our food.

(*c*) Cic. Tuſc. Queſt. lib. 5. n. 98.

4. OTHER ORDINANCES.

(*d*) When I ſpeak of the ordinances of Lycurgus, I do not mean written laws: he thought proper to leave very few of that kind, being perſuaded, that the moſt powerful and effectual means of rendering communities happy, and people virtuous, is by the good example, and the impreſſion made on the mind by the manners and practice of the citizens: for the principles thus implanted by education remain firm and immoveable, as they are rooted in the will, which is always a ſtronger and more durable tie than the yoke of neceſſity; and the youth, that have been thus nurtured and educated, become laws and legiſlators to themſelves. Theſe are the reaſons why Lycurgus, inſtead of leaving his ordinances in writing, endeavoured to imprint and enforce them by practice and example.

He looked upon the education of youth as the greateſt and moſt important object of a legiſlator's care. His grand principle was, that children belonged more to the ſtate, than to their parents; and therefore he would not have them brought up according to their humours and fancies, but would have the ſtate entruſted with the general care of their education, in order to have them form'd upon conſtant and uniform principles, which might inſpire them betimes with the love of their country and of virtue.

(*e*) As ſoon as a boy was born, the elders of each tribe viſited him; and if they found him well made, ſtrong and vigorous, they ordered him to be brought up, and aſſigned him one of the * nine thouſand portions of land for his inheritance; if, on the contrary, they found him to be deformed, tender and weakly, ſo that they could not expect that he would ever have

(*d*) Plut. vit. Lycurg. p. 47.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 48.

* *I do not comprehend, how they could aſſign to every one of theſe children one of the nine thouſand portions, appropriated to the city, for his inheritance. Was the number of citizens always the ſame? Did it never exceed nine thouſand? It is not ſaid in this caſe, as in the diviſion of the holy land, that the portions allotted to a family always continued in it, and could not be entirely alienated.*

a ſtrong

a ſtrong and healthful conſtitution, they condemn'd him to periſh, and cauſed the infant to be expoſed.

Children were accuſtomed betimes not to be nice or difficult in their eating; not to be afraid in the dark, or when they were left alone; not to give themſelves up to peeviſhneſs and ill humour, to crying and bawling; *(f)* to walk bare-foot, that they might be inur'd to fatigue; to lie hard at nights; to wear the ſame cloaths winter and ſummer, in order to harden them againſt cold and heat.

(*g*) At the age of ſeven years they were put into the claſſes, where they were brought up all together under the ſame diſcipline. * Their education, properly ſpeaking, was only an apprenticeſhip of obedience. The legiſlator having rightly conſidered, that the ſureſt way to have citizens ſubmiſſive to the law and to the magiſtrates (in which the good order and happineſs of a ſtate chiefly conſiſts) was to teach children early, and to accuſtom them from their tender years to be perfectly obedient to their maſters and ſuperiors.

(*b*) While they were at table, it was uſual for the maſters to inſtruct the boys by propoſing them queſtions. They would ask them, for example, Who is the honeſteſt man in the town? What do you think of ſuch or ſuch an action? The boys were obliged to give a quick and ready anſwer, which was alſo to be accompanied with a reaſon and a proof, both couched in few words: for they were accuſtomed betimes to the Laconic ſtile, that is, to a cloſe and conciſe way of ſpeaking and writing. Lycurgus was for having the money bulky, heavy, and of little value, and their language on the contrary very pithy and ſhort; a great deal of ſenſe compriſed in few words.

(*i*) As for literature, they only learn'd as much as was neceſſary. All the ſciences were baniſhed out of

(*f*) Xen. de Lac. rep. p. 677. (*g*) Plut. in Lyc. p. 50.
(*b*) P. 51. (*i*) P. 52.

* Ὥϛε τὴν παιδείαν εἶναι μελέτην ἐυπειθείας.

their country: their ſtudy only tended to know how to obey, to bear hardſhip and fatigue, and to conquer in battle. The ſuperintendant of their education was one of the moſt honourable men of the city, and of the firſt rank and condition, who appointed over every claſs of boys maſters of the moſt approv'd wiſdom and probity.

(*k*) There was one kind of theft only (and that too more a nominal than realo ne) which the boys were allow'd, and even order'd to practiſe. They were taught to ſlip, as cunningly and cleverly as they could, into the gardens and public halls, in order to ſteal away herbs, or meat; and, if they were caught in the fact, they were puniſhed for their want of dexterity. We are told, that one of them, having ſtoln a young fox, hid it under his robe, and ſuffered the animal to gnaw into his belly, and tear out his very bowels, till he fell dead upon the ſpot, rather than be diſcovered. This kind of theft, as I have ſaid, was but nominal, and not properly a robbery; ſince it was authoriſed by the law and the conſent of the citizens. The intent of the legiſlator in allowing it, was to inſpire the Spartan youth, who were all deſigned for war, with the greater boldneſs, ſubtilty, and addreſs; to inure them betimes to the life of a ſoldier; to teach them to live upon a little, and to be able to ſhift for themſelves. But I have already given an account of this matter more at large in another treatiſe.

(*l*) The patience and conſtancy of the Spartan youth moſt conſpicuouſly appeared in a certain feſtival, celebrated in honour of Diana ſurnamed Orthia, where the children, before the eyes of their parents, and in preſence of the whole city, (*m*) ſuffer'd themſelves to be whip'd, till the blood ran down upon the altar of this cruel goddeſs, where ſometimes they expired under the ſtrokes, and all this without uttering the leaſt cry, or ſo much as a groan, or a ſigh: and even their own

(*k*) Plut. vit. p. 50. Idem in inſtitut. Lacon. p. 237. (*l*) Mau. d'Etud. T. 3. p. 471. (*m*) Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. lib. 2. n. 34.

fathers,

fathers, when they saw them covered with blood and wounds and ready to expire, exhorted them to persevere to the end with constancy and resolution. Plutarch assures us, that he had seen with his own eyes a great many children lose their lives on these cruel occasions. Hence it is, that Horace (*m*) gives the epithet of patient to the city of Lacedæmon, *Patiens Lacedæmon*; and another author makes a man, who had received three strokes of a stick, without complaining, say: *Tres plagas Spartanâ nobilitate concoxi.*

(*n*) The most usual occupation of the Lacedæmonians was hunting, and other bodily exercises. They were forbid to exercise any mechanic art. The Elotæ, who were a sort of slaves, till'd their land for them, for which they paid them a certain revenue.

(*o*) Lycurgus would have his citizens enjoy a great deal of leisure: they had large common-halls, where the people used to meet to converse together: and tho' their discourses chiefly turn'd upon grave and serious topics, yet they seasoned them with a mixture of wit and facetious humour, both agreeable and instructive. They passed little of their time alone, being accustomed to live, like bees, always together, always about their chiefs and leaders. The love of their country and of the public good was their predominant passion: they did not imagine they belonged to themselves, but to their country. Pedaretus, having miss'd the honour of being chosen one of the three hundred who had a certain rank of distinction in the city, went home extremely pleased and satisfied, saying: *He was overjoy'd there were three hundred men in Sparta more honourable and worthy than himself.*

(*p*) At Sparta every thing tended to inspire the love of virtue, and the hatred of vice: the actions of the citizens, their conversations, public monuments and inscriptions. It was hard for men, brought up in the midst of so many living precepts and examples, not to

(*m*) Ode 7. lib. 1.
(*n*) Plut. in vit. Lycur. p. 54.
(*o*) P. 55
(*p*) Ibid. p. 56.

become virtuous, as far as heathens were capable of virtue. It was to preſerve theſe happy diſpoſitions, that Lycurgus did not allow all ſorts of perſons to travel, leſt they ſhould bring home foreign manners, and return infected with the licentious cuſtoms of other countries, which would neceſſarily create in a little time an averſion for the life and maxims of Lacedæmon. On the other hand, he would ſuffer no ſtrangers to remain in the city, who did not come thither to ſome uſeful or profitable end, or out of mere curioſity; being afraid they ſhould bring along with them the defects and vices of their own countries; and being perſuaded at the ſame time, that it was more important and neceſſary to ſhut the gates of the town againſt depraved and corrupt manners, than againſt infectious diſtempers. Properly ſpeaking, the very trade and buſineſs of the Lacedæmonians was war: every thing with them tended that way: arms were their only exerciſe and employment: their life much leſs hard and auſtere in the camp, than in the city; and they were the only people in the world, to whom the time of war was a time of eaſe and refreſhment; becauſe then the reins of that ſtrict and ſevere diſcipline, which prevail'd at Sparta, were ſomewhat relax'd, and the men were indulg'd in a little more liberty. (*q*) With them the firſt and moſt inviolable law of war, as Demaratus told Xerxes, was never to fly, or turn their backs, whatever ſuperiority of numbers the enemy's army might conſiſt of; never to quit their poſt; never to deliver up their arms; in a word, either to conquer, or to die on the ſpot. (*r*) This maxim was ſo important and eſſential in their opinion, that when the poet Archilochus came to Sparta, they obliged him to leave their city immediately; becauſe they underſtood, that in one of his poems he had ſaid, *It was better for a man to throw down his arms, than to expoſe himſelf to be kill'd.*

(*q*) Herod. l. 7. cap. 104. (*r*) Plut. in Lacon. inſtitut. p. 239.

Hence

* Hence it is, that a mother recommended to her ſon, who was going to make a campaign, that he ſhould return either with or upon his ſhield: and that another, hearing that her ſon was kill'd in fighting for his country, anſwered very coldly; (s) *I brought him into the world for no other end.* This humour was general among the Lacedæmonians. After the famous battle of Leuctra, which was ſo fatal to the Spartans, the parents of thoſe, that died in the action, congratulated one another upon it, and went to the temples to thank the gods that their children had done their duty; whereas the relations of thoſe, who ſurvived the defeat, were inconſolable. If any of the Spartans fled in battle, they were diſhonoured and diſgraced for ever. They were not only excluded from all poſts and employments in the ſtate, from all aſſemblies and public diverſions; but it was reckon'd ſcandalous to make any alliances with them by marriage; and a thouſand affronts and inſults were publickly offered them with impunity.

The Spartans never went to fight without firſt imploring the help of the gods by public ſacrifices and prayers; and when that was done, they marched againſt the enemy with a perfect confidence and expectation of ſucceſs, as being aſſured of the divine protection; and, to make uſe of Plutarch's expreſſions, *As if God were preſent with, and fought for them.*

(t) When they had broken and routed their enemies forces, they never purſued them further than was neceſſary to make themſelves ſure of the victory: after which they retired, as thinking it neither glorious, nor worthy of Greece, to cut in pieces, and deſtroy an enemy, that yielded and fled. And this proved as uſeful, as honourable to the Spartans: for their enemies

(s) Cic. lib. 1. Tuſc. Quæſt. n. 102. Plut. in vit. Ageſ. p. 612.

(t) P. 64.

* Ἄλλη προσαναδιδοῦσα τῷ παιδὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα, καὶ παραπεμπομένη· Τέκνον (ἔφη) ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τᾶς. *Plut. Lacon. apophthegm.* p. 241. *Sometimes they that were ſlain, were brought home upon their ſhields.*

knowing, that all, who reſiſted them, were put to the ſword, and that they ſpar'd none but thoſe that fled, generally choſe rather to fly than to reſiſt.

(*u*) When the firſt inſtitutions of Lycurgus were received and confirmed by practice; and the form of government, he had eſtabliſhed, ſeem'd ſtrong and vigorous enough to ſupport itſelf; as Plato * ſays of God, that after he had finiſhed the creation of the world, he rejoiced, when he ſaw it revolve and perform its firſt motions with ſo much juſtneſs and harmony; ſo the Spartan legiſlator, pleaſed with the greatneſs and beauty of his laws, felt his joy and ſatisfaction redouble, when he ſaw them, as it were, walk alone, and go forward ſo happily.

But deſiring, as far as depended on human prudence, to render them immortal and unchangeable, he ſignified to the people, that there was ſtill one point remaining to be performed, the moſt eſſential and important of all, about which he would go and conſult the oracle of Apollo; and in the mean time he made them all take an oath, that till his return they would inviolably maintain the form of government, which he had eſtabliſhed. When he was arrived at Delphos, he conſulted the god, to know whether the laws he had made were good and ſufficient to render the Lacedæmonians happy and virtuous. The prieſteſs anſwer'd, that nothing was wanting to his laws; and that, as long as Sparta obſerved them, ſhe would be the moſt glorious and happy city in the world. Lycurgus ſent this anſwer to Sparta: and then, thinking he had fulfilled his miniſtry, he voluntarily died at Delphos, by abſtaining from all manner of ſuſtenance. His notion was, that the death of great perſons and ſtateſmen ſhould not be barren and unprofitable to the ſtate, but a kind of ſupplement to their miniſtry, and one of their moſt im-

(*u*) P. 57.

* *This paſſage of Plato is in his Timæus, and gives us reaſon to believe this philoſopher had read what Moſes ſays of God, when he created the world:* Vidit Deus cuncta quæ fecerat, & erant valde bona. *Gen.* i. 31.

portant

portant actions, which ought to do them as much or more honour than all the reſt. He therefore thought, that in dying thus he ſhould crown and compleat all the ſervices which he had render'd his fellow-citizens during his life; ſince his death would engage them to a perpetual obſervation of his inſtitutions, which they had ſworn to obſerve inviolably till his return.

Whilſt that I repreſent Lycurgus's ſentiments upon his own death in the light wherein Plutarch has tranſmitted them to us, I am very far from approving them: and I make the ſame declaration with reſpect to ſeveral other facts of the like nature, which I ſometimes relate without making any reflections upon them, though I think them very unworthy of approbation. The pretended wiſe-men of the heathens had, as well concerning this article as ſeveral others, but very faint and imperfect notions; or, to ſpeak more properly, remained in great darkneſs and error. They laid down this admirable principle, which we meet with in many of their writings: † That man, placed in the world as in a certain poſt by his general, cannot abandon it without the expreſs command of him, upon whom he depends, that is, of God himſelf. At other times they looked upon man, as a criminal condemned to a melancholy priſon, from whence indeed he might deſire to be releaſed, but could not lawfully attempt to be ſo, but by the courſe of juſtice, and the order of the magiſtrate; and not by breaking his chains, and forcing the gates of his priſon. Theſe notions are beautiful; becauſe they are true: but the application they made of them was wrong, namely,

† Vetat Pythagoras, injuſſu imperatoris, id eſt Dei, de præſidio & ſtatione vitæ decedere. *Cic. de ſenect.* n. 73.

Cato ſic abiit è vitâ, ut cauſam moriendi nactum ſe eſſe gauderet. Vetat enim dominans ille in nobis Deus injuſſu hinc nos ſuo demigrare. Cùm verò cauſam juſtam Deus ipſe dederit, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Catoni, ſæpe multis; næ ille, medius fidius, vir ſapiens, lætus ex his tenebris in lucem illam exceſſerit. Nec tamen illa vincula carceris ruperit; leges enim vetant: ſed, tanquam à magiſtratu aut ab aliquâ poteſtate legitimâ, ſic à Deo evocatus atque emiſſus, exierit. *Id.* 1. *Tuſc. Quæſt.* n. 74.

as

as they took that for an expreſs order of the Deity, which was the pure effect of their own weakneſs or pride, by which they were led to put themſelves to death, either that they might deliver themſelves from the pains and troubles of this life, or immortalize their names, as was the caſe with Lycurgus, Cato, and a number of others.

REFLECTIONS *upon the government of Sparta, and upon the laws of Lycurgus.*

1. *Things commendable in the laws of Lycurgus.*

There muſt needs have been (to judge only by the event) a great fund of wiſdom and prudence in the laws of Lycurgus; ſince, as long as they were obſerved in Sparta (which was above five hundred years) it was a moſt flouriſhing and powerful city. It was not ſo much (ſays Plutarch, ſpeaking of the laws of Sparta) the government and polity of a city, as the conduct and regular behaviour of a wiſe man, who paſſes his whole life in the exerciſe of virtue: or rather, continues the ſame author, as the poets feign, that Hercules, only with his lion's ſkin and club, went from country to country to purge the world of robbers and tyrants; ſo Sparta with a ſlip of † parchment and an old coat gave laws to all Greece, which willingly ſubmitted to her dominion; ſuppreſſed tyrannies und unjuſt authority in cities; put an end to wars, as ſhe thought fit, and appeaſed inſurrections; and all this generally without moving a ſhield or a ſword, and only by ſending a ſimple ambaſſador amongſt them,

† *This was what the Spartans call'd a* ſcytale, *a thong of leather or parchment, which they twiſted round a ſtaff in ſuch a manner, that there was no vacancy or void ſpace left upon it. They writ upon this thong, and when they had writ, they untwiſted it, and ſent it to the general, for whom it was intended. This general, who had another ſtick of the ſame ſize with that on which the thong was twiſted and writ upon, wrapt it round that ſtaff in the ſame manner, and by that means found out the connexion and the right placing of the letters, which otherwiſe were ſo diſplaced and out of order, that there was no poſſibility of their being read.* Plut. in vit. Lyſ. p. 444.

who

who no ſooner appear'd, than all the people ſubmitted, and flocked about him like ſo many bees about their monarch: ſo much reſpect did the juſtice and good government of this city imprint upon the minds of all their neighbours.

1. *The nature of the Spartan government.*

We find at the end of Lycurgus's life one ſingle reflection made by Plutarch, which of itſelf comprehends a great encomium upon that legiſlator. He there ſays, that Plato, Diogenes, Zeno, and all thoſe who have treated of the eſtabliſhment of a political ſtate or government, took their plans from the republic of Lycurgus; with this difference, that they confined themſelves wholly to words and theory; but Lycurgus, without dwelling upon ideas and theoretical ſyſtems, did really and effectually inſtitute an inimitable polity, and form a whole city of philoſophers.

In order to ſucceed in this undertaking, and to eſtabliſh the moſt perfect form of a commonwealth that could be, he melted down as it were, and blended together what he found beſt in every kind of government, and moſt conducive to the public good; thus tempering one ſpecies with another, and ballancing the inconveniences to which each of them in particular is ſubject, with the advantages that reſult from their being united together. Sparta had ſomething of the monarchical form of government, in the authority of her kings: the council of thirty, otherwiſe called the ſenate, was a true ariſtocracy; and the power veſted in the people of nominating the ſenators, and of giving ſanction to the laws, reſembled a democratical government. The creation of the Ephori afterwards ſerved to rectify what was amiſs in thoſe previous eſtabliſhments, and to ſupply what was defective. Plato, in more places than one, admires Lycurgus's wiſdom, in his inſtitution of the ſenate, which was equally advantagious both to the king and the people; † becauſe

† Νόμος ἐπειδὴ κύριος ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ὐκ ἄνθρωποι τύραννοι νόμων. Plat. Epiſt. 8.

by

by this means, the law became the only ſupreme miſtreſs of the kings, and the kings never became tyrants over the law.

2. Equal diviſion of the lands: gold and ſilver baniſhed from Sparta.

The deſign formed by Lycurgus of making an equal diſtribution of the lands among the citizens, and of entirely baniſhing from Sparta all luxury, avarice, law-ſuits and diſſenſions, by aboliſhing the uſe of gold and ſilver, would appear to us a ſcheme of a commonwealth finely conceived for ſpeculation, but utterly incapable of execution, did not hiſtory aſſure us, that Sparta actually ſubſiſted in that condition for many ages.

When I place the tranſaction I am now ſpeaking of among the laudable parts of Lycurgus's laws, I don't pretend it to be abſolutely unexceptionable; for I think it can ſcarce be reconciled with that general law of nature, which forbids the taking away one man's property to give it to another; and yet this is what was really done upon this occaſion. Therefore in this affair of dividing the lands, I conſider only ſo much of it, as was truly commendable in itſelf, and worthy of admiration.

Can we poſſibly conceive, that a man could perſuade the richeſt and moſt opulent inhabitants of a city to reſign all their revenues and eſtates, in order to level and confound themſelves with the pooreſt of the people; to ſubject themſelves to a new way of living, both ſevere in itſelf, and full of reſtraint; in a word, to debar themſelves of the uſe of every thing, wherein the happineſs and comfort of life is thought to conſiſt? And yet this is what Lycurgus actually effected in Sparta.

Such an inſtitution as this would have been leſs wonderful, had it ſubſiſted only during the life of the legiſlator; but we know, that it laſted many ages after his deceaſe. Xenophon, in the encomium he has left us of Ageſilaus, and Cicero, in one of his orations, obſerves, Lacedæmon was the only city in the world, that

preſerved her diſcipline and laws for ſo conſiderable a term of years unalter'd and inviolate. (z) *Soli*, ſaid the latter, in ſpeaking of the Lacedæmonians, *toto orbe terrarum ſeptingentos jam annos amplius unis moribus & nunquam mutatis legibus vivunt.* I believe tho', that in Cicero's time the diſcipline of Sparta, as well as her power, was very much relaxed and diminiſhed: but however, all hiſtorians agree, that it was maintained in all its vigour till the reign of Agis, under whom Lyſander, tho' incapable himſelf of being blinded or corrupted with gold, filled his country with luxury and the love of riches, by bringing into it immenſe ſums of gold and ſilver, which were the fruits of his victories, and thereby ſubverting the laws of Lycurgus.

But the introduction of gold and ſilver money was not the firſt wound given by the Lacedæmonians to the inſtitution of the legiſlator. It was the conſequence of the violation of another law ſtill more fundamental. Ambition was the vice, that preceded, and made way for avarice. The deſire of conqueſts drew on that of riches, without which they could not propoſe to extend their dominions. The main deſign of Lycurgus, in the eſtabliſhing his laws, and eſpecially that which prohibited the uſe of gold and ſilver, was, as (a) Polybius and Plutarch have judiciouſly obſerved, to curb and reſtrain the ambition of his citizens; to diſable them from making conqueſts, and in a manner to force them to confine themſelves within the narrow bounds of their own country, without carrying their views and pretenſions any further. Indeed the government, which he eſtabliſhed, was ſufficient to defend the frontiers of Sparta, but was not calculated for the raiſing her to a dominion over other cities.

(b The deſign then of Lycurgus was not to make the Spartans conquerors. To remove ſuch thoughts from his fellow-citizens, he expreſly forbid them, tho' they inhabited a country ſurrounded with the ſea, to

(z) Pro Flac. num. 63.
(a) Polyb. l. 6. p. 491.
(b) Plut. in moribus Laced. p. 239.

meddle

meddle in maritime affairs; to have any fleets, or ever to fight upon the sea. They were religious observers of this prohibition for many ages, and even till the defeat of Xerxes: but upon what occasion they began to think of making themselves masters at sea, that they might be able to keep that formidable enemy at the greater distance. But having soon perceived, that these maritime, remote commands, corrupted the manners of their generals, they laid that project aside without any difficulty, as we shall observe, when we come to speak of king Pausanias.

(*c*) When Lycurgus armed his fellow-citizens with shields and lances, it was not to enable them to commit wrongs and outrages with impunity, but only to defend himself against the invasions and injuries of others. He made them indeed a nation of warriors and soldiers; but it was only, that under the shadow of their arms they might live in liberty, moderation, justice, union and peace, by being content with their own territories, without usurping those of others, and by being persuaded, that no city or state, any more than a single person, can ever hope for solid and lasting happiness, but from virtue only. (*d*) Men of a depraved taste (says Plutarch further on the same subject) who think nothing so desirable as riches, and a large extent of dominion, may give preference to those vast empires, that have subdued and enslaved the world by violence: but Lycurgus was convinced, that a city had occasion for nothing of that kind, in order to be happy. His policy, which has justly been the admiration of all ages, had no further views, than to establish equity, moderation, liberty, and peace; and was an enemy to all injustice, violence, and ambition, and the passion of reigning and extending the bounds of the Spartan commonwealth.

Such reflections as these, which Plutarch agreeably interspersés in his lives, and in which their greatest and most essential beauty consists, are of infinite use towards the giving us true notions of things, and making us

(*c*) Plut. in vit. Lycur. p. 59. (*d*) Ibidem & in vit. Agesil. p. 614.

under-

underſtand, wherein conſiſts the ſolid and true glory of a ſtate, that is really happy; as alſo to correct thoſe falſe ideas we are apt to form of the vain greatneſs of thoſe empires, which have ſwallow'd up kingdoms, and of thoſe celebrated conquerors, who owe all their fame and grandeur to violence and uſurpation.

3. *The excellent education of their youth.*

The long duration of the laws eſtabliſhed by Lycurgus, is certainly very wonderful: but the means he made uſe of to ſucceed therein are no leſs worthy of admiration. The principal of theſe was the extraordinary care he took to have the Spartan youth brought up in an exact and ſevere diſcipline: for (as Plutarch obſerves) the religious obligation of an oath, which he exacted from the citizens, would have been a feeble tie, had he not by education infuſed his laws, as it were, into the minds and manners of the children, and made them ſuck in almoſt with their mother's milk an affection for his inſtitutions. This was the reaſon, why his principal ordinances ſubſiſted above five hundred years, having ſunk into the very temper and hearts of the people, like a * ſtrong and good dye, that penetrates thoroughly. Cicero makes the ſame remark, and aſcribes the courage and virtue of the Spartans, not ſo much to their own natural diſpoſition, as to their excellent education: (z) *Cujus civitatis ſpectata ac nobilitata virtus, non ſolùm naturâ corroborata, verùm etiam diſciplinâ putatur.* All this ſhews of what importance it is to a ſtate to take care, that their youth be brought up in a manner proper to inſpire them with a love for the laws of their country.

(*a*) The great maxim of Lycurgus, which Ariſtotle repeats in expreſs terms, was, that as children belong to the ſtate, ther education ought to be directed by the ſtate, and the views and intereſts of the ſtate only conſider'd therein. 'Twas for this reaſon he deſired they ſhould be educated all in common, and not

(z) Orat. pro Flac. n. 63. (*a*) Lib. 8. Politic.

* Ὥσπερ βαφῆς ἀκράτου καὶ ἰσχυρᾶς καταψαμένης. Plat. Ep. 8.

left

left to the humour and caprice of their parents, who generally, through a ſoft and blind indulgence and a miſtaken tenderneſs, enervate at once both the bodies and minds of their children. At Sparta, from their tendereſt years, they were inur'd to labour and fatigue by the exerciſes of hunting and racing, and accuſtomed betimes to endure hunger and thirſt, heat and cold; and, what 'tis difficult to make mothers believe, all theſe hard and laborious exerciſes tended to procure them health, and make their conſtitutions the more vigorous and robuſt, able to bear the hardſhips and fatigues of war; the thing for which they were all deſigned from their cradles.

4. *Obedience.*

But the moſt excellent thing in the young people ſo perfectly well how to obey. 'Tis from hence the poet Simonides gives that city ſuch a * magnificent epithet, which denotes, that they alone knew how to ſubdue the paſſions of men, and to render them pliant and ſubmiſſive to laws, in the ſame manner as horſes are taught to obey the ſpur and the bridle, by being broken and managed, while they are young. For this reaſon, Ageſilaus adviſed Xenophon to ſend his children to Sparta, † that they might learn there the nobleſt and greateſt of all ſciences, that is, how to command, and how to obey.

5. *Reſpect towards the aged.*

One of the leſſons oftenеſt and moſt ſtrongly inculcated upon the Lacedemonian youth, was, to bear a great reverence and reſpect to old men, and to give them proofs of it upon all occaſions, by ſaluting them, by making way for them and giving them place in the ſtreets, (*b*) by riſing up to ſhew them honour in all companies, and public aſſemblies; but above all, by receiving their

(*b*) Plut. in Lacon. Inſtit. p. 237.

* Δαμοσιμέροτος, *that is to ſay*, Tamer of men.

† Μαθησομένος τῶν μαθημάτων τὸ κάλλιστον, ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν.

advice,

advice, and even their reproofs, with docility and ſubmiſſion: by theſe characteriſtics a Lacedemonian was known wherever he came: if he had behaved otherwiſe, it would have been look'd upon as a reproach to himſelf, and a diſhonour to his country. An old man of Athens going into the theatre once to ſee a play, none of his own countrymen offered him a ſeat: but, when he came near the place, where the Spartan embaſſadors, and the gentlemen of their retinue were ſitting, they all roſe up out of reverence to his age, and ſeated him in the midſt of them. * Lyſander therefore had reaſon to ſay, that old age had no where ſo honourable an abode as in Sparta, and that it was an agreeable thing to grow old in that city.

2dly, Things blameable in the laws of Lycurgus.

In order to perceive the defects in the laws of Lycurgus, we ſhould only compare them with thoſe of Moſes, which we know were dictated by more than human wiſdom. But my deſign in this place, is not to enter into an exact examination of the particulars, wherein the laws and inſtitutions of Lycurgus are faulty: I ſhall content myſelf with making ſome ſlight reflections only, which probably may have already occur'd to the reader, in the peruſal of thoſe ordinances, among which there are ſome, that he will be juſtly offended with on the firſt reading.

1. *The choice made of the children that were either to be brought up or expoſed.*

To begin, for inſtance, with that ordinance relating to the choice they made of their children, as which of them were to be brought up, and which expoſed to periſh; who would not be ſhock'd at the unjuſt and inhuman cuſtom of pronouncing ſentence of death upon all ſuch infants, as had the misfortune to be born with a conſtitution that appear'd too weak to undergo the fatigues and exerciſes, to which the common-wealth deſtined all her

* Lyſandrum Lacedæmonium dicere aiunt ſolitum: Lacedæmone eſſe honeſtiſſimum domicilium ſenectutis. *Cic. de ſen. n.* 63. Ἐν Λακεδαίμονι κάλλιστα γηρᾶσι. Plut. in mor. p. 795.

ſubjects?

ſubjects? Is it then impoſſible, and without exampie, that children, who are tender and weak in their infancy, ſhould ever alter, as they grow up, and become in time of a robuſt and vigorous complexion? Or ſuppoſe it were ſo, can a man no way ſerve his country, but by the ſtrength of his body? Is there no account to be made of his wiſdom, prudence, counſel, generoſity, courage, magnanimity, and in a word, of all the qualities that depend upon the mind and the intellectual faculties? (c) *Omnino illud honeſtum quod ex animo excelſo magnificoque quærimus, animi efficitur, non corporis viribus.* Did Lycurgus himſelf render leſs ſervice, or do leſs honour to Sparta, by eſtabliſhing his laws, than the greateſt generals did by their victories? Ageſilaus was of ſo ſmall a ſtature, and ſo mean a figure in his perſon, that at the firſt ſight of him the Egyptians could not help laughing: and yet, as little as he was, he made the great king of Perſia tremble upon the throne of half the world.

But, what is yet ſtronger than all I have ſaid, has any other perſon a right or power over the lives of men, ſave he from whom they received them, even God himſelf? And does not a legiſlator viſibly uſurp the authority of God, whenever he arrogates to himſelf ſuch a power without his commiſſion? That precept of the decalogue, which was only a renovation of the law of nature, *Thou ſhalt not kill*, univerſally condemns all thoſe among the ancients, who imagined they had a power of life and death over their ſlaves, and even over their own children.

2. *Their care confin'd only to the body.*

The great defect in Lycurgus's laws (as Plato and Ariſtotle have obſerved) is, that they only tended to form a warlike and martial people. All that legiſlator's thoughts ſeem'd wholly bent upon the means of ſtrengthning the bodies of the people, without any concern for the cultivation of their minds. Why ſhould he baniſh from his commonwealth all arts and ſciences,

(c) Cicer. l. 1. de offic. n. 79. Ib. n. 76.

which,

which, beſides many other * advantages, have this moſt happy effect, that they ſoften our manners, poliſh our underſtandings, improve the heart, and render our behaviour civil, courteous, gentle, and obliging; ſuch, in a word, as qualifies us for company and ſociety, and makes the ordinary commerce of life agreeable? Hence it came to paſs, that there was ſomething of a roughneſs and auſterity in the temper and behaviour of the Spartans, and many times even ſomething of ferocity; a failing, that proceeded chiefly from their education, and that render'd them diſagreeable and offenſive to all their allies.

3. *Their barbarous cruelty towards their children.*

It was an excellent practice in Sparta, to accuſtom their youth betimes to ſuffer heat and cold, hunger and thirſt, and by ſeveral ſevere and laborious exercifes to † bring the body into ſubjection to reaſon, whoſe faithful and diligent miniſter it ought to be in the execution of all orders and injunctions; which it can never do, if it be not able to undergo all ſorts of hardſhips and fatigues. But was it rational in them to carry their ſeverities ſo far, as the inhuman treatment we have mentioned? And was it not utterly barbarous and brutal in the fathers and mothers to ſee the blood trickling from the wounds of their children, nay and even to ſee them expiring under the laſhes without concern?

4. *The mothers inhumanity.*

Some people admire the courage of the Spartan mothers, who could hear the news of the death of their children ſlain in battle, not only without tears, but even with a kind of joy and ſatisfaction. For my part, I ſhould think it much better, that nature ſhould ſhew herſelf a little more on ſuch occaſions, and that the love of one's country

* Omnes artes quibus ætas puerilis ad humanitatem informari ſolet. *Cic. Orat. pro Arch.*

† Exercendum corpus, & ita afficiendum eſt, ut obedire conſilio rationique poſſit in exequendis negotiis & labore tolerando. *Lib.* 1. *de offic. n.* 79.

ſhould

ſhould not utterly extinguiſh the ſentiments of maternal tenderneſs. One of our generals in France, who in the heat of battle was told that his ſon was kill'd, ſeem'd to be much wiſer by his anſwer: *Let us at preſent think*, ſaid he, *how to conquer the enemy; to-morrow I will mourn for my ſon.*

5. *Their exceſſive leiſure.* Nor can I ſee, what excuſe can be made for that law, impoſed by Lycurgus upon the Spartans, which injoined the ſpending ſo much of their time in idleneſs and inaction, and the following no other buſineſs than that of war. He left all the arts and trades entirely to the ſlaves, and ſtrangers that lived amongſt them, and put nothing into the hands of the citizens, but the lance and the ſhield. Not to mention the danger there was in ſuffering the number of ſlaves, that were neceſſary for tilling the land, to increaſe to ſuch a degree, as to become much greater than that of their maſters, which was often an occaſion of ſeditions and riots among them; how many diſorders muſt men neceſſarily fall into, that have ſo much leiſure upon their hands, and have no daily occupation or regular labour? This is an inconvenience, ſtill but too common among our nobility, and which is the natural effect of their wrong education. Except in the time of war, moſt of our gentry ſpend their lives in a moſt uſeleſs and unprofitable manner. They look upon agriculture, arts and commerce, as beneath them, and what would derogate from their gentility. They ſeldom know how to handle any thing, but their ſwords. As for the ſciences, they take but a very ſmall tincture of them, juſt ſo much as they cannot well be without; and many of them have not the leaſt knowledge of them in the world, nor any manner of taſte for books or reading. We are not to wonder then, if gaming and hunting, eating and drinking, mutual viſits and frivolous diſcourſe, make up their whole occupation. What a life is this for men, that have any parts or underſtanding!

Lycurgus

6. Their cruelty towards the Helots.

Lycurgus would be utterly inexcusable, if he gave occaſion, as he is accuſed of having done, for all the rigour and cruelty exerciſed towards the Helots in his republic. Theſe Helots were the ſlaves employed by the Spartans to till the ground. It was their cuſtom not only to make theſe poor creatures drunk, and expoſe them before their children, in order to give them an abhorrence for ſo ſhameful and odious a vice, but alſo to treat them with the utmoſt barbarity, as thinking themſelves at liberty to deſtroy them by any violence or cruelty whatſoever, under pretence of their being always ready to rebel.

Upon a certain occaſion, related by (*d*) Thucydides, two thouſand of theſe ſlaves diſappeared at once, without any body's knowing what was become of them. Plutarch pretends, this barbarous cuſtom was not practiſed till after Lycurgus's time, and that he had no hand in it.

7. Modeſty and decency entirely neglected.

But that wherein Lycurgus appears to be moſt culpable, and what beſt ſhews the prodigious enormities and groſs darkneſs the Pagans were plung'd in, is the little regard he ſhew'd for modeſty and decency, in what concerned the education of girls, and the marriages of young women; which was without doubt the ſource of thoſe diſorders, that prevailed in Sparta, as Ariſtotle has wiſely obſerved. When we compare theſe undecent and licentious inſtitutions of the wiſeſt legiſlator that ever prophane antiquity could boaſt, with the ſanctity and purity of the evangelical precepts; what a noble idea does it give us of the dignity and excellence of the chriſtian religion?

Nor will it give us a leſs advantagious notion of this pre-eminence, if we compare the moſt excellent and laudable part of Lycurgus's inſtitutions with the laws of the goſpel. It is, we muſt own, a wonderful thing, that the whole people ſhould conſent to a diviſion of

(*d*) Lib. 4.

their lands, which ſet the poor upon an equal footing with the rich; and that by a total excluſion of gold and ſilver they ſhould reduce themſelves to a kind of voluntary poverty. But the Spartan legiſlator, when he enacted theſe laws, had the ſword in his hand; whereas the chriſtian legiſlator ſays but a word, *Bleſſed are the poor in ſpirit*, and thouſands of the faithful thro' all ſucceeding generations renounce their goods, ſell their lands and eſtates, and leave all to follow Jeſus Chriſt their maſter, in poverty and want.

ARTICLE VIII.

The government of Athens. The laws of Solon. The hiſtory of that republic from the time of Solon to the reign of Darius the firſt.

I HAVE already obſerved, that Athens was at firſt govern'd by kings. But they were ſuch as had little more than the name; for their whole power, being confined to the command of the armies, vaniſhed in time of peace. Every man was maſter in his own houſe, where he lived in an abſolute ſtate of independance. * Codrus, the laſt king of Athens, having devoted himſelf to die for the public good, his ſons Medon and Nileus quarrell'd about the ſucceſſion. The Athenians took this occaſion to aboliſh the regal power, tho' it did not much incommode them; and declar'd, that Jupiter alone was king of Athens; at the very ſame time, that the Jews were weary of their Theocracy, that is, having the true God for their king, and would abſolutely have a man to reign over them.

Plutarch obſerves, that Homer, when he enumerates the ſhips of the confederate Grecians, gives the name of people to none, but the Athenians; from whence it may be inferred, that the Athenians even then had a great inclination to a democratical government, and that the chief authority was at that time veſted in the people.

* *Codrus was contemporary with Saul.*

In

In the place of their kings they ſubſtituted a kind of governors for life, under the title of Archons. But this perpetual magiſtracy appear'd ſtill in the eyes of this free people, as too lively an image of regal power, of which they were deſirous of aboliſhing even the very ſhadow; for which reaſon, they firſt reduced that office to the term of ten years, and then to that of one: and this they did with the view of reſuming the authority the more frequently into their own hands, which they never transferr'd to their magiſtrates but with regret.

Such a limited power as this was not ſufficient to reſtrain thoſe turbulent ſpirits, who were grown exceſſively jealous of their liberty and independency, very tender and apt to be offended at any thing that ſeem'd to break in upon their equality, and always ready to take umbrage at whatever had the leaſt appearance of dominion or ſuperiority. From hence aroſe continual factions and quarrels: there was no agreement or concord among them, either about religion or government.

Athens therefore continued a long time incapable of enlarging her power, it being very happy for her, that ſhe could preſerve herſelf from ruin in the midſt of thoſe long and frequent diſſenſions ſhe had to ſtruggle with.

Misfortunes inſtruct. Athens learn'd at length, that true liberty conſiſts in a dependance upon juſtice and reaſon. This happy ſubjection could not be eſtabliſhed, but by a legiſlator. She therefore pitched upon Draco, a man of acknowledg'd wiſdom and integrity, for that employment. (*e*) It does not appear, that Greece had, before his time, any written laws. The firſt of that kind then were of his publiſhing; the rigour of which anticipating, as it were, the Stoical doctrine, was ſo great, that it puniſhed the ſmalleſt offence, as well as the moſt enormous crimes, equally with death. Theſe laws of Draco, writ, ſays Demades, not with ink, but with blood, had the ſame fate, as uſually attends all violent things. Sentiments of humanity in the judges,

(*e*) A. M. 3380. Ant. J. C. 624.

compaſſion for the accuſed, whom they were wont to look upon rather as unfortunate than criminal, and the apprehenſions the accuſers and witneſſes were under of rendering themſelves odious to the people; all theſe motives, I ſay, concurr'd to produce a remiſſneſs in the execution of the laws; which by that means, in proceſs of time, became as it were, abrogated through diſuſe: and thus an exceſſive rigour pav'd the way for impunity.

The danger of relapſing into their former diſorders, made them have recourſe to freſh precautions; for they were willing to ſlacken the curb and reſtraint of fear, but not to break it. In order therefore to find out mitigations, which might make amends for what they took away from the letter of the law, they caſt their eyes upon one of the wiſeſt and moſt virtuous perſons of his age, (*f*) I mean Solon; whoſe ſingular qualities, and eſpecially his great meekneſs, had acquired him the affection and veneration of the whole city.

His main application had been to the ſtudy of philoſophy, and eſpecially to that part of it, which we call policy, and which teaches the art of government. His extraordinary merit gave him one of the firſt ranks among the ſeven ſages of Greece, who render'd the age we are ſpeaking of ſo illuſtrious. (*g*) Theſe ſages often paid viſits one to another. One day, that Solon went to Miletos, to ſee Thales, the firſt thing he ſaid to Thales was, that he wonder'd why he had never deſir'd to have either wife or children. Thales made him no anſwer then: but a few days after he contrived, that a ſtranger ſhould come into their company, and pretend that he was juſt arriv'd from Athens, from whence he had ſet out about ten days before. Solon, hearing the ſtranger ſay this, aſked him, if there was no news at Athens when he came way. The ſtranger, who had been taught his leſſon, reply'd, that he had heard of nothing, but the death of a young gentleman, whom all the town accompanied to the grave; be-

(*f*) A. M. 3400. Ant. J. C. 604. (*g*) Ib. p. 81, 82.

cauſe,

cauſe, as they ſaid, he was the ſon of the worthieſt man in the city, who was then abſent. Alas! cry'd Solon, interrupting the man's ſtory; how much is the poor father of the youth to be pitied! But, pray, what is the gentleman's name? I heard his name, reply'd the ſtranger; but I have forgot it. I only remember, that people talk'd much of his wiſdom and juſtice. Every anſwer afforded new matter of trouble and terror to this inquiſitive father, who was ſo juſtly alarm'd. Was it not, ſaid he at length, the ſon of Solon? The very ſame, reply'd the ſtranger. Solon at theſe words rent his cloaths, and beat his breaſt, and, expreſſing his ſorrow by tears and groans, abandoned himſelf to the moſt ſenſible affliction. Thales, ſeeing this, took him by the hand, and ſaid to him with a ſmile: comfort yourſelf, my friend; all, that has been told you, is a meer fiction. Now you ſee the reaſon why I never marry'd: 'tis becauſe I don't care to expoſe my ſelf to ſuch trials and afflictions.

Plutarch has given us a large refutation of Thales's reaſoning, which tends to deprive mankind of the moſt natural and reaſonable attachments in life, in lieu of which, the heart of man will not fail to ſubſtitute others of an unjuſt and unlawful nature, which will expoſe him to the ſame pains and inconveniencies. The remedy, ſays this hiſtorian, againſt the grief, that may arrive from the loſs of goods, of friends, or of children, is not to throw away our eſtates and reduce our ſelves to poverty, to make an abſolute renunciation of all friendſhip, or to confine ourſelves to a ſtate of celibacy; but upon all ſuch accidents and misfortunes, to make a right uſe of our reaſon.

(*a*) Athens, after ſome time of tranquillity and peace, which the prudence and courage of Solon had procured, who was as great a warriour as he was a ſtateſman, relapſed into her former diſſenſions about the government of the common-wealth, and was divided into as many parties, as there were different ſorts

(*a*) Plut. de vit. Lycur. p. 85, 86.

of inhabitants in Attica. For thoſe, that liv'd upon the mountains, were fond of popular government; thoſe in the low-lands were for an oligarchy; and thoſe, that dwelt on the ſea-coaſts, were for having a mixt government, compounded of thoſe two forms blended together; and theſe hindered the other two contending parties from getting any ground of each other. Beſides theſe, there was a fourth party, which conſiſted only of the poor, who were grievouſly harraſs'd and oppreſs'd by the rich, on account of their debts, which they were not able to diſcharge. This unhappy party was determined to chooſe themſelves a chief, who ſhould deliver them from the inhuman ſeverity of their creditors, and make an entire change in the form of their government, by making a new diviſion of the lands.

In this extreme danger all the wiſe Athenians caſt their eyes upon Solon, who was obnoxious to neither party; becauſe he had never ſided either with the injuſtice of the rich, or the rebellion of the poor; and they ſollicited him very much to take the matter in hand, and to endeavour to put an end to theſe differences and diſorders. He was very unwilling to take upon him ſo dangerous a commiſſion: however he was at laſt choſen Archon, and was conſtituted ſupreme arbiter and legiſlator with the unanimous conſent of all parties; the rich liking him, as he was rich; and the poor, becauſe he was honeſt. He now had it in his power to make himſelf king: ſeveral of the citizens adviſed him to it; and even the wiſeſt among them, not thinking it was in the power of human reaſon to bring about a favourable change conſiſtent with the laws, were not unwilling the ſupreme power ſhould be veſted in one man, who was ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed for his prudence and juſtice. But, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances that were made to him, and all the ſollicitations and reproaches of his friends, who treated his refuſal of the diadem, as an effect of puſillanimity and meanneſs of ſpirit, he was

ſtill

ſtill firm and unchangeable in his purpoſe, and would hearken to no other ſcheme, than that of ſettling a form of government, in his country, that ſhould be founded upon the baſis of a juſt and reaſonable liberty. Not venturing to meddle with certain diſorders and evils, which he looked upon as incurable, he undertook to bring about no other alterations or changes, than ſuch as he thought he could perſuade the citizens to comply with, by the method of argument and reaſon; or bring them into, by the weight of his authority; wiſely mixing, as he himſelf ſaid, authority and power with reaſon and juſtice. Wherefore, when one afterwards aſked him, if the laws, which he had made for the Athenians, were the beſt: *Yes*, ſaid he, *the beſt they were capable of receiving.*

The ſoul of popular eſtates is equality. But, for fear of diſguſting the rich, Solon durſt not propoſe any equality of lands and wealth; whereby Attica, as well as Laconia, would have reſembled a paternal inheritance, divided among a number of brethren. However he went ſo far as to put an end to the ſlavery and oppreſſion of thoſe poor citizens, whoſe exceſſive debts and accumulated arrears had forced them to ſell their perſons and liberty, and reduce themſelves to a ſtate of ſervitude and bondage. An expreſs law was made, which declar'd all debtors diſcharged and acquitted of all their debts.

(*b*) This affair drew Solon into a troubleſome ſcrape, which gave him a great deal of vexation and concern. When he firſt determined to cancel the debts, he foreſaw, that ſuch an edict, which had ſomething in it contrary to juſtice, would be extremely offenſive. For which reaſon he endeavour'd in ſome meaſure to rectify the tenour of it, by introducing it with a ſpecious preamble, which ſet forth a great many very plauſible pretexts, and gave colours of equity and reaſon to the law, which in reality it had not. But in order hereto, he firſt diſcloſed his deſign to ſome particular

(*b*) Page 87.

friends, whom he uſed to conſult in all his affairs, and concerted with them the form and the terms, in which this edict ſhould be expreſs'd. Now before it was publiſhed, his friends, who were more intereſted than faithful, ſecretly borrow'd great ſums of money of their rich acquaintance, which they laid out in purchaſing of lands, as knowing they would not be affected by the edict. When this appear'd, the general indignation, that was raiſed by ſuch a baſe and flagrant knavery, fell upon Solon, tho' in effect he had no hand in it. But it is not enough for a man in office to be diſintereſted and upright himſelf; all, that ſurround and approach him, ought to be ſo too; wife, relations, friends, ſecretaries and ſervants. The faults of others are charged to his account: all the wrongs, all the rapines, that are committed either through his negligence or connivence, are juſtly imputed to him; becauſe it is his buſineſs, and one of the principal deſigns of his being put into ſuch a truſt, to prevent thoſe corruptions and abuſes.

This ordinance at firſt pleaſed neither of the two parties; it diſguſted the rich, becauſe it aboliſhed the debts; and diſſatisfied the poor, becauſe it did not ordain a new diviſion of the lands, as they had expected, and as Lycurgus had actually effected at Sparta. But Solon's credit at Athens fell very ſhort of that credit and power which Lycurgus had acquired in Sparta; for he had no other authority over the Athenians, than what the reputation of his wiſdom, and the confidence of the people in his integrity, had procur'd him.

However, in a little time afterwards this ordinance was generally approved, and the ſame powers, as before, were continued to Solon.

He repealed all the laws, that had been made by Draco, except thoſe againſt murder. The reaſon of his doing this, was the exceſſive rigour of thoſe laws, which inflicted death alike upon all ſorts of offenders; ſo that they who were convicted of ſloth and idleneſs,

or

or they that only had ſtolen a few herbs, or a little fruit, out of a garden, were as ſeverely puniſhed, as thoſe that were guilty of murder or ſacrilege.

He then proceeded to the regulation of offices, employments and magiſtracies, all which he left in the hands of the rich; for which reaſon he diſtributed all the rich citizens into three claſſes, ranging them according to the differences of their incomes and revenues, and according to the value and eſtimation of each particular man's eſtate. Thoſe, that were found to have five hundred meaſures *per annum*, as well in corn, as in liquids, were placed in the firſt rank; thoſe, that had three hundred, were placed in the ſecond; and thoſe, that had but two hundred, made up the third.

(*c*) All the reſt of the citizens, whoſe income fell ſhort of two hundred meaſures, were compriſed in a fourth and laſt claſs, and were never admitted into any employments. But, in order to make them amends for this excluſion from offices, he left them a right to vote in the aſſemblies and judgments of the people; which at firſt ſeem'd to be a matter of little conſequence, but in time became extremely advantageous, and made them maſters of all the affairs of the city: for moſt of the law-ſuits and differences returned to the people, to whom an appeal lay from all the judgments of the magiſtrates; and in the aſſemblies of the people the greateſt and moſt important affairs of the ſtate, relating to peace or war, were alſo determin'd.

The Areopagus, ſo called from the * place where its aſſemblies were held, had been a long time eſtabliſhed. Solon reſtored and augmented its authority, leaving to that tribunal, as the ſupreme court of judicature, a general inſpection and ſuper-intendency over all affairs, as alſo the care of cauſing the laws (of which ſhe was the guardian) to be obſerved and put in exe-

(*c*) Page 38.

* *This was an hill near the citadel of Athens, call'd Areopagus, that is to ſay,* The hill of Mars; *becauſe it was there Mars had been tried for the murder of Halirrothius, the ſon of Neptune.*

cution. Before his time, the citizens of the greateſt probity and juſtice were made the judges of the Areopagus. Solon was the firſt that thought it convenient that none ſhould be honour'd with that dignity, except ſuch as had paſs'd through the office of Archon. (a) Nothing was ſo auguſt as this ſenate; and its reputation for judgment and integrity became ſo very great, that the Romans ſometimes referr'd cauſes, which were too intricate for their own deciſion, to the determination of this tribunal.

Nothing was regarded or attended to here, but truth only; and to the end that no external objects might divert the attention of the judges, their tribunal was always held at night, or in the dark; and the orators were not allowed to make uſe of any exordium, digreſſion or peroration.

Solon, to prevent, as much as poſſible, the abuſe which the people might make of the great authority he left them, created a ſecond council, conſiſting of four hundred men, a hundred out of every tribe; and ordered all cauſes and affairs to be brought before this council, and to be maturely examined by them, before they were propoſed to the general aſſembly of the people; to the judgment of which the ſentiments of the other were to ſubmit, and to which alone belonged the right of giving a final ſentence and deciſion. 'Twas upon this ſubject Anacharſis (whom the reputation of the ſages of Greece had brought from the middle of Scythia) ſaid one day to Solon, I wonder you ſhould empower the wiſe men only to deliberate and debate upon affairs, and leave the determination and deciſion of them wholly to fools.

Upon another occaſion, when Solon was conver-ſing with him upon ſome other regulations he had in view, Anacharſis, aſtoniſhed that he could expect to ſucceed in his deſigns of reſtraining the avarice and injuſtice of the citizens by written laws, anſwer'd him in this manner: "Give me leave to tell you, that your

(a) Val. Max. l. 8. c. 1. Lucian in Hermot. p. 595. Quintil. l. 6. c. 1.

"writings

" writings are juſt like ſpiders-webs: the weak and " ſmall flies may be caught and entangled in them; " but the rich and powerful will break through them, " and deſpiſe them."

Solon, who was an able and prudent man, was very ſenſible of the inconveniencies that attend a democracy, or popular government. But, having throughly ſtudied, and being perfectly well acquainted with the character and diſpoſition of the Athenians, he knew it would be a vain attempt to take the ſovereignty out of the people's hands; and that if they parted with it at one time, they would ſoon reſume it at another by force and violence. He therefore contented himſelf with limiting their power by the authority of the Areopagus and the council of four hundred; judging, that the ſtate, being ſupported and ſtrengthened by theſe two powerful bodies, as by two good anchors, would not be ſo liable to commotions and diſorders as it had been, and that the people would be kept within due bounds, and enjoy more tranquillity.

I ſhall only mention ſome of the laws which Solon made, by which the reader may be able to form a judgment of the reſt. (*a*) In the firſt place, every particular perſon was authoriſed to eſpouſe the quarrel of any one that was injured and inſulted; ſo that the firſt comer might proſecute the offender and bring him to juſtice for the outrage he had committed.

The deſign of this wiſe legiſlator by this ordinance was to accuſtom his citizens to have a fellow-feeling of one another's ſufferings and misfortunes, as they were all members of one and the ſame body.

(*b*) By another law, thoſe perſons, that in public differences and diſſenſions did not declare themſelves of one party or other, but waited to ſee how things would go, before they determined; were declared infamous, condemn'd to perpetual baniſhment, and to have all their eſtates confiſcated. Solon had learnt from long experience and deep reflection, that the rich, the pow-

(*a*) Page 83. (*b*) Page 89.

erful,

erful, and even the wiſe and virtuous, are uſually the moſt backward to expoſe themſelves to the inconveniencies, which pubiic diſſenſions and troubles produce in ſociety; and that their zeal for the public good does not render them ſo vigilant and active in the defence of it, as the paſſions of the factious render them induſtrious to deſtroy it; that the juſt party, being thus abandoned by thoſe that are capable of giving more weight, authority and ſtrength to it, by their union and concurrence, becomes unable to grapple with the audacious and violent enterpriſes of a few daring innovators. To prevent this misfortue, which may be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences to a ſtate, Solon judged it proper to force the well-affected, by the fear of greater inconveniencies to themſelves, to declare for the juſt party, at the very beginning of ſeditions, and to animate the ſpirits and courage of the beſt citizens by engaging with them in the common danger. By this method of accuſtoming the minds of the people to look upon that man almoſt as an enemy and a traytor, that ſhould appear indifferent to, and unconcerned at, the misfortunes of the public, he provided the ſtate with a quick and ſure recourſe againſt the ſudden enterpriſes of wicked and profligate citizens.

(c) Solon aboliſhed the giving of portions in marriage with young women, unleſs they were only daughters; and ordered, that the bride ſhould carry no other fortune to her huſband, than three ſuits of cloaths, and ſome few houſhold-goods of little value: for he would not have matrimony become a traffick, and a mere commerce of intereſt; but deſired, that it ſhould be regarded, as an honourable fellowſhip and ſociety, in order to raiſe ſubjects to the ſtate, to make the married pair live agreeably and harmoniouſly together, and to give continual teſtimony of mutual love and tenderneſs to each other.

Before Solon's time, the Athenians were not allow'd to make their wills: the wealth of the deceaſed always

(c) Ibid.

devolv'd

devolv'd upon his children and family. Solon's law allow'd every one, that was childleſs, to diſpoſe of his whole eſtate as he thought fit; preferring by that means friendſhip to kindred, and choice to neceſſity and conſtraint, and rendering every man truly maſter of his own fortune, by leaving him at liberty to beſtow it where he pleas'd. This law however did not authoriſe indifferently all ſorts of donations: it juſtified and approved of none, but thoſe that were made freely and without any compuliion; without having the mind diſtemper'd and intoxicated with drinks or charms, or perverted and ſeduced by the allurements and careſſes of a woman: for this wiſe law-giver was juſtly perſuaded, that there is no difference to be made between being ſeduced and being forced, looking upon artifice and violence, pleaſure and pain in the ſame light, when they are made uſe of as means to impoſe upon men's reaſon, and to captivate the liberty of their underſtandings.

(*d*) Another regulation he made was to leſſen the rewards of the victors at the Iſthmian and Olympic games, and to fix them at a certain value, viz. a hundred drachmas, which make about fifty livres, for the firſt ſort; and five hundred drachmas, or two hundred and fifty livres, for the ſecond. He thought it a ſhameful thing, that athletæ and wreſtlers, a ſort of people, not only uſeleſs, but often dangerous to the ſtate, ſhould have any conſiderable rewards allotted them, which ought rather to be reſerved for the families of thoſe perſons who died in the ſervice of their country; it being very juſt and reaſonable, that the ſtate ſhould ſupport and provide for ſuch orphans, who probably might come in time to follow the good examples of their fathers.

In order to encourage arts, trades and manufactures, the ſenate of the Areopagus was charg'd with the care of inquiring into ways and means that every man made uſe of to get his livelihood; and of chaſtiſing and pu-

(*d*) Plut. p. 91. Diog. Laert. in Solon. p. 37.

niſhing

niſhing all thoſe who led an idle life. Beſides the fore-mentioned view of bringing arts and trades into a flouriſhing condition, this regulation was founded upon two other reaſons ſtill more important.

1. Solon conſider'd, that ſuch perſons as have no fortune, and make uſe of no methods of induſtry to get their livelihood, are ready to employ all manner of unjuſt and unlawful means for acquiring money; and that the neceſſity of ſubſiſting ſome way or other diſpoſes them for committing all ſorts of miſdemeanors, rapines, knaveries and frauds: from which ſprings up a ſchool of vice in the boſom of the commonwealth; and ſuch a leaven gains ground, as does not fail to ſpread its infection, and by degrees corrupt the manners of the public.

In the ſecond place, the moſt able ſtateſmen have always look'd upon theſe indigent and idle people, as a troop of dangerous, reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirits, eager after innovation aud change, always ready for ſeditions and inſurrections, and intereſted in revolutions of the ſtate, by which alone they can hope to change their own ſituation and fortune. It was for all theſe reaſons, that in the law we are ſpeaking of Solon declar'd, that a ſon ſhould not be obliged to ſupport his father in old age or neceſſity, if the latter had not taken care to have his ſon brought up to ſome trade or occupation: All children that were ſpurious and illegitimate, were exempted from the ſame duty: for 'tis evident, ſays Solon, that whoever contemns the dignity and ſanctity of matrimony in ſuch a manner, has never had in view the lawful end we ought to propoſe to ourſelves in having children, but only the gratification of a looſe paſſion. Having then ſatisfied his own deſires, and had the end he propos'd to himſelf, he has no proper right over the perſons he begot, upon whoſe lives, as well as births, he has entailed an indelible infamy and reproach.

(*e*) It was prohibited to ſpeak any ill of the dead; becauſe religion directs us to account the dead as ſacred,

(*e*) Page 89.

juſtice

juſtice requires us to ſpare thoſe that are no more, and good policy ſhould hinder hatreds from becoming immortal.

It was alſo forbidden to affront, or give ill language to any body in the temples, in courts of judicature, in public aſſemblies, and in the theatres, during the time of repreſentation: for to be no-where able to govern our paſſions and reſentments, argues too untractable and licentious a diſpoſition; as to reſtrain them at all times, and upon all occaſions, is a virtue beyond the mere force of human nature, and a perfection reſerved for the evangelical law.

Cicero obſerves, that this wiſe legiſlator of Athens, whoſe laws were in force even in his time, had provided no law againſt parricide; and being aſked the reaſon why he had not, he anſwer'd, * *That to make laws againſt, and ordain puniſhments for a crime, that had never been known or heard of, was the way to introduce it, rather than to prevent it.* I omit ſeveral of his laws concerning marriage and adultery, in which there are remarkable and manifeſt contradictions, and a great mixture of light and darkneſs, knowledge and error, which we generally find among the very wiſeſt of the heathens, who had no eſtabliſhed principles or rules to go by.

After Solon had publiſhed his laws, and engaged the people by public oath to obſerve them religiouſly, at leaſt for the term of a hundred years, he thought proper to remove from Athens, in order to give them time to take root, and to gather ſtrength by cuſtom; as alſo to rid himſelf of the trouble and importunity of thoſe, who came to conſult hm about the ſenſe and meaning of his laws, and to avoid the complaints and odium of others: for, as he ſaid himſelf, in great undertakings it is hard (if not impoſſible) to pleaſe all parties. He was abſent ten years, in which interval of

* Sapienter feciſſe dicitur, cùm de eo nihil ſanxerit, quod antea commiſſum non erat; ne, non tam prohibere, quàm admonere, videretur. *Pro Roſc. Amer. n.* 70.

time

time we are to place his journeys into Egypt, into Lydia, to visit king Crœsus, and into several other countries. (*f*) At his return he found the whole city in commotion and trouble; the three old factions were revived, and had form'd three different parties. Lycurgus was at the head of the people that inhabited the low lands: Megacles, son of Alcmeon, was the leader of the inhabitants upon the sea-coast; and Pisistratus had declared for the mountaineers, to whom were join'd the handicrafts-men and labourers who lived by their industry, and whose chief spleen was against the rich: of these three leaders the two last were the most powerful and considerable.

(*g*) Megacles was the son of that Alcmeon whom Crœsus had extremely enriched for a particular service he had done him. He had likewise married a lady, who had brought him an immense portion: her name was Agarista, the daughter of Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. This Clisthenes was at this time the richest and most opulent prince in Greece. In order to be able to choose a worthy son in-law, and to know his temper, manners, and character from his own experience, Clisthenes invited all the young noblemen of Greece to come and spend a year with him at his house: for this was an ancient custom in that country. Several youths accepted the invitation, and there came from different parts to the number of thirteen. Nothing was seen every day but races, games, tournaments, magnificent entertainments, and conversations upon all sorts of questions and subjects. One of the gentlemen, who had hitherto surpassed all his competitors, lost the princess, by using some indecent gestures and postures in his dancing, with which her father was extremely offended. Clisthenes, at the end of the year, declar'd for Megacles, and sent the rest of the noblemen away loaden with civilities and presents. This was the Megacles of whom we are speaking.

(*f*) A. M. 3445. Ant. J. C. 559. Plut. in Sol. p. 94.
(g) Herod. lib. 6. cap. 125—131.

Pisistratus

(*h*) Piſiſtratus was a well-bred man, of a gentle and inſinuating behaviour, ready to ſuccour and aſſiſt the * poor; wiſe and moderate towards his enemies; a moſt artful and accompliſh'd diſſembler; and one, who had all appearances of virtue, even beyond the moſt virtuous; who ſeem'd to be the moſt zealous ſtickler for equality among the citizens, and who abſolutely declared againſt all innovations and change.

It was not very hard for him to impoſe upon the people with all this artifice and addreſs. But Solon quickly ſaw thro' his diſguiſe, and perceived the drift of all his ſeeming virtue and fair pretences: however, he thought fit to obſerve meaſures with him in the beginning, hoping perhaps by gentle methods to bring him back to his duty.

(*i*) 'Twas at this time † Theſpis began to change the Grecian tragedy: I ſay change; becauſe it was invented long before. This novelty drew all the world after it. Solon went among the reſt for the ſake of hearing Theſpis, who acted himſelf, according to the cuſtom of the antient poets. When the play was ended, he call'd to Theſpis, and aſked him, *Why he was not aſhamed to utter ſuch lies before ſo many people.* Theſpis made anſwer, *That there was no harm in lies of that ſort, and in poetical fictions, which were only made for diverſion.* *No*; reply'd Solon, giving a great ſtroke with his ſtick upon the ground, *But if we ſuffer and approve of lying for our diverſion, it will quickly find its way into our ſerious engagements, and all our buſineſs and affairs.*

(*b*) Plut. p. 95.

* *We are not here to underſtand ſuch as begged or aſked alms; for in theſe times, ſays Iſocrates, there was no citizen that dy'd of hunger, or diſhonoured his city by begging.* Orat. Areop. p. 369.

† *Tragedy was in being a long time before Theſpis; but it was only a chorus of perſons that ſung, and ſaid opprobrious things to one another.*

(*i*) Ibid.

'Theſpis was the firſt that improved this chorus by the addition of a perſonage, or character, who, in order to give the reſt time to take breath and to recover their ſpirits, reeited an adventure of ſome illuſtrious perſon. And this recital gave occaſion afterwards for introducing the ſubjects of tragedies.

In

(*k*) In the mean time Piſiſtratus ſtill puſh'd on his point; and, in order to accompliſh it, made uſe of a ſtratagem, that ſucceeded as well as he could expect. (*l*) He gave himſelf ſeveral wounds; and in that condition, with his body all bloody, he cauſed himſelf to be carried in a chariot into the market-place, where he rais'd and enflam'd the populace by giving them to underſtand, that his enemies had treated him at that rate, and that he was the victim of his zeal for the publick good.

An aſſembly of the people was immediately conven'd: and there it was reſolved, in ſpite of all the remonſtrances Solon could make againſt it, that fifty guards ſhould be allow'd Piſiſtratus for the ſecurity of his perſon. He ſoon augmented the number, as much as he thought fit, and by their means made himſelf maſter of the citadel. All his enemies betook themſelves to flight, and the whole city was in great conſternation and diſorder; except Solon, who loudly reproach'd the Athenians with their cowardice and folly, and the tyrant with his treachery. Upon his being aſked wat it was that gave him ſo much firmneſs and reſolution; *'Tis*, ſaid he, *my old age.* He was indeed very old, and did not ſeem to riſk much, as the end of his life was very near: though it often happens, that men grow fonder of life, in proportion as they have leſs reaſon and right to deſire it ſhould be prolong'd. But Piſiſtratus, after he had ſubdu'd all, thought his conqueſt imperfect till he had gain'd Solon: and as he was well acquainted with the means that are proper to engage an old man, he careſs'd him accordingly; omitted nothing that could tend to ſoften and win upon him, and ſhew'd him all poſſible marks of friendſhip and eſteem, doing him all manner of honour, having him often about his perſon, and publickly profeſſing a great veneration for his laws; which in truth he both obſerv'd himſelf, and cauſed to be obſerved by others. Solon, ſeeing it was impoſſible either to bring Piſiſtratus

(*k*) Her. l. 1. cap. 59—64. (*l*) Plut. p. 95, 96.

by

by fair means to renounce this uſurpation, or to depoſe him by force, thought it a point of prudence not to exaſperate the tyrant by rejecting the advances he made him, and hoped at the ſame time, that by entering into his confidence and counſels he might at leaſt be capable of conducting a power which he could not aboliſh, and of mitigating the miſchief and calamity that he had not been able to prevent.

Solon did not ſurvive the liberty of his country two years compleat: for Piſiſtratus made himſelf maſter of Athens, under the archon Comias, the firſt year of the 51ſt Olympiad; and Solon died the year following, under the archon Hegeſtratus, who ſucceeded Comias.

The two parties, whoſe heads were Lycurgus and Megacles, uniting, drove Piſiſtratus out of Athens; where he was ſoon recall'd by Megacles, who gave him his daughter in marriage. But a difference, that aroſe upon occaſion of this match, having embroil'd them afreſh, the Alcmæonidæ had the worſt of it, and were obliged to retire. Piſiſtratus was twice depos'd, and twice found means to reinſtate himſelf. His artifices acquired him his power, and his moderation maintain'd him in it; and without doubt his * eloquence, which even in Tully's judgment was very great, render'd him very acceptable to the Athenians, who were but too apt to be affected with the charms of diſcourſe, as it made them forget the care of their liberty. An exact ſubmiſſion to the laws diſtinguiſhed Piſiſtratus from moſt other uſurpers; and the mildneſs of his government was ſuch, as might make many a lawful ſovereign bluſh. For which reaſon, the character of Piſiſtratus was thought worthy of being ſet in oppoſition to that of other tyrants. Cicero, doubting what uſe Cæſar would make of his victory at Pharſalia, wrote

* Piſiſtratus dicendo tantum valuiſſe dicitur, ut ei Athenienſes regium imperium oratione capti permitterent. *Val. Max. l.* 8. *c.* 9.

Quis doctior iiſdem temporibus, aut cujus eloquentia literis inſtructior fuiſſe traditur, quàm Piſiſtrati? *Cic. de Orat. l.* 3. *n.* 137.

to his dear friend Atticus: * *We do not yet know, whether the deſtiny of Rome will have us groan under a Phalaris, or live under a Piſiſtratus.*

This tyrant indeed, if we are to call him ſo, always ſhew'd himſelf very popular and moderate; (*m*) and had ſuch a command of his temper, as to bear reproaches and inſults with patience, when he had it in his power to revenge them with a word. His gardens and orchards were open to all the citizens; in which he was afterwards imitated by Cimon. (*n*) It is ſaid, he was the firſt who open'd a public library in Athens, which after his time was much augmented, and at laſt carried into Perſia by Xerxes (*o*), when he took the city. But Seleucus Nicanor a long time afterwards reſtor'd it to Athens. (*p*) Cicero thinks alſo, it was Piſiſtratus, who firſt made the Athenians acquainted with the poems of Homer; who diſpoſed the books in the order we now find them, whereas before they were confuſed, and not digeſted; and who firſt cauſed them to be publickly read at their feaſts, call'd Panathenæa. (*q*) Plato aſcribes this honour to his ſon Hipparchus.

(*r*) Piſiſtratus died in tranquillity, and tranſmitted to his ſons the ſovereign power, which he had uſurp'd thirty years before; ſeventeen of which he had reigned in peace.

(*s*) His ſons were Hippias and Hipparchus. Thucydides adds a third, which he calls Theſſalus. They ſeem'd to have inherited from their father an affection for learning and learned men. Plato, who attributes to Hipparchus (*t*) what we have ſaid concerning the poems of Homer, adds, that he invited to Athens the famous poet Anacreon, who was of Teos, a city of Ionia; and that he ſent a veſſel of fifty oars on purpoſe for him. He likewiſe entertain'd at his houſe Simo-

(*m*) Val. Max. l. 5. c. 1. (*n*) Athen. l. 12. p. 532. (*o*) Aul. Gel. l. 6. c. 17. (*p*) Lib. 3. de Orat. n. 137. (*q*) In Hipparch. p. 228. (*r*) Ariſt. lib. 5. de Rep. c. 12. (*s*) A. M. 3473. Ant. J. C. 526. (*t*) In Hip. p. 228 & 229.

* Incertum eſt Phalarimne, an Piſiſtratum, ſit imitaturus. *Ad. Attic. l. 7. Ep.* 19.

nides,

nides, another famous poet of the isle of Ceos, one of the Cyclades, in the Ægean sea, to whom he gave a large pension, and made very rich presents. The design of these princes in inviting men of letters to Athens was, says Plato, to soften and cultivate the minds of the citizens, and to infuse into them a relish and love for virtue, by giving them a taste for learning and the sciences. Their care extended even to the instructing of the peasants and country people, by erecting, not only in the streets of the city, but in all the roads and highways, statues of stone, call'd Mercuries, with grave sentences carved upon them; in which manner those silent monitors gave instructive lessons to all passengers. Plato seems to suppose, that Hipparchus had the authority, or that the two brothers reigned together. (*u*) But Thucydides shews, that Hippias, as the eldest of the sons, succeeded his father in the government.

However it were, their reign in the whole, after the death of Pisistratus, was only of eighteen years duration: It ended in the following manner.

(*x*) Harmodius and Aristogiton, both citizens of Athens, had contracted a very strict friendship. Hipparchus, angry at first for a personal affront he pretended to have received from him, to revenge himself upon his sister, put a public affront upon her, by obliging her shamefully to retire from a solemn procession, in which she was to carry one of the sacred baskets, alledging, that she was not in a fit condition to assist at such a ceremony. Her brother and his friend still more being stung to the quick by so gross and outragious an affront, took from that moment a resolution to attack the tyrants. And to do it the more effectually, they waited for the opportunity of a festival, which they judged would be very favourable for their purpose: this was the feast of the Panathenæa, in which the ceremony required, that all the tradesmen and artificers should be under arms. For the greater

(*u*) Lib. 6. p. 225. (*x*) Thucyd. l. 6. p. 446—450.

security,

ſecurity, they only admitted a very ſmall number of the citizens into their ſecret; conceiving, that upon the firſt motion all the reſt would join them. The day being come, they went betimes into the market-place, armed with daggers. Hippias came out of the palace, and went to the Cerámicum, which was a place without the city, where the company of guards then were; to give the neceſſary orders for the ceremony. The two friends follow'd him thither, and coming near him, they ſaw one of the conſpirators talking very familiarly with him, which made them apprehend they were betray'd. They could have executed their deſign that moment upon Hippias; but were willing to begin their vengeance upon the author of the affront they had received. They therefore returned into the city, where meeting with Hipparchus, they kill'd him; but being immediately apprehended, themſelves were ſlain, and Hippias found means to diſpel the ſtorm.

After this affair he obſerved no meaſures, and reign'd like a true tyrant, putting to death a vaſt number of citizens. To guard himſelf for the future againſt a like enterprize, and to ſecure a ſafe retreat for himſelf, in caſe of any accident, he endeavour'd to ſtrengthen himſelf by a foreign ſupport, and to that end gave his daughter in marriage to the ſon of the tyrant of Lampſacus.

(y) In the mean time the Alcmæonidæ, who from the beginning of the revolution had been baniſhed from Athens by Piſiſtratus, and who ſaw their hopes fruſtrated by the bad ſucceſs of the laſt conſpiracy, did not however loſe courage, but turned their views another way. As they were very rich and powerful, they got themſelves appointed by the Amphictyons, that is, the heads of the grand or general council of Greece, ſuperintendants for rebuilding the temple of Delphos, for the ſum of three hundred talents, or nine hundred thouſand livres *. As they were generous in their

(y) Herod. l. 5. c. 62-96.

* *About* 40000 *l. ſterling.*

natures,

natures, and beſides had their reaſons for being ſo on this occaſion, they added to this ſum a great deal of their own money, and made the whole frontiſpiece of the temple all of Parian marble, at their particular expence; whereas, by the contract made with the Amphictyons, it was only to have been made of common ſtone.

The liberality of the Alcmæonidæ was not altogether a free bounty; neither was their magnificence towards the god of Delphos, a pure effect of religion. Policy was the chief motive. They hoped by this means to acquire great credit and influence in the temples, which happen'd according to their expectation. The money, which they had plentifully pour'd into the hands of the prieſteſs, render'd them abſolute maſters of the oracle, and of the pretended god who preſided over it, and who for the future becoming their echo, faithfully repeated the words they dictated to him, and gratefully lent them the aſſiſtance of his voice and authority. As often therefore as any Spartan came to conſult the prieſteſs, whether upon his own affairs, or upon thoſe of the ſtate, no promiſe was ever made him of the god's aſſiſtance, but upon condition that the Lacedæmonians ſhould deliver Athens from the yoke of tyranny. This order was ſo often repeated to them by the oracle, that they reſolved at laſt to make war againſt the Piſiſtratides, tho' they were under the ſtrongeſt engagements of friendſhip and hoſpitality with them; herein preferring the * will of God, ſays Herodotus, to all human conſiderations.

The firſt attempt of this kind miſcarried; and the troops they ſent againſt the tyrant were repuls'd with loſs. Notwithſtanding, a little time after they made a ſecond, which ſeem'd to promiſe no better an iſſue than the firſt; becauſe moſt of the Lacedæmonians, ſeeing the ſiege they had laid before Athens likely to continue a great while, retired, and left only a ſmall number of troops to carry it on. But the tyrant's

* Τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ πρεσσόνερα ἐποιεῦντο, ἢ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν.

children, who had been clandeſtinely convey'd out of the city, in order to be put in a ſafe place, being taken by the enemy, the father, to redeem them, was obliged to come to an accommodation with the Athenians, by which it was ſtipulated, that he ſhould depart out of Attica in five days time. (z) Accordingly he actually retired within the time limited, and ſettled at Sigæum, a town in Phrygia, ſeated at the mouth of the river Scamander.

(a) Pliny obſerves, that the tyrants were driven out of Athens the ſame year the kings were expelled Rome. Extraordinary honours were paid to the memory of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton. Their names were infinitely reſpected at Athens in all ſucceeding ages, and almoſt held in equal reverence with thoſe of the gods. Statues were forthwith erected to them in the market-place, which was an honour, that never had been render'd to any man before. The very ſight of theſe ſtatues, expos'd to the view of all the citizens, kept up their hatred and deteſtation of tyranny, and daily renew'd their ſentiments of gratitude to thoſe generous defenders of their liberty, who had not ſcrupled to purchaſe it with their lives, and to ſeal it with their blood. (b) Alexander the Great, who knew how dear the memory of theſe men were to the Athenians, and how far they carried their zeal in this reſpect, thought he did them a ſenſible pleaſure in ſending them the ſtatues of thoſe two great men, which he found in Perſia after the defeat of Darius, and which Xerxes before had carried thither from Athens. (c) This city at the time of her deliverance from tyranny, did not confine her gratitude ſolely to the authors of her liberty; but extended it even to a woman, who had ſignalized her courage on that occaſion. This woman was a courteſan, named Leona, who, by the charms of her beauty and skill in playing on the harp, had particularly captivated Harmodius

(z) A. M. 3496. Ant. J. C. 508. (a) Plin. l. 34. c. 4.
(b) Ibid. c. 8. (c) Ibid. l. 7. c. 23. & l. 34. c. 8.

and Ariſtogiton. After their death, the tyrant, who knew they had conceal'd nothing from this woman, cauſed her to be put to the torture, in order to make her declare the names of the other conſpirators. But ſhe bore all the cruelty of their torments with an invincible conſtancy, and expired in the midſt of them; glorioufly ſhewing the world, that her ſex is more couragious, and more capable of keeping a ſecret, than ſome men imagine. The Athenians would not ſuffer the memory of ſo heroic an action to be loſt: and, to prevent the luſtre of it from being ſullied by the conſideration of her character as a courteſan, they endeavour'd to conceal that circumſtance, by repreſenting her in the ſtatue, which they erected to her honour, under the figure of a lioneſs without a tongue.

(*d*) Plutarch, in the life of Ariſtides, relates a thing, which does great honour to the Athenians, and which ſhews to what a pitch they carried their gratitude to their deliverer, and their reſpect for his memory. They had learn'd, that the grand-daughter of Ariſtogiton lived at Lemnos, in very mean and poor circumſtances, no-body being willing to marry her upon account of her extreme indigence and poverty. The people of Athens ſent for her, and marrying her to one of the moſt rich and conſiderable men of their city, gave her an eſtate in land in the town of Potamos for her portion.

Athens ſeem'd in recovering her liberty to have alſo recovered her courage. During the reigns of her tyrants ſhe had acted with indolence and inactivity, as knowing what ſhe did was not for herſelf, but for them. But, after her deliverance from their yoke, the vigour and activity ſhe exerted was of a quite different kind; becauſe then her labours were her own.

Athens however did not immediately enjoy a perfect tranquillity. Two of her citizens, Cliſthenes, one of the Alcmeonides, and Iſagoras, who were men of the greateſt credit and power in the city, by

(*d*) Page 335.

contending with each other for ſuperiority, created two conſiderable factions. The former, who had gained the people on his ſide, made an alteration in the form of their eſtabliſhment, and inſtead of four tribes, whereof they conſiſted before, divided that body into ten tribes, to which he gave the names of the ten ſons of Ion, whom the Greek hiſtorians make the father and firſt founder of the nation. Iſagoras, ſeeing himſelf inferior in credit to his rival, had recourſe to the Lacedemonians. Cleomenes, one of the two kings of Sparta, obliged Cliſthenes to depart from Athens, with ſeven hundred families of his adherents. But they ſoon returned, and were reſtored to all their eſtates and fortunes.

The Lacedemonians, ſtung with ſpight and jealouſy againſt Athens, becauſe ſhe took upon her to act independent of their authority; and repenting alſo, that they had deliver'd her from her tyrants upon the credit of an oracle, of which they had ſince diſcover'd the impoſture, began to think of reinſtating Hippias, one of the ſons of Piſiſtratus; and to that end ſent for him from Sigæum, whither he had retir'd. They then communicated their deſign to the deputies of their allies, whoſe aſſiſtance and concurrence they propoſed to uſe, in order to render their enterpriſe more ſucceſsful.

The deputy of Corinth ſpoke firſt on this occaſion, and expreſs'd great aſtoniſhment, that the Lacedemonians, who were themſelves avow'd enemies of tyranny, and profeſs'd the greateſt abhorrence for all arbitrary government, ſhould deſire to eſtabliſh it elſewhere; deſcribing at the ſame time, in a lively manner, all the cruel and horrid effects of tyrannical government, as his own country Corinth had but very lately felt by woful experience. The reſt of the deputies applauded his diſcourſe, and were of his opinion. Thus the enterprize came to nothing; and had no other effect, but to diſcover the baſe jealouſy of the Lacedemonians, and to cover them with ſhame and confuſion.

Hippias, defeated of his hopes, retir'd into Aſia to Artaphernes,

Artaphernes, governor of Sardis for the king of Perſia, whom he endeavoured by all manner of means to engage in a war againſt Athens; repreſenting to him, that the taking of ſo rich and powerful a city would render him maſter of all Greece. Artaphernes here, upon required of the Athenians, that they would reinſtate Hippias in the government; to which they made no other anſwer, but by a downright and abſolute refuſal. This was the original ground and occaſion of the wars between the Perſians and the Greeks, which will be the ſubject of the following volumes.

ARTICLE IX.

ILLUSTRIOUS MEN, *who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in arts and ſciences.*

I Begin with the Poets, becauſe the moſt antient.

HOMER, The moſt celebrated and illuſtrious of all the poets, is he of whom we have the leaſt knowledge, either with reſpect to the country where he was born, or the time in which he lived. Among the ſeven cities of Greece, that contend for the honour of having given him birth, Smyrna ſeems to have the beſt title.

(*e*) Herodotus tells us, that Homer wrote four hundred years before his time, that is, three hundred and forty years after the taking of Troy: for Herodotus flouriſhed ſeven hundred and forty years after that expedition.

Some authors have pretended, that he was call'd Homer, becauſe he was born blind. Velleius Paterculus rejects this ſtory with contempt. * "If any man, "ſays he, believes that Homer was born blind, he "muſt be ſo himſelf, and even have loſt all his ſenſes." Indeed, according to the obſervation of (*f*) Cicero, Homer's works are rather pictures, than poems; ſo perfectly does he paint to the life, and ſet the images of every thing, he undertakes to deſcribe, before the

(*e*) Lib. 2. c. 53. A. M. 3160. Ant. J. C. 844. (*f*) Tuſcul. Quæſt. l. 5. n. 114. * Quem ſi quis cæcum genitum putat, omnibus ſenſibus orbus eſt. *Paterc.* l. 1. c. 5.

eyes of the reader: and he ſeems to have been intent upon introducing all the moſt delightful and agreeable objects, that nature affords, into his writings, and to make them in a manner paſs in review before his readers.

† What is moſt aſtoniſhing in this poet is, that having applied himſelf the firſt, at leaſt of thoſe that are known, to that kind of poetry, which is the moſt ſublime and difficult of all, he ſhould however ſoar ſo high, and with ſuch rapidity, at the firſt flight as it were, as to carry it at once to the utmoſt perfection; which ſeldom or never happens in other arts, but by ſlow degrees, and after a long ſeries of years.

The kind of poetry, we are ſpeaking of, is the epic poem, ſo call'd from the Greek word ἔπος; becauſe it is an action related by the poet. The ſubject of this poem muſt be great, inſtructive, ſerious, containing only one principal event, to which all the reſt muſt refer, and be ſubordinate: and this principal action muſt have paſs'd in a certain ſpace of time, which muſt not exceed a year at moſt.

Homer has compoſed two poems of this kind, the Iliad and the Odyſſey: the ſubject of the firſt is the anger of Achilles, ſo pernicious to the Greeks, when they beſieg'd Ilion, or Troy; and that of the ſecond is the voyages and adventures of Ulyſſes after the taking of that city.

It is remarkable, that no nation in the world, however learned and ingenious, has ever produced any poems comparable to his; and that whoever have attempted any works of that kind, have taken their plan and ideas from Homer, borrowed all their rules from him, made him their model, and have only ſucceeded in proportion to their ſucceſs in copying him.

† Clariſſimum deinde Homeri illuxit ingenium, ſine exemplo maximum: qui magnitudine operis, & fulgore carminum, ſolus appellari Poeta meruit. In quo hoc maximum eſt, quòd neque ante illum, quem ille imitaretur; neque poſt illum, qui imitari eum poſſit, inventus eſt: neque quemquam alium, cujus operis primus auctor fuerit, in eo perfectiſſimum, præter Homerum & Archilochum reperiemus. *Vell. Paterc. lib.* 1. *c.* 5.

The truth is, Homer was an original genius, and fit for others to be form'd upon: (g) *Fons ingeniorum Homerus.*

All the greateſt men and the moſt exalted genius's, that have appeared for theſe two thouſand and five or ſix hundred years, in Greece, Italy, and elſewhere; thoſe, whoſe writings we are forced ſtill to admire; who are ſtill our maſters, and who teach us to think, to reaſon, to ſpeak and to write; all theſe, * ſays Madam Dacier, acknowledge Homer to be the greateſt of poets, and look upon his poems as the model for all ſucceeding poets to form their taſte and judgment upon. After all this, can there be any man ſo conceited of his own talents, be they never ſo great, as reaſonably to preſume, that his deciſions ſhould prevail againſt ſuch an univerſal concurrence of judgment in perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed abilities and characters?

So many teſtimonies, ſo ancient, ſo conſtant, and ſo univerſal, entirely juſtify Alexander the Great's favourable judgment of the works of Homer, which he look'd upon as the moſt excellent and valuable production of human wit; (*b*) *pretioſiſſimum humani animi opus.*

(*i*) Quintilian, after having made a magnificent encomium upon Homer, gives us a juſt idea of his character and manner of writing in theſe few words: *Hunc nemo in magnis ſublimitate, in parvis proprietate ſuperaverit. Idem lætus ac preſſus, jucundus & gravis, tum copiâ tum brevitate mirabilis.* In great things, what a ſublimity of expreſſion; and in little, what a juſtneſs and propriety! Diffuſive and conciſe, pleaſant and grave, equally admirable both for his copiouſneſs and his brevity.

HESIOD. The moſt common opinion is, that he was contemporary with Homer. 'Tis ſaid, he was born at Cuma, a town in Æolis, but that he was brought up at Aſcra, a little town in Bœotia, which

(g) Plin. l. 17. c. 5. (*b*) Plin. l. 17. c. 29. (*i*) Quin. l. 10. cap. 1.

* *In Homer's life, which is prefix'd to the tranſlation of the Iliad.*

has ſince paſs'd for his native country. Thus Virgil calls him the old man of Aſcra (*k*). We know little or nothing of this poet, but by the few remaining poems of his, all in hexameter verſe; which are, 1ſt, *The Works and Days*; 2dly, *The Theogony*, or the genealogy of the gods; 3dly, *The ſhield of Hercules*: of which laſt ſome doubt, whether it was wrote by Heſiod.

1. In the firſt of theſe poems, entitled, *The Works and Days*, Heſiod treats of agriculture, which requires, beſides a great deal of labour, a prudent obſervation of times, ſeaſons and days. This poem is full of excellent ſentences and maxims for the conduct of life. He begins it with a ſhort, but lively, deſcription of two ſorts of diſputes; the one fatal to mankind, the ſource of quarrels, diſcords and wars; and the other infinitely uſeful, and beneficial to men, as it ſharpens their wits, excites a noble and generous emulation among them, and prepares the way for the invention and improvement of arts and ſciences. He then makes an admirable deſcription of the four different ages of the world; the golden, the ſilver, the brazen, and the iron age. The perſons who liv'd in the golden age, are thoſe whom Jupiter after their death turn'd into ſo many Genii * or ſpirits, and then appointed them as guardians over mankind, giving them a commiſſion to go up and down the earth, inviſible to the ſight of men, and to obſerve all their good and evil actions.

This poem was Virgil's model in compoſing his Georgicks, as he himſelf acknowledges in this verſe.

Aſcræumque cano Romana per oppida carmen, (*l*)

And ſing th' Aſcræan verſe to Roman ſwains.

The choice made by theſe two illuſtrious poets of this ſubject for the exerciſe of their muſe, ſhews in what honour the ancients held agriculture, and the feeding of cattle, the two innocent ſources of wealth and plenty. 'Tis much to be deplored, that in after-ages, men de-

(*k*) Eclog. 6. v. 70. (*l*) Georg. l. 2. v. 176.
* Δαίμονες.

parted

parted from a taſte ſo agreeable to nature, and ſo well adapted to the preſervation of innocence and good manners. Avarice and luxury have entirely baniſhed it the world. (*m*) *Nimirum alii ſubiere ritus, circaque alia mentes hominum detinentur, & avariliæ tantum artes celuntur.*

2. *The Theogony* of Heſiod, and the poems of Homer, may be look'd upon as the ſureſt and moſt authentic archives and monuments of the theology of the antients, and of the opinion they had of their gods. For we are not to ſuppoſe, that theſe poets were the inventors of the fables, which we read in their writings. They only collected and tranſmitted to poſterity the traces of the religion which they found eſtabliſhed, and which prevailed in their time and country.

3. *The ſhield of Hercules* is a ſeparate fragment of a poem, wherein it is pretended, Heſiod celebrated the moſt illuſtrious heroines of antiquity: and it bears that title, becauſe it contains among other things, a long deſcription of the ſhield of Hercules, concerning whom the ſame poem relates a particular adventure.

The poetry of Heſiod, in thoſe places that are ſuſceptible of ornament, is every elegant and delightful, but not ſo ſublime and lofty as that of Homer. Quintilian reckons him the chief in the middle manner of writing. (*n*) *Datur ei palma in illo medio dicendi genere.*

ARCHILOCHUS. (*o*) The poet Archilochus, born in Paros, inventor of the Iambick verſe, lived in the time of Candaules, king of Lydia. He has this advantage in common with Homer, according to Velleius Paterculus, that he carried at once that kind of poetry, which he invented, to a very great perfection. The feet which gave their name to theſe verſes, and which at firſt were the only ſort uſed, are compoſed of one ſhort, and one long ſyllable. The Iambick verſe, ſuch as it was invented by Archilochus, ſeems very proper for a vehement and energick ſtyle: ac-

(*m*) Plin. in Proœm. l. 14. (*n*) Lib. 1. c. 5. (*o*) A. M. 3280. Ant. J. C. 724.

cordingly we ſee, that Horace, ſpeaking of this poet, ſays, that 'twas his anger, or rather his rage, that arm'd him with his Iambicks for the exerciſing and exerting of his vengeance.

Archilochum proprio rabies armavit Iambo. (*p*)

And Quintilian * ſays, he had an uncommon force of expreſſion; was full of bold thoughts, and of thoſe ſtrokes that are ſhort, but keen and piercing; in a word, his ſtyle was ſtrong and nervous. The longeſt † of his poems were ſaid to be the beſt. The world have paſſed the ſame judgment upon the orations of Demoſthenes and Cicero; the latter of whom ſays the ſame of his friend Atticus's letters.

(*q*) The verſes of Archilochus were extremely biting and licentious; witneſs thoſe he writ againſt Lycambus, his father-in-law, which drove him into deſpair. For this double ‖ reaſon, his poetry, how excellent ſoever it was reckon'd in other reſpects, was baniſhed out of Sparta; as being more likely to corrupt the hearts and manners of yoúng people, than to be uſeful in cultivating their underſtanding. We have only ſome very ſhort fragments that remain of this poet. Such a niceneſs in a heathen people, in regard to the quality of the books which they thought young people ſhould be permitted to read, is highly worth our notice, and juſtly reproaches many chriſtians.

HIPPONAX. This poet was of Epheſus, and ſignalized his wit ſome years after Archilochus, in the ſame kind of poetry, and with the ſame force and ve-

(*p*) Art. Poet. (*q*) Horat. Epod. Ode 6. & Epiſt. 19. l. 1.

* Summa in hoc vis elocutionis, cùm validæ tum breves vibranteſque ſententiæ, plurimum ſanguinis atque nervorum. *Quin.* l. 10. c. 1.

† Ut Ariſtophani Archilochi iambus, ſic epiſtola longiſſima quæque optima videtur. *Cic. Epiſt.* 11. l. 16. *ad Atticum.*

‖ Lacedæmonii libros Archilochi è civitate ſuâ exportari juſſerunt, quòd eorum parùm verecundam ac pudicam lectionem arbitrabantur. Noluerunt enim eâ liberorum ſuorum animos imbui, nè plus moribus noceret, quàm ingeniis proderet. Itaque maximum poetam, aut certè ſummo proximum, quia domum ſibi inviſam obſcœnis maledictis laceraverat, carminum exilio mulctârunt. *Vel. Pat.* l. 6. c. 3.

hemence.

hemence. He was * ugly, little, lean and ſlender. Two celebrated ſculptors and brothers, Bupalus and Athenis, (ſome call the latter Anthermus) diverted themſelves at his expence, and repreſented him in a ridiculous form. It is dangerous to attack ſatyric poets. Hipponax retorted their pleaſantry with ſuch keen ſtrokes of ſatire, that they hanged themſelves out of mortification: others ſay they only quitted the city of Epheſus, where Hipponax lived. His malignant pen did not ſpare even thoſe to whom he owed his life. How monſtrous was this! Horace † joins Hipponax with Archilochus, and repreſents them as two poets equally dangerous. In the Anthologia (*r*) there are three or four epigrams, which deſcribe Hipponax as terrible even after his death. They admoniſh travellers to avoid his tomb, as a place from whence a dreadful hail perpetually pours, Φεῦγε τὸν χαλαζεπῆ τάφον, τὸν φριχῶδη. *Fuge grandinantem tumulum, horrendum.*

It is thought he invented the Scazon verſe, in which the Spondee is uſed inſtead of the Iambus in the 6th foot of the verſe that bears that name.

STESICHORUS. He was of Himera a town in Sicily, and excell'd in Lyrick poetry, as did thoſe other poets we are going to ſpeak of. Lyrick poetry is that, the verſes of which, digeſted into odes and ſtanzas, were ſung to the lyre, or to other ſuch like inſtruments. Steſichorus flouriſh'd betwixt the 37th and 47th Olympiad. (*s*) Pauſanias, after many other fables, relates, that Steſichorus, having been puniſh'd with loſs of ſight for his ſatyrical verſes againſt Helena, did not recover it, till he had retracted his in-

(*r*) Anthol. l. 3. (*s*) Pauſ. in Lacon. p. 200.

* Hipponacti notabilis vultûs ſeditas erat: quamobrem imaginem ejus laſcivia jocorum ii propoſuere ridentium circulis. Quod Hipponax indignatus amaritudinem carminum diſtrinxit in tantum, ut credatur aliquibus ad laqueum eos impuliſſe: quod falſum eſt. *Plin.* l. 36. c. 5.

† In malos aſperrimus
Parata tollo cornua:
Quales Lycambe ſpretus infido gener,
Aut acer hoſtis Bupalo. *Epod.* 6.

vectives, by writing another ode contrary to the firſt: which latter kind of ode is ſince called *Palinodia*. Quintilian * ſays, that he ſung of wars and illuſtrious heroes, and that he ſupported upon the lyre all the dignity and majeſty of epic poetry.

ALCMAN. He was of Lacedæmon, or, as ſome will have it, of Sardis in Lydia, and liv'd much about the ſame time as Steſichorus. Some make him the firſt author of amorous verſes.

ALCÆUS. He was born at Mitylene in Leſbos: 'tis from him, that the Alcaic verſe derived its name. He was a profeſs'd enemy to the tyrants of Leſbos, and particularly to Pittacus, againſt whom he perpetually inveighed in his verſes. (*t*) It is ſaid of him, that being once in a battle, he was ſeized with ſuch fear and terror, that he threw down his arms, and ran away. † Horace has thought fit to give us the ſame account of himſelf. Poets don't value themſelves ſo much upon proweſs, as upon wit. ‖ Quintilian ſays, that the ſtyle of Alcæus was cloſe, magnificent, and accurate; and to compleat his character, adds, that he very much reſembled Homer.

SIMONIDES. This poet was of the iſland of Ceos in the Ægæan ſea. He continued to flouriſh at the time of Xerxes's expedition. He ‡ excelled principally in funeral elegy. The invention of local memory is aſcribed to him, of which I have ſpoke elſewhere **. At twenty-four years of age he diſputed for, and carried, the prize of poetry.

(*t*) Herod. l. 5. c. 95.

* Steſichorum, quàm ſit ingenio validus, materiæ quoque oſtendunt, maxima bella & clariſſimos canentem duces, & epici carminis onera lyrâ ſuſtinentem. *L.* 10. c. 1.

† Tecum Philippos & celerem fugam Senſi, relicta non bene parmula. *Hor. Od.* 7. l. 2.

‖ In eloquendo brevis & magnificus & diligens, plerumque Homero ſimilis.

‡ Sed ne relictis, Muſa procax, jocis
Ceæ retractes munera næniæ. *Horat.*
Mœſtius lacrymis Simonideis. *Catull.*

** *Method of teaching and ſtudying the Belles Lettres,*

The

(*x*) The anſwer he gave a prince who asked him what God was, is much celebrated. That prince was Hiero, king of Syracuſe. The poet deſired a day to conſider the queſtion propoſed to him. On the morrow, he asked two days; and whenever he was called upon for his anſwer, he ſtill doubled the time. The king ſurprized at this behaviour, demanded his reaſon for it. It is, replied Simonides, becauſe the more I conſider the queſtion, the more obſcure it ſeems: *Quia quanto diutiùs conſidero, tanto mihi res videtur obſcurior.* The anſwer was wiſe if it proceeded from the high idea which he conceived of the Divine Majeſty, which * no underſtanding can comprehend, nor any tongue expreſs.

(*y*) After having travelled to many cities of Aſia, and amaſſed conſiderable wealth by celebrating the praiſes of thoſe in his verſes, who were capable of rewarding him well, he embarked for the iſland of Ceos his native country. The ſhip was caſt away. Every one endeavoured to ſave what they could. Simonides took no care of any thing; and when he was asked the reaſon for it, he replied, "I carry all I "have about me:" *Mecum, inquit, mea ſunt cuncta.* Several of the company were drowned by the weight of the things they attempted to ſave, and thoſe who got to ſhore were robbed by thieves. All that eſcaped went to Clazomena, which was not far from the place where the veſſel was loſt. One of the citizens, who loved learning, and had read the poems of Simonides with great admiration, was exceedingly pleaſed, and thought it an honour, to receive him into his houſe.

(*x*) Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. n. 15.

(*y*) Phædr. l. 4.

* Certè hoc eſt Deus, quod & cùm dicitur, non poteſt dici: cùm æſtimatur, non poteſt æſtimari; cùm comparatur, non poteſt comparari; cùm definitur, ipſa definitione creſcit. *S. Aug. ſerm. de temp.* cix.

Nobis ad intellectum pectus angustum eſt. Et ideo ſic eum (Deum) dignè æſtimamus, dum inæſtimabilem dicimus. Eloquar quemadmodum ſentio. Magnitudinem Dei qui ſe putat noſſe, minuit: qui non vult minuere, non novit. *Minut. Felix.*

He ſupplied him abundantly with neceſſaries, whilſt the reſt were obliged to beg through the city. The poet upon meeting them, did not forget to obſerve how juſtly he had anſwered them in regard to his effects: *Dixi, inquit, mea mecum eſſe cuncta; vos quod rapuiſtis, perit.*

He was reproached with having diſhonoured poetry by his avarice, in making his pen venal, and not compoſing any verſes, till he had agreed on the price of them. (z) In Ariſtotle we find a proof of this, which does him no honour. A perſon, who had won the prize in the chariot-races, deſired Simonides to compoſe a ſong of triumph upon that ſubject. The poet, not thinking the reward ſufficient, replied, that he could not treat it well. This prize had been won by mules, and he pretended that animal did not afford the proper matter for praiſe. Greater offers were made him, which ennobled the mule; and the poem was made. Money has long had power to beſtow nobility and beauty.

Et genus & formam regina pecunia donat.

As this animal is generated between a ſhe-aſs and an horſe, the poet, as Ariſtotle obſerves, conſidered them at firſt only on the baſe ſide of their pedigree. But money made him take them in the other light, and he ſtiled them *illuſtrious foals of rapid ſteeds*: Χαίρετ' ἀελλοπόδων θύγατρες ἵππων.

SAPPHO. She was of the ſame place, and liv'd at the ſame time with Alcæus. The Sapphick verſe took its name from her. She compoſed a conſiderable number of poems, of which there are but two remaining; which are ſufficient to ſatisfy us, that the praiſes, given her in all ages, for the beauty, pathetic ſoftneſs, numbers, harmony, and infinite graces of her poetry, are not without foundation. As a further proof of her merit, ſhe was call'd the tenth Muſe; and the people of Mitylene engraved her image upon their money. It were to be wiſhed, that the purity of her manners

(z) Rhet. l. 3. c. 2.

had

had been equal to the beauty of her genius; and that ſhe had not diſhonour'd her ſex by her vices and irregularities.

(*a*) ANACREON. This poet was of Teos a city of Ionia. He lived in the 72d Olympiad. Anacreon ſpent a great part of his time at the court of Polycrates, that happy tyrant of Samos; and not only ſhared in all his pleaſures, but was of his council. (*b*) Plato tells us, that Hipparchus, one of the ſons of Piſiſtratus, ſent a veſſel of fifty oars to Anacreon, and wrote him a moſt obliging letter, intreating him to come to Athens, where his excellent works would be eſteem'd and reliſhed as they deſerved. It is ſaid, the only ſtudy of this poet was joy and pleaſure: and thoſe remains we have of his poetry ſufficiently confirm it. We ſee plainly in all his verſes, that his hand writes what his heart feels and dictates. It is impoſſible to expreſs the elegance and delicacy of his poems: nothing could be more eſtimable, had their object been more noble.

THESPIS. He was the firſt inventor of Tragedy. I defer ſpeaking of him, till I come to give ſome account of the tragic poets.

OF THE SEVEN WISE-MEN OF GREECE.

Theſe men are too famous in antiquity to be omitted in this preſent hiſtory. Their lives are written by Diogenes Laertius.

THALES, *the Mileſian.* If Cicero * is to be believ'd, Thales was the moſt illuſtrious of the ſeven wiſe-men. It was he that laid the firſt foundations of philoſophy in Greece, and founded the ſect, call'd the Ionic ſect; becauſe he, the founder of it, was born in the country of Ionia.

(*c*) He held water to be the firſt principle of all things; and that God was that intelligent being, by

(*a*) Herod. l. 3. c. 121. (*b*) In Hippar. p. 228, 229.
(*c*) Lib. 1. de nat. deor. n. 25.

* Princeps Thales, unus è ſeptem cui ſex reliquos conceſſiſſe primas ferunt. *L.* 4. *Acad. Quæſt. n.* 118.

which

which all things were formed of water. The firſt of theſe opinions he had borrowed from the Egyptians, who, ſeeing the Nile to be the cauſe of the fertility of all their lands, might eaſily imagine from thence, that water was the principle of all things.

He was the firſt of the Greeks that ſtudied aſtronomy. He had exactly foretold the time of the eclipſe of the ſun that happened in the reign of Aſtyages, king of Media, of which mention has been made already.

He was alſo the firſt that fix'd the term and duration of the ſolar year among the Grecians. By comparing the bigneſs of the ſun's body with that of the moon, he thought he had diſcover'd, that the body of the moon was in ſolidity but the 720th part of the ſun's body, and conſequently, that the ſolid body of the ſun was above ſeven hundred times bigger than the ſolid body of the moon. This computation is very far from being true; as the ſun's ſolidity exceeds, not only 700 times, but many millions of times, the moon's magnitude or ſolidity. But we know, that in all theſe matters, and particularly in that of which we are now ſpeaking, the firſt obſervations and diſcoveries were very imperfect.

(*d*) When Thales travell'd into Egypt, he diſcovered an eaſy and certain method for taking the exact height of the pyramids, by obſerving the time when the ſhadow of our body is equal in length to the height of the body itſelf.

(*e*) To ſhew, that philoſophers were not ſo deſtitute of that ſort of talents and capacity, which is proper for buſineſs, as ſome people imagin'd; and that they would be as ſucceſsful as others in growing rich, if they thought fit to apply themſelves that way, he bought the fruit of all the olive-trees in the territory of Miletos, before they were in bloſſom. The profound knowledge he had of nature had probably enabled him to foreſee that the year would be extremely

(*d*) Plin. lib. 36. cap. 12. (*e*) Cic. lib. 1. de Divin. n. 111.

fertile,

fertile. It proved ſo in effect; and he made a conſiderable profit of his bargain.

He uſed to thank the gods for three things; that he was born a reaſonable creature, and not a beaſt; a man, and not a woman; a Greek, and not a Barbarian. Upon his mother's preſſing him to marry, when he was young, he told her, it was then too ſoon; and after ſeveral years were elaps'd, he told her, it was then too late.

As he was one day walking, and very attentively contemplating the ſtars, he chanc'd to fall into a ditch. Ha! ſays to him a good old woman that was by, how will you perceive what paſſes in the heavens, and what is ſo infinitely above your head, if you cannot ſee what is juſt at your feet, and before your noſe?

(*f*) He was born the firſt year of the 35th, and died the firſt year of the 58th Olympiad: conſequently he liv'd to be above ninety years of age.

SOLON. His life has been already related at length.

CHILO. He was a Lacedemonian: very little is related of him. Æſop asking him one day, how Jupiter employ'd himſelf; *In humbling thoſe*, ſays he, *that exalt themſelves, and exalting thoſe that abaſe themſelves.*

He died of joy at Piſa, upon ſeeing his ſon win the prize at boxing, at the Olympic games. He ſaid, when he was dying, that he was not conſcious to himſelf of having committed any fault during the whole courſe of his life (an opinion well becoming the pride and blindneſs of a heathen philoſopher;) unleſs it was once, by having made uſe of a little diſſimulation and evaſion, in giving judgment in favour of a friend: in which action he did not know, whether he had done well or ill. He died about the 52d Olympiad.

PITTACUS. He was of Mitylene, a city of Leſbos. Joining with the brothers of Alcæus, the famous Lyric poet, and with Alcæus himſelf, who was at the

(*f*) A. M. 3467. Ant. J. C. 545.

head

head of the exil'd party, he drove the tyrants who had uſurped the government out of that iſland.

The inhabitants of Mitylene being at war with the Athenians, gave Pittacus the command of the army. To ſpare the blood of his fellow-citizens, he offer'd to fight Phrynon, the enemy's general, in ſingle combat. The challenge was accepted. Pittacus was victorious, and kill'd his adverſary. The Mitylenians, out of gratitude, with unanimous conſent conferr'd the ſovereignty of the city upon him; which he accepted, and behav'd himſelf with ſo much moderation and wiſdom, that he was always reſpected and beloved by his ſubjects.

In the mean time Alcæus, who was a declared enemy to all tyrants, did not ſpare Pittacus in his verſes, notwithſtanding the mildneſs of his government and temper, but inveigh'd ſeverely againſt him. The poet fell afterwards into Pittacus's hands, who was ſo far from taking revenge, that he gave him his liberty, and ſhew'd by that act of clemency and generoſity that he was only a tyrant in name.

After having govern'd ten years with great equity and wiſdom, he voluntarily reſigned his authority, and retired. * He uſed to ſay, that the proof of a good government was to engage the ſubjects, not to be afraid of their prince, but to be afraid for him. It was a maxim with him, that no man ſhould ever give himſelf the liberty of ſpeaking ill of a friend, or even of an enemy. He died in the 52d Olympiad.

BIAS. We know but very little of Bias. He obliged Alyattus, king of Lydia, by ſtratagem, to raiſe the ſiege of Priene, where he was born. This city was hard preſs'd with famine: upon which he cauſed two mules to be fattened, and contrived a way to have them paſs into the enemy's camp. The good condition they were in aſtoniſhed the king, who thereupon ſent deputies into the city, upon pretence of offering

* Εἰ τὰς ὑπηκόους ὁ ἄρχων τὸν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. Plut. in παρασκευάσειε φοβεῖσθαι μὴ αὐ- conv. ſept. ſap. p. 152.

terms

terms of peace, but really to obſerve the ſtate of the town and the people. Bias gueſſing their errand, ordered the granaries to be fill'd with great heaps of ſand, and thoſe heaps to be covered over with corn. When the deputies returned, and made report to the king, of the great plenty of proviſion they had ſeen in the city, he heſitated no longer, but concluded a treaty, and raiſed the ſiege. * One of the maxims Bias particularly taught and recommended, was, to do all the good we can, and aſcribe all the glory of it to the gods.

CLEOBULUS. We know as little of this wiſe-man, as of the former. He was born at Lindos, a town in the iſle of Rhodes; or, as ſome will have it, in Caria. He invited Solon to come and live with him, when Piſiſtratus had uſurped the ſovereignty of Athens.

PERIANDER. He was numbered among the wiſemen, tho' he was a tyrant of Corinth. When he had firſt made himſelf maſter of that city, he writ to Thraſybulus, tyrant of Miletos, to know what meaſures he ſhould take with his new-acquired ſubjects. The latter, without any other anſwer, led the meſſenger into a field of wheat, where in walking along he beat down with his cane all the ears of corn, that were higher than the reſt. Periander perfectly well underſtood the meaning of this enigmatical anſwer; which was a tacit intimation to him, that, in order to ſecure his own life, he ſhould cut off the moſt eminent of the Corinthian citizens. (*a*) But, if we may believe Plutarch, Periander did not reliſh ſo cruel an advice.

(*b*) He writ circular letters to all the wiſe-men, inviting them to paſs ſome time with him at Corinth, as they had done the year before at Sardis with Crœſus. Princes in thoſe days thought themſelves much honoured, when they could have ſuch gueſts in their houſes. (*c*) Plutarch deſcribes an entertainment, which

* Ὅ, τι ἂν ἀγαθὸν πράτ]ῃς, εἰς θεὸς ἀνάπεμπε.

(*a*) In Conv. ſept. ſap. (*b*) Diog. Laert. in Vit. Periand.
(*c*) In Conv. ſept. ſap.

Periander

Periander gave these illustrious guests; and observes at the same time, that the decent simplicity of it, adapted to the taste and humour of the persons entertained, did him much more honour, than the greatest magnificence could have done. The subject of their discourse at table was sometimes grave and serious, and sometimes pleasant and gay. One of the company propos'd this question: Which is the most perfect popular government? That, answer'd Solon, where an injury done to any private citizen is such to the whole body: That, says Bias, where the law has no superior: That, says Thales, where the inhabitants are neither too rich, nor too poor: That, says Anacharsis, Where virtue is honoured, and vice detested: says Pittacus, Where dignities are always conferr'd upon the virtuous, and never upon the wicked: says Cleobulus, Where the citizens fear blame, more than punishment: says Chilo, Where the laws are more regarded and have more authority than the orators. From all these opinions Periander concluded, that the most perfect popular government would be that which came nearest to aristocracy, where the sovereign authority is lodged in the hands of a few men of honour and virtue.

Whilst these wise-men were assembled together at Periander's court, a courier arrived from Amasis king of Egypt with a letter for Bias, with whom that king kept a close correspondence. The purport of this letter was, to consult him how he should answer a proposal made to him by the king of Ethiopia, of his drinking up the sea; in which case the Ethiopian king promised to resign to him a certain number of cities in his dominions: but if he did not do it, then he, Amasis, was to give up the same number of his cities to the king of Ethiopia. It was usual in those days for princes to propound such enigmatical and puzzling questions to one another. Bias answer'd him directly, and advised him to accept the offer, on condition that the king of Ethiopia would stop all the rivers that flow

into

into the ſea : for the buſineſs was only to drink up the ſea, and not the rivers. We find an anſwer to the ſame effect aſcribed to Æſop.

I muſt not here forget to take notice, that theſe wiſemen, of whom I have been ſpeaking, were all lovers of poetry, and compoſed verſes themſelves, ſome of them a conſiderable number, upon ſubjects of morality and policy, which are certainly topicks not unworthy of the muſes. (*d*) Solon however is reproach'd for having written ſome licentious verſes; which may teach us what judgment we ought to form of theſe pretended wiſe-men of the pagan world.

Inſtead of ſome of the wiſe-men which I have mentioned, ſome people have ſubſtituted others; as Anacharſis, for example, Myſo, Epimenides, Pherecydes. The firſt of theſe is the moſt known in ſtory.

ANACHARSIS. Long before Solon's time the Scythian Nomades were in great reputation for their ſimplicity, frugality, temperance, and juſtice. (*e*) Homer calls them a very juſt nation. Anacharſis was one of theſe Scythians, and of the royal family. A certain Athenian once in company with Anacharſis reproach'd him with his country: My country, you think, reply'd Anacharſis, is no great honour to me; and you Sir, in my opinion, are no great honour to your country. His good ſenſe, profound knowledge, and great experience made him paſs for one of the ſeven wiſe-men. He writ a treatiſe in verſe upon the art military, and compoſed another tract on the laws of Scythia.

He uſed to make viſits to Solon. It was in a converſation with him, that he compared laws to cobwebs, which only entangle little flies, whilſt waſps and hornets break through them.

Being inur'd to the auſtere and poor life of the Scythians, he ſet little value upon riches. Crœſus invited him to come and ſee him, and without doubt hinted to him, that he was able to mend his fortune. "I have

(*d*) Plut. in Solon. p. 79. (*e*) Iliad. lib. 11. 6.

"no

" no occaſion for your gold, ſaid the Scythian in his " anſwer; I came into Greece only to enrich my " mind, and improve my underſtanding; I ſhall be " very well ſatisfied, if I return into my own coun- " try, not with an addition to my wealth, but with " an encreaſe of knowledge and virtue." However Anacharſis accepted the invitation, and went to that prince's court.

(*a*) We have already obſerved that Æſop was much ſurprized and diſſatisfied at the cold and indifferent manner, in which Solon view'd the magnificence of the palace, and the vaſt treaſures of Crœſus; becauſe it was the maſter, and not the houſe, that the philoſopher would have had reaſon to admire. " Certainly, " ſays Anacharſis to Æſop on that occaſion, you have " forgot your own fable of the fox and panther. The " latter, for her higheſt virtue, could only ſhew her " fine ſkin, beautifully mark'd and ſpotted with diffe- " rent colours: the fox's ſkin, on the contrary, was " very plain, but contained within it a treaſure of " ſubtilties, and ſtratagems of infinite value. This " very image, continued the Scythian, ſhews me your " own character. You are affected with a ſplendid " outſide, whilſt you pay little or no regard to what is " truly the man, that is, to that which is in him, and " conſequently properly his.

This would be the proper place for an epitome of the life and ſentiments of Pythagoras, who flouriſh'd in the time of which I have been ſpeaking. But this I defer till I come to another volume, wherein I deſign to join a great many philoſophers together, in order to give the reader the better opportunity of comparing their reſpective doctrines and tenets.

ÆSOP. I join Æſop with the wiſe-men of Greece; not only becauſe he was often amongſt them *, but becauſe

(*a*) Plut. in Conv. ſept. ſap. p. 155.

* Æſopus ille è Phrygia fabulator, haud immeritò ſapiens exiſtimatus eſt: cùm, quæ utilia monitu ſuaſuque erant, non ſeverè, non

cauſe he taught true wiſdom with far more art than they do who teach it by rules and definitions.

Æſop was by birth a Phrygian. As to his mind, he had abundance of wit; but with regard to his body, he was hunch-back'd, little, crooked, deformed, and withal of a very uncomely countenance; having ſcarce the figure of a man; and for a very conſiderable time almoſt without the uſe of ſpeech. As to his condition of life, he was a ſlave; and the merchant who had bought him, found it very difficult to get him off his hands, ſo extremely were people ſhock'd at his unſightly figure and deformity.

The firſt maſter he had, ſent him to labour in the field; whether it was that he thought him incapable of any better employment, or only to remove ſo diſagreeable an object out of his ſight.

He was afterwards ſold to a philoſopher, named Xanthus. I ſhould never have done, ſhould I relate all the ſtrokes of wit, the ſprightly repartees, and the arch and humorous circumſtances of his words and behaviour. One day his maſter, deſigning to treat ſome of his friends, order'd *Æſop* to provide the beſt things he could find in the market. *Æſop* thereupon made a large proviſion of tongues, which he deſired the cook to ſerve up with different ſauces. When dinner came, the firſt and ſecond courſe, the laſt ſervice, and all the made diſhes, were tongues. Did I not order you, ſays Xanthus in a violent paſſion, to buy the beſt victuals the market afforded? And have I not obeyed your orders, ſays *Æſop*? Is there any thing better than tongues? Is not the tongue the bond of civil ſociety, the key of ſciences, and the organ of truth and reaſon? By means of the tongue cities are built, and governments eſtabliſhed and adminiſtred: with that men in-

non imperiosè præcepit & cenſuit, ut philoſophis mos eſt, ſed feſtivos delectabileſque apologos commentus, res ſalubriter ac proſpicienter animadverſas, in mentes animoſque hominum cum audiendi quadam illecebra induit. *Aul. Gell. Noct. Art. lib. 2. cap. 29.*

ſtruct, perſuade and preſide in aſſemblies: 'tis the inſtrument, by which we acquit ourſelves of the chief of all our duties, the praiſing and adoring the gods. Well then, replied Xanthus, thinking to catch him, go to market again to-morrow, and buy me the worſt things you can find. This ſame company will dine with me, and I have a mind to diverſify my entertainment. Æſop the next day provided nothing but the very ſame diſhes; telling his maſter, that the tongue was the worſt thing in the world. 'Tis, ſays he, the inſtrument of all ſtrife and contention, the fomenter of law-ſuits, and the ſource of diviſions and wars: 'tis the organ of error, of lies, calumny and blaſphemy.

Æſop found it very difficult to obtain his liberty. One of the firſt uſes he made of it was to go to Crœſus, who, on account of his great reputation and fame, had been long deſirous to ſee him. The ſtrange deformity of Æſop's perſon ſhock'd the king at firſt, and much abated the good opinion he had conceiv'd of him. But the beauty of his mind ſoon diſcover'd itſelf thro' the coarſe veil that cover'd it; and Crœſus found, as Æſop ſaid on another occaſion, that we ought not to conſider the form of the veſſel, but the quality of the liquor it contains.

(*b*) He made ſeveral voyages into Greece, either for pleaſure or upon the affairs of Crœſus. Being at Athens ſome ſmall time after Piſiſtratus had uſurped the ſovereignty, and aboliſhed the popular government, and obſerving that the Athenians bore this new yoke with great impatience, he repeated to them the fable of the frogs who demanded a king from Jupiter.

It is doubted whether the fables of Æſop, ſuch as we have them, are all his, at leaſt in regard to the expreſſion. Great part of them are aſcribed to Planudius, who wrote his life, and lived in the 14th century.

Æſop is taken for the author and inventor of this

(*b*) Phædr. l. 1. fab. 2.

ſimple

ſimple and natural manner of conveying inſtructio, by tales and fables; in which manner Phædrus ſpeaks of him:

Æſopus auctor quam materiam reperit,
Hanc ego polivi verſibus ſenariis.

But the * glory of this invention is really the poet Heſiod's; an invention, which does not ſeem to be of any great importance, or extraordinary merit; and yet has been much eſteemed and made uſe of by the greateſt philoſophers and ableſt politicians. (*c*) Plato tells us, that Socrates, a little before he died, turn'd ſome of Æſop's fables into verſe: (*d*) and Plato himſelf earneſtly recommends it to nurſes to inſtruct their children in them betimes, in order to form their manners, and to inſpire them early with the love of wiſdom.

Fables could never have been ſo univerſally adopted by all nations, as we ſee they have, if there was not a vaſt fund of uſeful truths contained in them, and agreeably concealed under that plain and negligent diſguiſe, in which their peculiar character conſiſts. The creator, certainly deſigning the proſpect of nature for the inſtruction of mankind, endowed the brute part of it with various inſtincts, inclinations and properties, to ſerve as ſo many pictures in little to man of the ſeveral duties incumbent upon him; and to point out to him the good or evil qualities, he ought to acquire or avoid. Thus has he given us, for inſtance, a lively image of meekneſs and innocence in the lamb; of fidelity and friendſhip in the dog; and on the contrary, of violence, rapaciouſneſs and cruelty in the wolf, the lion

(*c*) Plat. in Phæd. p. 60.

(*d*) Lib. 2. de Rep. p. 378.

* Illæ quoque fabulæ, quæ, etiamſi originem non ab Æſopo acceperunt, (nam videtur earum primus auctor Heſiodus) nomine tamen Æſopi maximè celebrantur, ducere animos ſolent, præcipuè ruſticorum & imperitorum: qui & ſimplicius quæ ficta ſunt audiunt, & capti voluptate, facilè iis quibus delectantur conſentiunt. *Quintil.* l. 5. c. 12.

and

and the tyger; and ſo of the other ſpecies of animals: and all this he has deſign'd, not only as inſtruction, but as a ſecret reproof to man, if he ſhould be indifferent about thoſe qualities in himſelf, which he cannot forbear eſteeming, or deteſting, even in the brutes themſelves.

This is a dumb language, which all nations underſtand: 'tis a ſentiment engraven in nature, which every man carries about him. *Æſop* was the firſt of all the prophane writers, who laid hold of, and unfolded it, made happy applications of it, and attracted men's attention to this ſort of genuine and natural inſtruction, which is within the reach of all capacities, and equally adapted to perſons of all ages and conditions. He was the firſt, that, in order to give body and ſubſtance to virtues, vices, duties and maxims of ſociety, did, by an ingenious artifice and innocent fiction, invent the method of cloathing them with graceful and familiar images borrowed from nature, by giving language to brute beaſts, and aſcribing ſenſe and reaſon to plants and trees, and all ſorts of inanimate creatures.

The fables of *Æſop* are void of all ornament; but abound with good ſenſe, and are adapted to the capacity of children, for whom they were more particularly compos'd. Thoſe of Phædrus are in a ſtyle ſomewhat more elevated and diffus'd, but at the ſame time have a ſimplicity and elegance, that very much reſemble the Attic ſpirit and ſtyle in the plain way of writing, which was the fineſt and moſt delicate kind of compoſition in uſe among the Grecians. Monſieur de la Fontaine, who was very ſenſible, that the French tongue is not ſuſceptible of the ſame elegant ſimplicity, has enliven'd his fables with a ſprightly and original turn of thought and expreſſion, peculiar to himſelf, which no other perſon has yet been able to imitate.

It is not eaſy to conceive, why * Seneca lays down as a fact, that the Romans to his time had never tried their pens in this kind of compoſition. Were the fables of Phædrus unknown to him?

(*e*) Plutarch relates the manner of Æſop's death. He went to Delphos with a great quantity of gold and ſilver, to offer in the name of Crœſus, a great ſacrifice to Apollo, and to give each inhabitant a † conſiderable ſum. A quarrel which aroſe between him and the people of Delphos, occaſioned him, after the ſacrifice, to ſend back the money to Crœſus, and to inform him, that thoſe for whom it was intended had rendered themſelves unworthy of his bounty. The inhabitants of Delphos cauſed him to be condemned as guilty of ſacrilege, and to be thrown down from the top of a rock. The god, offended by this action, puniſhed them with a plague and famine; ſo that to put an end to thoſe evils, they cauſed it to be ſignified in all the aſſemblies of Greece, that if any one, for the honour of Æſop, would come and claim vengeance for his death, they would give him ſatisfaction. (*f*) At the third generation a man from Samos preſented himſelf, who had no other relation to Æſop, but being deſcended from the perſons who had bought that fabuliſt. The Delphians made this man ſatisfaction, and thereby delivered themſelves from the peſtilence and famine that diſtreſſed them.

The Athenians, thoſe excellent judges of true glory, erected a noble ſtatue to this learned and ingenious ſlave; to let all the people know, ſays (*g*) Phædrus, that the ways of honour were open indifferently to all

(*e*) De ſera Numinis vindicta, p. 556, 557. (*f*) Herod. lib. 2. cap. 134. (*g*) Lib. 2.

* Non audeo te uſque eò producere, ut fabellas quoque & Æſopeos logos, INTENTATUM ROMANIS INGENIIS OPUS, ſolita tibi venuſtate connectas. *Senec. de Conſol. ad Polyb.* c. 27.

† *Four mina's, equal to* 240 *livres.*

mankind, and that it was not to birth but merit they paid ſo diſtinguiſhing an homage.

Æſopo ingentem ſtatuam poſuere Attici,
Servumque collocarunt æterna in baſi,
Patêre honoris ſcirent ut cuncti viam,
Nec generi tribui, ſed virtuti gloriam.

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INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE I enter upon the hiſtory of the PERSIANS and GRECIANS, I ſhall, 1. prefix here ſome preliminary obſervations, by way of introduction. 2. I ſhall lay down the plan and diviſion of the ſeveral parts of this third volume; and 3. an abridgment of the Lacedæmonian hiſtory, from the eſtabliſhment of their kings to the reign of Darius, where this third volume begins.

ARTICLE I.

A brief idea of the hiſtory contained in this third volume. What uſe is to be made of it.

THIS third volume of the antient hiſtory, will open an entirely new ſcene to the reader's view, not unworthy his curioſity and attention. In the preceding volume, we have ſeen two ſtates of no great conſideration, Media and Perſia, extend themſelves far and wide, under the conduct of Cyrus, like a torrent or devouring fire, and by an amazing rapidity conquer and ſubdue many provinces and kingdoms. In this we ſhall ſee that vaſt empire ſetting the nations under its dominion in motion, the Perſians, Medes, Phœnicians, Egyptians, Babylonians, Indians, and many others, and falling with all the forces of Aſia and the Eaſt upon a little country, of very ſmall extent, and deſtitute of all foreign aſſiſtance; I mean Greece. When, on the one hand, we behold ſo many nations united together, ſuch preparations of war made for ſeveral years with ſo much diligence; innumerable armies by ſea and land, and ſuch fleets as the ſea could hardly contain: and, on the other

hand, two weak cities, Athens and Lacedæmon, abandon'd by all their allies, and left almoſt entirely to themſelves: have we not reaſon to believe, that theſe two little cities are going to be utterly deſtroyed and ſwallowed up by ſo formidable an enemy; and that there will not be ſo much as any footſteps of them left remaining? and yet we ſhall find, that they prove victorious; and by their invincible courage, and the ſeveral battles they gained, both by ſea and land, made the Perſian empire lay aſide all thoughts of ever turning their arms againſt Greece any more.

The hiſtory of the war between the Perſians and the Greeks, will illuſtrate the truth of this maxim; that it is not the number, but the valour of the troops, and the conduct of the generals, on which depends the ſucceſs of military expeditions. The reader will admire the ſurprizing courage and intrepidity of the great men at the head of the Grecian affairs, whom neither all the world in motion againſt them could deject, nor the greateſt of misfortunes diſconcert; who undertook, with an handful of men, to make head againſt innumerable armies; who, notwithſtanding ſuch a prodigious inequality of forces, durſt hope for ſucceſs; who even compelled victory to declare on the ſide of merit and virtue; and taught all ſucceeding generations what infinite reſources and expedients are to be found in prudence, valour, and experience; in a zeal for liberty and our country; in the love of our duty, and in all the ſentiments of noble and generous ſouls.

This war of the Perſians againſt the Grecians will be followed by another amongſt the Greeks themſelves, but of a very different kind from the former. In the latter, there will ſcarce be any actions, but what in appearance are of little conſequence, and ſeemingly unworthy of a reader's curioſity, who is fond of great events: in this he will meet with little beſides private quarrels between certain cities, or ſome ſmall commonwealths; ſome inconſiderable ſieges, (excepting

that

that of Syracuſe, one of the moſt important related in antient hiſtory) though ſeveral of theſe ſieges were of conſiderable duration; ſome battles between armies, where the numbers were ſmall, and but little blood ſhed. What is it then, that has render'd theſe wars ſo famous in hiſtory? Salluſt informs us in theſe words; " * The actions of the Athenians doubtleſs were great, " and yet I believe they were ſomewhat leſs than fame " is for having us to conceive of them. But becauſe " Athens had noble writers, the acts of that republic " are celebrated throughout the whole world as the " moſt glorious: and the gallantry of thoſe heroes " who perform'd them, has had the good fortune to " be thought as tranſcendent as the eloquence of thoſe " who have deſcribed them."

Salluſt, though jealous enough of the glory the Romans had acquired by a ſeries of diſtinguiſhed actions, with which their hiſtory abounds, yet he does juſtice in this paſſage to the Grecians, by acknowledging, that their exploits were truly great and illuſtrious, tho' ſomewhat inferior, in his opinion, to their fame. What is then this foreign and borrowed luſtre, which the Athenian actions have derived from the eloquence of their hiſtorians? It is, that the whole univerſe agrees in looking upon them as the greateſt and moſt glorious, that were ever performed. *Per terrarum orbem Athenienſium facta pro maximis celebrantur.* All nations ſeduced and enchanted, as it were, with the beauties of the Greek authors, think that people's exploits ſuperior to any thing that was ever done by any other nation. This, according to Salluſt, is the ſervice the Greek authors have done the Athenians, by their excellent manner of deſcribing their actions; and very unhappy it is for us, that our hiſtory, for want

* Athenienſium res geſtæ, ſicuti ego exiſtimo, ſatis amplæ magnificæque fuerunt: verùm aliquanto minores tamen, quàm famâ feruntur. Sed quia provenere ibi ſcriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Athenienſium facta pro maximis celebrantur. Ita eorum, quæ fecere, virtus tanta habetur, quantum eam verbis potuere extollere præclara ingenia. *Salluſt. in bell. Catilin.*

of the like aſſiſtance, has left a thouſand bright actions and fine ſayings unrecorded, which would have been put in the ſtrongeſt light by the antient writers, and have done great honour to our country.

But, however this be, it muſt be confeſs'd, that we are not always to judge of the value of an action, or the merit of the perſons who had ſhared in it, by the importance of the event. 'Tis rather in ſuch little ſieges and engagements, as we find recorded in the hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war, that the conduct and abilities of a general are truly conſpicuous. Accordingly it is obſerved, that it was chiefly at the head of ſmall armies, and in countries of no great extent, that our beſt generals of the laſt age diſtinguiſhed their capacity, and behaved with a conduct not inferior to the moſt celebrated captains of antiquity. In actions of this ſort, chance has no ſhare, and does not cover any overſights, that are committed. Every thing is conducted and carried on by the prudence of the general. He is truly the ſoul of the army, which neither acts, nor moves, but by his direction. He ſees every thing, and is preſent every where. Nothing eſcapes his vigilance and attention. Orders are ſeaſonably given, and ſeaſonably executed. Fineſſe, ſtratagems, falſe marches, real or feigned attacks, incampments, decampments, in a word, every things depends upon him alone.

On this account the reading of the Greek hiſtorians, ſuch as Thucydides, Xenophon, and Polybius, is of infinite ſervice to young officers; becauſe thoſe hiſtorians, who were alſo excellent commanders, enter into all the particulars of the military art, and lead the readers, as it were, by the hand through all the ſieges and battles they deſcribe; ſhewing them by the example of the greateſt generals of antiquity, and by a kind of anticipated experience, in what manner war is to be carried on.

Nor is it only with regard to military exploits, that the Grecian hiſtory affords us ſuch excellent models.

We

We ſhall there find celebrated legiſlators, able politicians, magiſtrates born for government, men that have excelled in all arts and ſciences, philoſophers, that carried their enquiries as far as was poſſible in thoſe early ages, and who have left us ſuch maxims of morality, as many chriſtians ought to bluſh at.

It is true, theſe very philoſophers, notwithſtanding their penetration in ſome points, were entirely blind and ignorant as to others, even to the degree of conteſting ſome of the moſt evident principles of the law of nature; and very often ſuffered their practice to bely their doctrine, and themſelves to fall into the moſt groſs irregularities. The divine providence permitted it ſo to be, and thought fit to give them up to a reprobate mind, in order to puniſh their pride, and to teach us by their example, what enormities men are capable of, even the wiſeſt and moſt knowing, when they are left to their own weakneſs and natural depravity; and from what an abyſs the mercy of our divine mediator has delivered us. But tho' they fell into ſome errors, both with reſpect to the underſtanding and the heart, which we are obliged to deteſt; yet that does not hinder their books from containing many excellent maxims, which, according to (*a*) St. Auſtin, we are entitled to claim as a benefit appertaining to us, in the ſame manner as the Iſraelites, when they came out of Egypt, enriched themſelves with the ſpoils thereof: for this has been the practice of all the ſaints: (*b*) *Ipſi Gentiles ſiquid divinum & rectum in doctrinis ſuis habere potuerunt, non improbaverunt ſancti noſtri.*

The ſame thing may be ſaid with regard to the virtuous actions of the heathens, whereof we ſhall find a great abundance in the Grecian hiſtory. We are told by St. Auſtin *, that according to the rule of juſtice,

(*a*) St. Aug. de Doctr. Chriſ. l. 6. c. 40. (*b*) De bapt. con. Donat. l. 6. c. 87.

* Habendi ſunt in eorum numero, quorum etiam impiorum, nec Deum verum veraciter juſtéque colentium, quædam tamen facta vel legimus,

ſecundum juſtitiæ regulam, we ought to be ſo far from blaming and condemning thoſe actions, that we are obliged in reaſon to commend and extol them. Not that thoſe actions were good and laudable in every reſpect; St. Auſtin † was very far from entertaining ſuch an opinion. He looked upon them only as good in their nature, and with reſpect to the duty of the agents: but as to the end, for which they were done, that father thought them very blameable, becauſe they were not directed to the glory of God. Theſe men had no recourſe to the true God, (for him they did not know) nor was it to him they addreſſed themſelves for wiſdom in their counſels, ſucceſs in their undertakings, the improvement of their talents or their virtue. It was not to the true God, they returned thanks for theſe bleſſings; nor did they give him the glory of them by an humble acknowledgment. They did not conſider him, either as the ſource and principle, or as the end of all the good they were capable of doing. Their beſt actions were corrupted either by ſelf-love or ingratitude: they could not therefore be available towards ſalvation, which is only to be obtained thro' faith in Jeſus Chriſt.

(*c*) But notwithſtanding this, according to the ſame father, it may be very uſeful to chriſtians, both for their inſtruction and the regulation of their manners, to have the virtuous actions of the heathens laid before them in their full light, provided they ſet not too high a value upon them: for what the ſame father ſays of the virtues of the antient Romans, may undoubtedly be applied with equal reaſon to thoſe of the Grecians.

(*c*) St. Auſt. de Civ. Dei, l. 5. c. 18.

legimus, vel novimus, vel audimus, quæ ſecundum juſtitiæ regulam non ſolùm vituperare non poſſumus, verùm etiam meritò rectéque laudamus. *S. Aug. lib. de Spir. & lit.* n. 48.

† Noveris itaque non officiis ſed finibus à vitiis diſcernendas eſſe virtutes. Officium autem eſt, quod faciendum eſt; finis verò, propter quod faciendum eſt. *Id. contr. Julian.* lib. 4. c. 3. n. 21. Non erat in eis vera juſtitia, quia non actibus ſed finibus penſantur officia. *Ibid.* n. 26.

He

He employs a whole chapter, and that a pretty long one, in pointing out the moſt illuſtrious actions and ſignal virtues of that people: as their love of the publick good; their devoted attachment to their country; their conſtancy in ſuffering the moſt cruel torments, and even death itſelf; their noble and generous diſintereſtedneſs; their eſteeming and chuſing poverty; their profound reverence for religion and the gods. He makes ſeveral reflections upon this ſubject, which well deſerve a place here.

In the firſt place he ſuppoſeth, that it was in order to recompence the Romans for all theſe virtues, which yet were virtues only in name and appearance, that the divine providence gave them the empire of the univerſe, a recompence very ſuitable to their deſerts, and with which they were weak enough to be contented. * For the ſame reaſon he ſuppoſes God thought fit to let their name be ſo glorious, and ſo much eſteemed by all nations and in all ages, that ſo many great and illuſtrious actions ſhould not paſs entirely unrewarded.

In the ſecond place he obſerves, that ſuch virtues, notwithſtanding their being falſe, are of publick advantage to mankind, and that they enter into the ſecret deſigns of God towards the puniſhing or rewarding of his creatures. The love of glory, which is a vice, yet ſerves to ſuppreſs many other vices, of a more hurtful and miſchievous nature, ſuch as injuſtice, violence, and cruelty. And can it be queſtioned, † whether a magiſtrate, a governor of a province, or a ſovereign, that are gentle, patient, juſt, chaſte, and beneficent, though merely upon human motives of intereſt or vain-glory, are not infinitely more ſerviceable to the commonwealth, than they would be, if they

* Si Romanis Deus neque hanc terrenam gloriam excellentiſſimi imperii concederet, non redderetur merces bonis artibus eorum, (*i. e.* virtutibus) quibus ad tantam gloriam pervenire nitebantur. At non eſt quod de ſummi & veri Dei juſtitia conquerantur: perceperunt mercedem ſuam. *Ibid.* cap. 15.

† Conſtat eos, qui cives non ſint civitatis æternæ, utiliores eſſe terrenæ civitati quando habent virtutem vel ipſam, quam ſi nec ipſam. *Ibid.* cap. 19.

were deſtitute of thoſe external appearances and ſhadows of virtue; and whether men of ſuch diſpoſitions may be reckoned among the moſt valuable preſents of heaven? We may the better judge of this matter, if we only compare ſuch magiſtrates and princes with thoſe of a contrary character, who, laying aſide all honour and probity, deſpiſing reputation, and trampling upon the moſt ſacred laws, acknowledge no other but their brutal paſſions: who are, in a word, ſuch as God in his wrath ſets over a people he intends to puniſh, and which he thinks worthy of ſuch maſters. (e) *Et talibus quidem dominandi poteſtas non datur niſi ſummi Dei providentiâ, quando res humanas judicat talibus dominis dignas.*

The third and laſt reflection this father makes, and which is the moſt pertinent to my ſubject, and to the end I propoſe in writing this antient hiſtory, relates to the uſe that ought to be made of the praiſes given to the virtuous heathens. It ſhews what advantage a prudent reader ſhould reap from the relation of the great exploits and virtuous actions of the Grecians, which will be the principal ſubject of this, and the following volumes. When we ſee theſe men ſacrificing their eſtates and fortunes to the relief of their fellow-citizens, their lives to the preſervation of the ſtate, and even their fame and glory to the publick good; when we ſee them practiſing the moſt arduous virtues, and that on motives purely human, in order to acquire a tranſient reputation: † what reproaches ought we not to make to ourſelves, and how much ought we to be aſhamed, if, profeſſing a religion, that recommends itſelf to us by the promiſes of eternal rewards, and has ſuch powerful motives to enforce our love and gratitude, we

(e) Ibid. c. 19.

† Ideo nobis propoſita ſunt neceſſariæ commonitionis exempla, ut, ſi virtutes, quarum iſtæ utcunque ſunt ſimiles, quas iſti pro civitatis terrenæ gloriâ tenuerunt, pro Dei glorioſiſſimâ civitate non tenuerimus, pudore pungamur; ſi tenuerimus, ſuperbiâ non extollamur. *Ibid.* c. 18.

however

however want the courage and reſolution to practiſe the ſame virtues? And if we are ſo happy as to fulfil our engagements, and duty, how can we be proud of it, when we conſider how much greater things were done on a motive of mere vain-glory, by men who knew not God, and who confined all their deſires to the goods of this preſent life?

This then, according to St. Auſtin, is the principal uſe to be made of the ſtudy and reading of prophane hiſtory: nor did the † divine providence ſuffer the Greeks and Romans to become ſo famous and illuſtrious, but in order to give the greater weight to thoſe examples of virtue with which their hiſtory abounds, that by our reading them with ſerioufneſs and attention, we ſhould learn, from the love they bore to an earthly country, and to a glory of ſo ſhort a duration, what longing we ought to have after an heavenly country, where an eternity of happineſs waits us.

If the virtues related in hiſtory, may ſerve us for models in the conduct of our lives; their vices and failings, on the other hand, are no leſs proper to caution and inſtruct us; and the ſtrict regard, which an hiſtorian is obliged to have for truth, will not allow him to diſſemble the latter, out of fear of eclipſing the luſtre of the former. Nor does what I here advance, contradict the rule laid down by Plutarch (*f*), on the ſame ſubject, in his preface to the life of Cimon. He requires, that the illuſtrious actions of great men be repreſented in their full light: but as to the faults, which may ſometimes eſcape them thro' paſſion or ſurprize, or into which they may be drawn by the neceſſity of affairs, ‖ conſidering them rather as a certain degree of perfection wanting to their virtue, than as vices or

(*f*) In Cim. p. 479, & 480.

† Ut cives æternæ illius civitatis, quamdiu hic peregrinantur, diligenter & ſobriè illa intuentur exempla, & videant quanta dilectio debeatur ſupernæ patriæ propter vitam æternam, ſi tantum à ſuis civibus terrena dilecta eſt propter minimam gloriam. *Ibid.* c. 16.

‖ Ἐλλείμματα μᾶλλον ἀρετῆς τινος, ἢ κακίας πεπτώματα.

crimes, that proceed from any corruption of the heart; ſuch imperfections as theſe, he would have the hiſtorian, out of compaſſion to the weakneſs of human nature, which produces nothing entirely perfect, content himſelf with touching very lightly: in the ſame manner as an able painter, when he has a fine face to draw, in which he finds ſome little blemiſh or defect, does neither entirely ſuppreſs it, nor think himſelf obliged to repreſent it with a ſtrict exactneſs; becauſe the one would ſpoil the beauty of the picture, and the other would deſtroy the likeneſs. The very compariſon Plutarch uſes, ſhows, that he ſpeaks only of ſlight and excuſable faults. But as to actions of injuſtice, violence, and brutality, they ought not to be concealed, or diſguiſed on any account; nor can we ſuppoſe, that the ſame privilege ſhould be allowed in hiſtory as is in painting; which invented the * profile, to repreſent the ſide-face of a prince, who had loſt an eye, and by that means ingeniouſly conceal'd ſo diſagreeable a deformity. Hiſtory, the moſt eſſential rule of which is ſincerity, will by no means admit of ſuch indulgences, that indeed would deprive it of its greateſt advantage.

Shame, reproach, infamy, hatred, and the execrations of the publick, which are the inſeparable attendants on criminal and brutal actions, are no leſs proper to excite an horror for vice; than the glory, which perpetually attends good actions, is to inſpire us with the love of virtue. And theſe, according to † Tacitus, are the two ends, which every hiſtorian ought to propoſe to himſelf, by making a judicious choice of what is moſt extraordinary both in good and evil, in order to occaſion that publick homage to be paid to virtue, which is juſtly due to it; and to create the

* Habet in pictura ſpeciem tota facies. Apelles tamen imaginem Antigoni latere tantùm altero oſtendit, ut amiſſi oculi deformitas lateret. *Quin.* l. 2. c. 13.

† Excqui ſententias haud inſtitui, *niſi* inſignes per honeſtum aut notabili dedecore: quod præcipuum munus annalium reor ne virtutes ſileantur, utque pravis dictis factiſque ex poſteritate & infamiâ metus ſit. *Tacit. Ann.* l. 3. c. 65.

greater

greater abhorrence for vice, on account of that eternal infamy that attends it.

The hiſtory I write only furniſhes too many examples of the latter ſort. With reſpect to the Perſians, it will appear, by what is ſaid of their kings, that thoſe princes, whoſe power has no other bounds but thoſe of their will, often abandon themſelves to all their paſſions; that nothing is more difficult than to reſiſt the deluſions of a man's own greatneſs, and the flatteries of thoſe that ſurround him; that the liberty of gratifying all one's deſires, and of doing evil with impunity, is a dangerous ſituation; that the beſt diſpoſitions can hardly withſtand ſuch a temptation; that, even after having preſerved themſelves in the beginning, they are inſenſibly corrupted by ſoftneſs and effeminacy, by pride, and their averſion to ſincere counſels; and that it rarely happens they are wiſe enough to conſider that, when they find themſelves exalted above all laws and reſtraints, they ſtand then moſt in need of moderation and wiſdom, both in regard to themſelves and others; and that in ſuch a ſituation they ought to be doubly wiſe, and doubly ſtrong, in order to ſet bounds within by their reaſon to a power that has none without.

With reſpect to the Grecians, the Peloponneſian war will ſhow the miſerable effects of their inteſtine diviſions, and the fatal exceſſes, into which they were led by their thirſt of dominion: ſcenes of injuſtice, ingratitude, and perfidy, together with the open violation of treaties, or mean artifices and unworthy tricks to elude their execution. It will ſhow, how ſcandalouſly the Lacedæmonians and Athenians debaſed themſelves to the Barbarians, in order to beg aids of money from them: how ſhamefully the great deliverers of Greece renounced the glory of all their paſt labours and exploits, by ſtooping and making their court to certain haughty and inſolent ſatrapæ, and by going, ſucceſſively with a kind of emulation, to implore the protection of the common enemy, whom they had ſo often

often conquered; and in what manner they employed the ſuccours they obtained from them, in oppreſſing their antient allies, and extending their own territories by unjuſt and violent methods.

On both ſides, and ſometimes in the ſame perſon, we ſhall find a ſurpriſing mixture of good and bad, of virtues and vices, of glorious actions and mean ſentiments; and ſometimes perhaps we ſhall be ready to aſk ourſelves, whether theſe can be the ſame perſons and the ſame people, of whom ſuch different things are related; and whether it be poſſible, that ſuch a bright and ſhining light, and ſuch thick clouds of ſmoak and darkneſs, can proceed from the ſame fund. I relate things, as I find them in antient authors; and the pictures I preſent the reader with are always drawn after thoſe original monuments, which hiſtory has tranſmitted to us, concerning the perſons I ſpeak of; and, I might likewiſe add, after human nature itſelf. But, in my opinion, even this medly of good and evil, tho' very odd in itſelf, may be of great advantage to us, and ſerve as a preſervative againſt a danger ſufficiently common and natural.

For if we found, either in any nation, or particular perſons, a probity and a noblenceſs of ſentiments always uniform, and free from all blemiſh and weakneſs, we ſhould be tempted to believe that heatheniſm is capable of producing real and perfect virtues, though our religion teaches us, that thoſe virtues we moſt admire among the heathens, are really no more than the ſhadow and appearance of them. But when we ſee the defects and imperfections, the vices and crimes, and thoſe ſometimes of the blackeſt die, that are intermixed with, and often very cloſely follow their moſt virtuous actions; we are taught to moderate our eſteem and admiration of them, and at the ſame time that we commend what appears noble, worthy and great among the Pagans, not prodigally to pay to the phantom of virtue, that entire and unreſerved homage, which is only due to virtue itſelf.

With theſe reſtrictions I deſire to be underſtood, when I praiſe the great men of antiquity and their illuſtrious actions; and if, contrary to my intention, any expreſſions ſhould eſcape me, which may ſeem to exceed theſe bounds, I deſire the reader to interpret them candidly, and reduce them to their juſt value and meaning.

ARTICLE II.

The general plan and diviſion of the third volume.

THE hiſtory contained in this third volume includes the ſpace of one hundred and ſeventeen years, during the reigns of ſix kings of Perſia; Darius, the firſt of the name, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes; Xerxes the firſt; Artaxerxes, ſurnamed Longimanus; Xerxes the ſecond; Sogdianus; (the two laſt of which reigned but a very little time) and Darius the ſecond, commonly called Darius Nothus. This hiſtory begins at the year of the world 3483, and extends to the year 3600. As this whole period naturally divides itſelf into two parts, I ſhall alſo divide it into two diſtinct books.

PART THE FIRST.

The firſt part, which conſiſts of ninety years, contains from the beginning of the reign of Darius the firſt, to the forty-ſecond year of Artaxerxes, the ſame year in which the Peloponneſian war began, that is, from the year of the world 3483, to the year 3573. This part chiefly contains the different enterprizes and expeditions of the Perſians againſt Greece, which never produced more great men and great events, nor ever diſplayed more conſpicuous or more ſolid virtues. Here you will ſee the famous battles of Marathon, Thermopylæ, Artemiſa, Salamin, Platææ, Mycale, Eurymedon, &c. Here the moſt eminent commanders of Greece ſignalized their courage, Miltiades, Leonidas, Themiſtocles, Ariſtides, Cimon, Pauſanias, Pericles, Thucydides, &c.

To

To enable the reader the more eaſily to recollect, what paſſed within this ſpace of time among the Jews, and alſo among the Romans, the hiſtory of both which nations is entirely foreign to that of the Perſians and Greeks, I ſhall here ſet down in few words the principal epochas relating to them,

Epochas of the Jewiſh hiſtory.

The people of God were at this time returned from their Babyloniſh captivity to Jeruſalem, under the conduct of Zorobabel. Uſher is of opinion, that the hiſtory of Eſther ought to be placed in the reign of Darius. The Iſraelites, under the ſhadow of this prince's protection, and animated by the warm exhortations of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, did at laſt finiſh the building of the temple, which had been interrupted for many years by the cabals of their enemies. Artaxerxes was no leſs favourable to the Jews than Darius: he firſt of all ſent Ezra to Jeruſalem, who reſtored the publick worſhip, and the obſervation of the law; then Nehemiah, who cauſed walls to be built round the city, and fortified it againſt the attacks of their neighbours, who were jealous of its reviving greatneſs. It is thought that Malachi, the laſt of the prophets, was contemporary with Nehemiah, or that he propheſied not long after him.

This interval of the ſacred hiſtory extends from the reign of Darius I, to the beginning of the reign of Darius Nothus; that is to ſay, from the year of the world 3485, to the year 3581. After which the ſcripture is entirely ſilent, till the time of the Maccabees.

Epochas of the Roman hiſtory.

The firſt year of Darius was the 233d of the building of Rome. Tarquin the Proud was then on the throne, and about ten years afterwards was depoſed, when the conſular government was ſubſtituted to that of the kings. In the ſucceeding part of this period happened the war againſt Porſenna; the creation of the tribunes of the people; Coriolanus's retreat among

this

the Volſci, and the war that enſued thereupon; the wars of the Romans againſt the Latins, the Vejentes, the Volſci, and other neighbouring nations; the death of Virginia under the Decemvirate; the diſputes between the people and ſenate about marriages and the conſulſhip, which occaſioned the creating of military tribunes inſtead of conſuls. This period of time terminates in the 323d year from the foundation of Rome.

PART THE SECOND.

The ſecond part of this volume, which conſiſts of twenty-ſeven years, extends from the 43d year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, to the death of Darius Nothus; that is, from the year of the world 3573, to the year 3600. It contains the nineteen firſt years of the Peloponneſian war, which continued twenty-ſeven, of which Greece and Sicily were the ſeat, and wherein the Greeks, who had before triumphed over the Barbarians, turned their arms againſt each other. Among the Athenians, Pericles, Nicias, and Alcibiades; among the Lacedæmonians, Braſidas, Gylippus, and Lyſander, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the moſt extraordinary manner.

Rome continues to be agitated by different diſputes between the ſenate and people. Towards the end of this period, and about the 350th year of Rome, the Romans formed the ſiege of Veji, which laſted ten years.

ARTICLE III.

An abridgment of the Lacedæmonian hiſtory, from the eſtabliſhment of their kings, to the reign of Darius the firſt king of Perſia.

(g) I Have already obſerved in a former volume, that eighty years after the taking of Troy, the Heraclides, that is, the deſcendants of Hercules, return-

(g) A. M. 2900. Ant. J. C. 1104.

ed

ed into the Peloponneſus, and made themſelves maſters of Lacedæmon, where two of them, who were brothers, Euriſthenes and Procles, ſons of Ariſtodemus, reigned jointly together. (*b*) Herodotus obſerves, that theſe two brothers were, during their whole lives, at variance, and that almoſt all their deſcendents inherited the like diſpoſition of mutual hatred and antipathy: ſo true is it, that the ſovereign power will admit of no partnerſhip, and that two kings will always be too many for one kingdom! However, after the death of theſe two, the deſcendents of both ſtill continued to ſway the ſcepter jointly: and, what is very remarkable, theſe two branches ſubſiſted for near nine hundred years, from the return of the Heraclides into the Peloponneſus to the death of Cleomenes, and ſupplied Sparta with kings without interruption, and that generally in a regular ſucceſſion from father to ſon, eſpecially in the elder branch of the family.

SECT. I. *The origin and condition of the Elotæ, or Helots.*

WHEN the Lacedæmonians firſt began to ſettle in Peloponneſus, they met with great oppoſition from the inhabitants of the country, whom they were obliged to ſubdue one after another by force of arms, or receive into their alliance on eaſy and equitable terms, as the paying them a ſmall tribute. Strabo (*i*) ſpeaks of a city, called Elos, not far from Sparta, which, after having ſubmitted to the yoak, as others had done, revolted openly and refuſed to pay the tribute. Agis, the ſon of Euriſthenes, newly ſettled in the throne, was ſenſible of the dangerous tendency of this firſt revolt, and therefore immediately marched with an army againſt them, together with Soüs his collegue. They laid ſiege to the city, which after a pretty long reſiſtance, was forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. This prince thought it proper to make ſuch an example of them, as ſhould intimidate all

(*b*) Lib. 6. c. 50. (*i*) Lib. 8. p. 365. Plut. in Lyc. p. 40.

their

their neighbours, and deter them from the like attempts, and yet not alienate their minds by too cruel a treatment. For which reaſon he put none to death. He ſpared the lives of all the inhabitants, but at the ſame time deprived them of their liberty, and reduced them all to a ſtate of ſlavery. From thenceforward they were employed in all mean and ſervile offices, and treated with extreme rigour. Theſe were the people who were called Elotæ. The number of them exceedingly increaſed in proceſs of time, the Lacedæmonians giving undoubtedly the ſame name to all the people they reduced to the ſame condition of ſervitude. As they themſelves were averſe to labour, and entirely addicted to war, they left the cultivation of their lands to theſe ſlaves, aſſigning every one of them a certain portion of ground, of which they were obliged to carry the products every year to their reſpective maſters, who endeavoured by all ſorts of ill uſage to make their yoak more grievous and inſupportable. This was certainly very bad policy, and could only tend to breed a vaſt number of dangerous enemies in the very heart of the ſtate, who were always ready to take arms and revolt on every occaſion. The Romans acted more prudently in this reſpect; for they incorporated the conquered nations into their ſtate, by aſſociating them into the freedom of their city, and thereby converted them, from enemies into brethren and fellow-citizens.

SECT. II. *Lycurgus the Lacedæmonian law-giver.*

(*k*) EURYTION, or Eurypon, as he is named by others, ſucceeded Soüs. In order to gain his people's affection, and render his government agreeable, he thought fit to recede in ſome points from the abſolute power exerciſed by the kings his predeceſſors: this rendered his name ſo dear to his ſubjects, that all his ſucceſſors were, from him, called Eurytionides. But this relaxation gave birth to horrible confuſion,

(*k*) Plut. in Lyc. p. 40.

and

and an unbounded licentiouſneſs in Sparta, and for a long time occaſioned infinite miſchiefs. The people became ſo inſolent, that nothing could reſtrain them. If Eurytion's ſucceſſors attempted to recover their authority by force, they became odious; and if, through complaiſance or weakneſs, they choſe to diſſemble, their mildneſs ſerved only to render them contemptible: ſo that order was in a manner aboliſhed, and the laws no longer regarded. Theſe confuſions haſtened the death of Lycurgus's father, whoſe name was Eunomus, and who was killed in an inſurrection. Polydectes, his eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor, dying ſoon after without children, every body expected Lycurgus would have been king. And indeed he was ſo in effect, as long as the pregnancy of his brother's wife was uncertain: but as ſoon as that was manifeſt, he declared, that the kingdom belonged to her child, in caſe it proved a ſon: and from that moment he adminiſtred the government, as guardian to his unborn nephew, under the title of Prodicos, which was the name given by the Lacedæmonians to the guardians of their kings. When the child was born, Lycurgus took him in his arms, and cried out to the company that was preſent, *Behold, my lords of Sparta, this new-born child is your king:* and at the ſame time he put the infant into the king's ſeat, and named him Charilaus, becauſe of the joy the people expreſſed upon occaſion of his birth. The reader will find, towards the end of the ſecond volume of this hiſtory, all that relates to the hiſtory of Lycurgus, the reformation he made, and the excellent laws he eſtabliſhed in Sparta. Ageſilas was at this time king in the elder branch of the family.

SECT. III. *War between the Argives and the Lacedæmonians.*

(*l*) SOME time after this, in the reign of Theopompus, a war broke out between the Argives and Lacedæmonians, on account of a little country,

(*l*) Her. l. 1. c. 12.

called

called Thyrea, that lay upon the confines of the two ſtates, and to which each of them pretended a right. When the two armies were ready to engage, it was agreed on both ſides, in order to ſpare the effuſion of blood, that the quarrel ſhould be decided by three hundred of the braveſt men on both ſides, and that the land in queſtion ſhould become the property of the victorious party. To leave the combatants more room to engage, the two armies retired to ſome diſtance. Thoſe generous champions then, who had all the courage of two mighty armies, boldly advanced towards each other, and fought with ſo much reſolution and fury, that the whole number, except three men, two on the ſide of the Argives, and one on that of the Lacedæmonians, lay dead upon the ſpot: and only the night parted them. The two Argives looking upon themſelves as the conquerors, made what haſte they could to Argos to carry the news: the ſingle Lacedæmonian, Othryades by name, inſtead of retiring, ſtript the dead bodies of the Argives, and carrying their arms into the Lacedæmonian camp, continued in his poſt. The next day the two armies returned to the field of battle. Both ſides laid equal claim to the victory: the Argives, becauſe they had more of their champions left alive, than the enemy had; the Lacedæmonians, becauſe the two Argives, that remained alive, had fled; whereas their ſingle ſoldier had remained maſter of the field of battle, and had carried off the ſpoils of the enemy. In ſhort, they could not determine the diſpute without coming to another engagement. Here fortune declared in favour of the Lacedæmonians, and the little territory of Thyrea was the prize of their victory. But Othryades, not able to bear the thoughts of ſurviving his brave companions, or of enduring the ſight of Sparta after their death, killed himſelf on the ſame field of battle where they had fought, reſolving to have one fate and tomb with them.

SECT. IV. *Wars between the Meſſenians and Lacedæmonians.*

THERE were no leſs than three ſeveral wars between the Meſſenians and the Lacedæmonians, all of them very fierce and bloody. Meſſenia was a country in Peloponneſus, not far weſtward from Sparta; it was of conſiderable ſtrength, and had its own particular kings.

THE FIRST MESSENIAN WAR.

(*m*) The firſt Meſſenian war laſted twenty years, and broke out the ſecond year of the ninth Olympiad. The Lacedæmonians pretended to have received ſeveral conſiderable injuries from the Meſſenians, and among others, that of having had their daughters raviſhed by the inhabitants of Meſſenia, when they went, according to cuſtom, to a temple, that ſtood on the borders of the two nations; as alſo that of the murder of Telecles, their king, which was a conſequence of the former. Probably a deſire of extending their dominion, and of ſeizing a territory which lay ſo convenient for them, might be the true cauſe of the war. But be that as it will, the war broke out in the reign of Polydorus and Theopompus kings of Sparta, at the time when the office of Archon at Athens was ſtill decennial.

(*n*) Euphaes, the thirteenth deſcendant from Hercules, was then king of Meſſenia. He gave the command of his army to Cleonnis. The Lacedæmonians opened the campaign with the ſiege of Amphea, a ſmall, inconſiderable city, which however, they thought, would be very proper to make a place of arms. The town was taken by ſtorm, and all the inhabitants put to the ſword. This firſt blow ſerved only to animate the Meſſenians, by ſhowing them what they were to expect from the enemy, if they did not defend themſelves with vigour. The Lacedæmonians,

(*m*) A. M. 3261. Ant. J. C. 743. Pauſ. l. 4. p. 216—240. Juſtin. l. 3. c. 4.

(*n*) Pauſ. p. 223 & 226.

on

on their part, bound themſelves by an oath, not to lay down their arms, or return to Sparta, till they had made themſelves maſters of all the cities and lands belonging to the Meſſenians; ſuch an aſſurance had they of the ſucceſs of their arms, and of their invincible courage.

(o) Two battles were fought, wherein the loſs was pretty equal on both ſides. But after the ſecond, the Meſſenians ſuffered extremely thro' the want of proviſions, which occaſioned a great deſertion in their troops, and at laſt brought the plague among them.

Hereupon they conſulted the oracle of Delphos, which directed them, in order to appeaſe the wrath of the gods, to offer up a virgin of the royal blood in ſacrifice. Ariſtomenes, who was of the race of the Epytides, offered his own daughter. The Meſſenians then conſidering, that if they left garriſons in all their towns, they ſhould extremely weaken their army, reſolved to abandon all their towns, except Ithoma, a little place ſeated on the top of a hill of the ſame name, about which they incamped and fortified themſelves. In this ſituation were ſeven years ſpent, during which nothing paſſed but ſlight ſkirmiſhes on both ſides, the Lacedæmonians not daring in all that time to force the enemy to a battle.

Indeed they almoſt deſpaired of being able to reduce them; nor was there any thing, but the obligation of the oath, by which they had bound themſelves, that made them continue ſo burdenſome a war. (p) What gave them the greateſt uneaſineſs, was, their apprehenſion, leſt their abſence and diſtance from their wives for ſo many years, and which might ſtill continue many more, ſhould deſtroy their families at home, and leave Sparta deſtitute of citizens. To prevent this misfortune, they ſent home ſuch of their ſoldiers, as were come to the army, ſince the fore-mentioned oath had been taken, and made no ſcruple of proſtituting their wives to their embraces. The chil-

(o) Ibid. p. 227—234. (p) Died. l. 15. p. 778.

dren,

dren, that ſprung from theſe unlawful copulations, were called Partheniatæ, a name given them to denote the infamy of their birth. As ſoon as they were grown up, not being able to endure ſuch an opprobrious diſtinction, they baniſhed themſelves from Sparta with one conſent, and under the conduct of † Phalanthus, went and ſettled at Tarentum in Italy, after driving out the antient inhabitants.

(q) At laſt, in the 8th year of the war, which was the 13th of Euphaes's reign, a fierce and bloody battle was fought near Ithoma. Euphaes pierced thro' the battalions of Theopompus with too much heat and precipitation for a king. He there received a multitude of wounds, ſeveral of which were mortal. He fell, and ſeemed to give up the ghoſt. Whereupon wonderful efforts of courage were exerted on both ſides; by the one, to carry off the king; by the other, to ſave him. Cleonnis killed eight Spartans, who were dragging him along, and ſpoiled them of their arms, which he committed to the cuſtody of ſome of his ſoldiers. He himſelf received ſeveral wounds, all in the forepart of his body, which was a certain proof, that he had never turned his back upon his enemies. Ariſtomenes fighting on the ſame occaſion, and for the ſame end, killed five Lacedæmonians, whoſe ſpoils he likewiſe carried off, without receiving any wound. In ſhort, the king was ſaved and carried off by the Meſſenians, and, all mangled and bloody as he was, he expreſſed great joy, that they had not been worſted. Ariſtomenes, after the battle was over, met Cleonnis, who, by reaſon of his wounds, could neither walk by himſelf, nor with the aſſiſtance of thoſe that lent him their hands. He therefore took him upon his ſhoulders without quitting his arms, and carried him to the camp.

As ſoon as they had applied the firſt dreſſing to the wounds of the king of Meſſenia and of his officers, there aroſe a new combat among the Meſſenians, that

(q) Pauſ. p. 234, 235. Diod. in Frag.

† Et regnata petam Laconi rura Phalanto. *Hor. Ode* 6. *l.* 2.

was purſued with as much warmth as the former, but was of a very different kind, and yet the conſequence of the other. The affair in queſtion was the adjudging the prize of glory to him, that had ſignalized his valour moſt in the late engagement. For it was even then an antient cuſtom among them, publickly to proclaim after a battle, the name of the man, that had ſhewed the greateſt courage. Nothing could be more proper to animate the officers and ſoldiers, to inſpire them with reſolution and intrepidity, and to ſtifle the natural apprehenſion of death and danger. Two illuſtrious champions entered the liſts on this occaſion, namely, Cleonnis and Ariſtomenes.

The king, notwithſtanding his weak condition, being attended with the principal officers of his army, preſided in the council, where this important diſpute was to be decided. Each competitor pleaded his own cauſe. Cleonnis began, and founded his pretenſions upon the great number of the enemies he had ſlain, and upon the multitude of wounds he had received in the action, which were ſo many undoubted teſtimonies of the courage, with which he had faced both death and danger: whereas, according to him, the condition, in which Ariſtomenes came out of the engagement, without hurt and without wound, ſeemed to ſhew, that he had been very careful of his own perſon, or at moſt could only prove, that he had been more fortunate than he, but not more brave, or couragious. And as to his having carried him on his ſhoulders into the camp, that action indeed might ſerve to prove the ſtrength of his body, but nothing further: and the thing in diſpute at this time, ſays he, is not ſtrength, but valour.

The only thing Ariſtomenes was reproached for, was, his not being wounded: therefore he confined himſelf to that point, and anſwered in the following manner: "I am, ſays he, called fortunate, becauſe I "have eſcaped from the battle without wounds. If "that were owing to my cowardiſe, I ſhould deſerve

"another

" another epithet than that of fortunate; and inſtead " of being admitted to diſpute the prize, ought to un- " dergo the rigour of the laws, that puniſh cowards. " But what is objected to me as a crime, is in truth " my greateſt glory. For whether the enemies, aſto- " niſhed at my valour, durſt not venture to attack or " oppoſe me, it is no ſmall degree of merit, that I " made them fear me; or that whilſt they engaged " me, I had at the ſame time ſtrength to cut " them in pieces, and ſkill to guard againſt their at- " tacks, I muſt then have been at once both valiant " and prudent. For whoever, in the midſt of an en- " gagement, can expoſe himſelf to dangers with " caution and ſecurity, ſhews, that he excels at the " ſame time both in the virtues of the mind and the " body. As for courage, no man living can reproach " Cleonnis with any want of it: but for his honour's " ſake I am ſorry, that he ſhould appear to want " gratitude."

After the concluſion of theſe harangues, the queſtion was put to the vote. The whole army is in ſuſpenſe, and impatiently waits for the deciſion. No diſpute could be ſo warm and intereſting as this. It is not a competition for gold or ſilver, but ſolely for honour. The proper reward of virtue is pure, diſintereſted glory. Here the judges are unſuſpected. The actions of the competitors ſtill ſpeak for them. It is the king himſelf, ſurrounded with his officers, who preſides and adjudges. A whole army are the witneſſes. The field of battle is a tribunal without partiality and cabal. In ſhort, all the votes concurred in favour of Ariſtomenes, and adjudged him the prize.

(r) Euphaes, the king, died not many days after the deciſion of this affair. He had reigned thirteen years, and during all that time been engaged in war with the Lacedæmonians. As he died without children, he left the Meſſenians at liberty to chuſe his ſucceſſor. Cleonnis and Damis were candidates in oppo-

(r) Pauſ. l. 4. p. 235, 241.

ſition

ſition to Ariſtomenes: but he was elected king in preference to them. When he was on the throne, he did not ſcruple to confer on his two rivals the principal offices of the ſtate: All ſtrongly attached to the publick good, even more than to their own glory, competitors, but not enemies, theſe great men were actuated by a zeal for their country, and were neither friends nor adverſaries to one another, but for its preſervation.

In this relation, I have followed the opinion of the late Monſieur † Boivin, the elder, and have made uſe of his learned diſſertation upon a fragment of Diodorus Siculus, which the world was little acquainted with. He ſuppoſes and proves in it, that the king, ſpoken of in that fragment, is Euphaes; and that Ariſtomenes is the ſame that Pauſanias calls Ariſtodemus, according to the cuſtom of the antients, who were often called by two different names.

Ariſtomenes, otherwiſe called Ariſtodemus, reigned near ſeven years, and was equally eſteemed and beloved by his ſubjects. (*s*) The war ſtill continued all this time. Towards the end of his reign he beat the Lacedæmonians, took their king Theopompus, and in honour of Jupiter of Ithoma, ſacrificed three hundred of them, among whom their king was the principal victim. Shortly after, Ariſtodemus ſacrificed himſelf upon the tomb of his daughter, in conformity to the anſwer of an oracle. Damis was his ſucceſſor, but without taking upon him the title of king.

(*t*) After his death, the Meſſenians never had any ſucceſs in their affairs, but found themſelves in a very wretched and hopeleſs condition. Being reduced to the laſt extremity, and utterly deſtitute of proviſions, they abandoned Ithoma, and fled to ſuch of their allies as were neareſt to them. The city was immediately raz'd, and all the people that remained ſubmitted. They were made to engage by oath never to forſake

(*s*) Clem. Alex. in Protrop. p. 20. Euſeb. in Præpar. l. 4. c. 16.
(*t*) Pauſ. p. 241—247.
† *Memoirs of the Academy of Inſcriptions*, Vol. II. p. 84—115.

the party of the Lacedæmonians, and never to revolt from them: a very useful precaution, only proper to make them add the guilt of perjury to their rebellion. Their new masters imposed no tribute upon them; but contented themselves with obliging them to bring to the Spartan market one half of the corn they should reap every harvest. It was likewise stipulated, that the Messenians, both men and women, should attend, in mourning, the funerals either of the kings, or chief citizens of Sparta: which the Lacedæmonians probably looked upon as a mark of the others dependance, and as a kind of homage paid to their nation. (*u*) Thus ended the first Messenian war, after having lasted twenty years.

THE SECOND MESSENIAN WAR.

(*x*) The lenity with which the Lacedæmonians treated the Messenians at first, was of no long duration. When once they found the whole country had submitted, and thought the people incapable of giving them any further trouble, they returned to their natural character of insolence and haughtiness, that often degenerated into cruelty, and sometimes even into ferocity. Instead of treating the vanquished with kindness, as friends and allies, and endeavouring by gentle methods to win those they had subdued by force, they seemed intent upon nothing but aggravating their yoke, and making them feel the whole weight of subjection. They laid heavy taxes upon them; delivered them up to the avarice of the collectors of those taxes; gave no ear to their complaints; rendered them no justice; treated them like vile slaves; and committed the most crying outrages against them.

Man, who is born for liberty, can never reconcile himself to servitude: the most gentle slavery exasperates, and provokes him to rebel. What could be expected then from so cruel a one, as that the Messenians groaned under? After having endured it with

(*u*) A. M. 3281. Ant. J. C. 723. (*x*) Paus. l. 4. p. 242, 261. Justin. l. 3. c. 5.

great

great uneaſineſs * near forty years, they reſolved to throw off the yoke, and to recover their antient liberty. (y) This was in the 4th year of the 23d Olympiad: the office of Archon at Athens was then made annual; and Anaxander and Anaxidamus reigned at Sparta.

The Meſſenians firſt care was to ſtrengthen themſelves with the alliance of the neighbouring nations. Theſe they found well inclined to enter into their views, as very agreeable to their own intereſts. For it was not without jealouſy and apprehenſions, that they ſaw ſo powerful a city riſing up in the midſt of them, which manifeſtly ſeemed to aim at extending her dominion over all the reſt. The people therefore of Elis, the Argives and Sicyonians declared for the Meſſenians. But before their forces were joined, a battle was fought between the Lacedæmonians and Meſſenians. † Ariſtomenes, the ſecond of that name, was at the head of the latter. He was a commander of intrepid courage, and of great abilities in war. The Lacedæmonians were beat in this engagement. Ariſtomenes, to give the enemy at firſt an advantagious opinion of his bravery, knowing what influence it has on the ſucceſs of future enterprizes, boldly ventured to enter into Sparta by night, and upon the gate of the temple of Minerva, who was ſurnamed Chalcioecos, to hang up a ſhield, on which was an inſcription, ſignifying, that it was a preſent offered by Ariſtomenes to the goddeſs, out of the ſpoils of the Lacedæmonians.

This bravado did in reality aſtoniſh the Lacedæmonians. But they were ſtill more alarmed at the formidable league that was formed againſt them. The Delphic oracle, which they conſulted, in order to

(y) A. M. 3320. Ant. J. C. 684.

* Cùm per complures annos gravia ſervitutis verbera plerumque ac vincula cæteraque captivitatis mala perpeſſi eſſent, poſt longam pœnarum patientiam bellum inſtaurant. *Juſtin.* l. 3. c. 5.

† *According to ſeveral hiſtorians, there was another Ariſtomenes in the firſt Meſſenian war.* Diod. l. 15. p. 378.

know by what means they ſhould be ſucceſsful in this war, directed them to ſend to Athens for a commander, and to ſubmit to his counſel and conduct. This was a very mortifying ſtep to ſo haughty a city as Sparta. But the fear of incurring the god's diſpleaſure by a direct diſobedience, prevailed over all other conſiderations. They ſent an embaſſy therefore to the Athenians. The people of Athens were ſomewhat perplexed at the requeſt. On the one hand, they were not ſorry to ſee the Lacedæmonians at war with their neighbours, and were far from deſiring to furniſh them with a good general: on the other, they were afraid alſo of diſobeying the god. To extricate themſelves out of this difficulty, they offered the Lacedæmonians a perſon called Tyrtæus. He was a poet by profeſſion, and had ſomething original in the turn of his wit, and diſagreeable in his perſon; for he was lame. Notwithſtanding theſe defects, the Lacedæmonians received him as a general, ſent them by heaven itſelf. Their ſucceſs did not at firſt anſwer their expectation, for they loſt three battles ſucceſſively.

The kings of Sparta, diſcouraged by ſo many diſappointments, and out of all hopes of better ſucceſs for the future, were entirely bent upon returning to Sparta, and marching home again with their forces. Tyrtæus oppoſed this deſign very warmly, and at length brought them over to his opinion. He ſpoke to the troops, and repeated to them verſes he had made on the occaſion, and on which he had beſtowed great pains and application. He firſt endeavoured to comfort them for their paſt loſſes, which he imputed to no fault of theirs, but only to ill fortune, or to fate, which no human wiſdom can ſurmount. He then repreſented to them, what a ſhame it would be for Spartans to fly from an enemy; and how glorious it would be for them rather to periſh ſword in hand, in fighting for their country, if it was ſo decreed by fate. Then, as if all danger was vaniſhed, and the gods, fully ſatisfied and appeaſed with their late calamities, were entirely

turned

turned to their ſide, he ſet victory before their eyes as preſent and certain, and as if ſhe herſelf were inviting them to battle. (z) All the antient authors, who have made any mention of the ſtile and character of Tyrtæus's poetry, obſerve, that it was full of a certain fire, ardor, and enthuſiaſm, that animated the minds of men, that exalted them above themſelves, that inſpired † them with ſomething generous and martial, that extinguiſhed all fear and apprehenſion of danger or death, and made them wholly intent upon the preſervation of their country and their own glory.

Tyrtæus's verſes had really this effect on the ſoldiers upon this occaſion. They all deſired with one voice, to march againſt the enemy. Being become indifferent as to their lives, they had no thoughts but to ſecure themſelves the honour of a burial. To this end they all tied ſtrings round their right arms, on which were inſcribed their own and their fathers names, that, if they chanced to be killed in the battle, and to have their faces ſo altered through time, or accidents, as not to be diſtinguiſhable, it might certainly be known who each of them was by theſe marks. Soldiers determined to die, are very valiant. This appeared in the battle that enſued. It was very bloody, the victory being a long time diſputed on both ſides: but at laſt the Meſſenians gave way. When Tyrtæus went afterwards to Sparta, he was received with the greateſt marks of diſtinction, and incorporated into the body of citizens.

The gaining of this battle did not put an end to the war, which had already laſted three years. Ariſtomenes having aſſembled the remains of his army, retired to the top of a mountain, of difficult acceſs, which was called Ira. The conquerors attempted to carry the place by aſſault; but that brave prince defended himſelf there for the ſpace of eleven years,

(z) Plat. l. 1. de Legib. p. 620. Plut. in Agid. & Cleom. p. 805.

† Tyrtæuſque mares animos in martia bella
Verſibus exacuit. *Hor. in Art. Poet.*

and performed the moſt extraordinary actions of bravery. He was at laſt obliged to quit it, only by ſurprize and treachery, after having defended it like a lion. Such of the Meſſenians as fell into the hands of the Lacedæmonians on this occaſion, were reduced to the condition of the Helots or ſlaves. The reſt ſeeing their country ruined, went and ſettled at Zancle, a city in Sicily, which afterwards took its name from this people, and was called Meſſana; the ſame place called at this day Meſſina. Ariſtomenes, after having conducted one of his daughters to Rhodes, whom he had given in marriage to the tyrant of that place, thought of paſſing on to Sardis, and to remain with Ardys king of the Lydians, or to Ecbatana with Phraortes, king of the Medes; but death prevented the execution of all his deſigns.

(*a*) The ſecond Meſſenian war was of fourteen years duration, and ended the firſt year of the twenty-ſeventh Olympiad.

There was a third war between this people and the Lacedæmonians, which began both at the time, and on the occaſion of a great earthquake, that happened at Sparta. We ſhall ſpeak of this war in its place.

(*a*) A. M. 3334. Ant. J. C. 670.

BOOK

BOOK THE SIXTH.

THE HISTORY OF THE Perſians *and* Grecians.

This book contains the hiſtory of the PERSIANS and GRECIANS, in the reigns of Darius I. and Xerxes I. during the ſpace of forty-eight years, from the year of the world 3483 to the year 3531.

CHAPTER I.

The hiſtory of Darius intermixed with that of the Greeks.

(*b*) BEFORE Darius came to be king, he was called Ochus. At his acceſſion he took the name of Darius, which, according to Herodotus, in the Perſian language, ſignifies an avenger, or a man that defeats the ſchemes of another; probably becauſe he had puniſhed and put an end to the inſolence of the Magian impoſtor. He reigned thirty-ſix years.

SECT. I. *Darius's marriage. The impoſition of tributes. The inſolence and puniſhment of Intaphernes*

(*b*) Herod. l. 6. c. 98. Val. Max. l. 9. c. 2.

The death of Oretes. The ſtory of Democedes a phyſician. The Jews permitted to carry on the building of their temple. The generoſity of Syloſon rewarded.

BEFORE Darius was elected king, he had married the daughter of Gobryas, whoſe name is not known. Artabarzanes, his eldeſt ſon by her, afterwards diſputed the empire with Xerxes.

(*c*) When Darius was ſeated in the throne, the better to ſecure himſelf therein, he married two of Cyrus's daughters, Atoſſa and Ariſtona. The former had been wife to Cambyſes, her own brother, and afterwards to Smerdis the Magian, during the time he poſſeſſed the throne. Ariſtona was ſtill a virgin, when Darius married her; and of all his wives, was the perſon he moſt loved. He likewiſe married Parmys, daughter of the true Smerdis, who was Cambyſes's brother, as alſo Phedyma, daughter to Otanes, by whoſe management the impoſture of the Magian was diſcovered. By theſe wives he had a great number of children of both ſexes.

We have already ſeen, that the ſeven conſpirators, who put the Magus to death, had agreed among themſelves, that he, whoſe horſe, on a day appointed, firſt neighed, at the riſing of the ſun, ſhould be declared king; and that Darius's horſe, by an artifice of his groom, procured his maſter that honour. (*d*) The king, deſiring to tranſmit to future ages, his gratitude for this ſignal and extraordinary ſervice, cauſed an equeſtrian ſtatue to be ſet up with this inſcription: *Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, acquired the kingdom of Perſia by means of his horſe* (*whoſe name was inſerted*) *and of his groom, Oebares.* There is in this inſcription, in which we ſee the king is not aſhamed to own himſelf indebted to his horſe and his groom for ſo tranſcendent a benefaction as the regal diadem, when it was his intereſt, one would think, to have it conſidered as the fruits of a ſuperior merit: there is, I ſay, in this

(*c*) A. M. 3483. Ant. J. C. 521. Her. l. 3. c. 88. (*d*) Ibid.

inſcription

inſcription a ſimplicity and ſincerity peculiar to the genius of thoſe antient times, and extremely remote from the pride and vanity of ours.

(*e*) One of the firſt cares of Darius, when he was ſettled in the throne, was to regulate the ſtate of the provinces, and to put his finances into good order. Before his time, Cyrus and Cambyſes had contented themſelves with receiving from the conquered nations ſuch free gifts only, as they voluntarily offered, and with requiring a certain number of troops when they had occaſion for them. But Darius conceived, that it was impoſſible for him to preſerve all the nations, ſubject to him, in peace and ſecurity, without keeping up regular forces, and without aſſigning them a certain pay; or to be able punctually to give them that pay, without laying taxes and impoſitions upon the people.

In order therefore to regulate the adminiſtration of his finances, he divided the whole empire into twenty diſtricts, or governments, each of which was annually to pay a certain ſum to the ſatrap, or governor appointed for that purpoſe. The natural ſubjects, that is, the Perſians, were exempt from all impoſts. Herodotus has an exact enumeration of theſe provinces, which may very much contribute to give us a juſt idea of the extent of the Perſian empire.

In Aſia it comprehended all that now belongs to the Perſians and Turks; in Africa, it took in Egypt and part of Nubia, as alſo the coaſts of the Mediterranean, as far as the kingdom of Barca; in Europe, part of Thrace and Macedonia. But it muſt be obſerved, that in this vaſt extent of country, there were ſeveral nations, which were only tributary, and not properly ſubjects to Perſia; as is the caſe at this day with reſpect to the Turkiſh empire.

(*f*) Hiſtory obſerves, that Darius, in impoſing theſe tributes, ſhewed great wiſdom and moderation. He ſent for the principal inhabitants of every province; ſuch as were beſt acquainted with the condition and

(*e*) Her. l. 3. c. 89—97. (*f*) Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 172.

ability of their country, and were obliged in intereſt to give him a true and impartial account. He then aſked them, if ſuch and ſuch ſums, which he propoſed to each of them for their reſpective provinces, were not too great, or did not exceed what they were able to pay; his intention being, as he told them, not to oppreſs his ſubjects, but only to require ſuch aids from them, as were proportion'd to their incomes, and abſolutely neceſſary for the defence of the ſtate. They all anſwered, that the ſums he propoſed were very reaſonable, and ſuch as would not be burthenſome to the people. The king however was pleaſed to abate one half, chuſing rather to keep a great deal within bounds, than to riſk a poſſibility of exceeding them.

But notwithſtanding this extraordinary moderation on the king's part, as there is ſomething odious in all impoſts, the Perſians, who gave the ſurname of father to Cyrus, and of maſter to Cambyſes, thought fit to characterize Darius with that of * merchant.

The ſeveral ſums levied by the impoſition of theſe tributes or taxes, as far as we can infer from the calculation of Herodotus, which is attended with great difficulties, amounted in the whole to about forty four millions *per annum* French, or ſomething leſs than two millions Engliſh money.

(g) After the death of the Magian impoſtor, it was agreed, that the Perſian noblemen, who had conſpired againſt him, ſhould, beſides ſeveral other marks of diſtinction, have the liberty of free acceſs to the king's preſence at all times, except when he was alone with the queen. Intaphernes, one of theſe noblemen, being refuſed admittance into the king's apartment, at a time when the king and queen were in private together, in a violent rage fell foul upon the officers of the palace, abuſed them outrageouſly, cutting their

(g) Her. l. 3. c. 118, 119.

* Κάπηλος *ſignifies ſomething ſtill more mean and contemptible; but I do not know how to expreſs it in our language. It may ſignify a* Broker, *or a* Retail, *any one that buys to ſell again.*

faces with his ſcimitar. Darius highly reſented ſo heinous an inſult; and at firſt apprehended it might be a conſpiracy amongſt the noblemen. But when he was well aſſured of the contrary, he cauſed Intapher-nes, with his children and all that were of his family to be taken up, and had them all condemned to be put to death, confounding through a blind exceſs of ſe-verity the innocent with the guilty. In theſe unhappy circumſtances the criminal's lady went every day to the gates of the palace, crying and weeping in the moſt lamentable manner, and never ceaſing to implore the king's clemency with all the pathetick eloquence of ſorrow and diſtreſs. The king could not reſiſt ſo moving a ſpectacle, and beſides her own, granted her the pardon of any one of her family, whom ſhe ſhould chuſe. This gave the unhappy lady great per-plexity, who deſired, no doubt, to ſave them all. At laſt, after a long deliberation ſhe determined in favour of her brother. This choice, wherein ſhe ſeemed not to have followed the ſentiments which na-ture ſhould dictate to a mother and a wife, ſurprized the king, who deſiring her to be aſked the reaſon of it, ſhe made anſwer, that by a ſecond marriage the loſs of an huſband and children might be retriev'd; but that, her father and mother being dead, there was no poſſiblity of recovering a brother. Darius, beſides the life of her brother, granted her the ſame favour for the eldeſt of her children.

(*b*) I have already related in the foregoing volume, by what an inſtance of perfidiouſneſs Oretes, one of the king's governors in Aſia minor, brought about the death of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos. So black and deteſtable a crime did not go unpuniſhed. Darius found out, that Oretes ſtrangely abuſed his power, making no account of the blood of thoſe perſons, who had the misfortune to diſpleaſe him. This ſatrap carried his inſolence ſo far, as to put to death a meſſenger ſent him by the king, becauſe the orders he had brought

(*b*) Her. l. 3. c. 120, 128.

him

him were diſagreeable. Darius, who did not yet think himſelf well ſettled in the throne, would not venture to attack him openly: for the ſatrap had no leſs than a thouſand ſoldiers for his guard, not to mention the forces he was able to raiſe from his government, which included Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia. The king therefore thought fit to proceed in a ſecret manner, to rid himſelf of ſo dangerous a ſervant. With this commiſſion he intruſted one of his officers, of approved fidelity and attachment to his perſon. The officer, under pretence of other buſineſs, went to Sardis: where with great dexterity he ſifted into the diſpoſitions of the people. To pave the way to his deſign, he *firſt* gave the principal officers of the governor's guard letters from the king, which contained nothing but general orders. A little while after he delivered them other letters, in which their orders were more expreſs and particular. And aſſoon as he found himſelf perfectly ſure of the diſpoſition of the troops, he then read them a third letter, wherein the king in plain terms commanded them to kill the governor; and this order was executed without delay. All his effects were confiſcated to the king; and all the perſons belonging to his family and houſhold were removed to Suſa. Among the reſt, there was a celebrated phyſician of Crotona, whoſe name was Democedes. This phyſician's ſtory is very ſingular, and happened to be the occaſion of ſome conſiderable events.

(*i*) Not long after the fore-mentioned tranſaction, Darius chanced to have a fall from his horſe in hunting, by which he wrenched one of his feet in a violent manner, and put his heel out of joint. The Egyptians were then reckoned the moſt ſkilful in phyſick; for which reaſon the king had ſeveral phyſicians of that nation about him. Theſe undertook to cure the king, * and exerted all their ſkill on ſo important an occaſion: but they were ſo unhandy in the operation

(*i*) Her. l. 3. c. 129, 130.

* *Anciently the ſame perſons practiſed both as phyſicians and ſurgeons.*

and

and in the handling and managing the king's foot, that they put him to incredible pain; ſo that he paſſed ſeven days and ſeven nights without ſleeping. Democedes was mentioned on this occaſion by ſome perſon, who had heard him extolled at Sardis, as a very able phyſician. He was ſent for immediately and brought to the king in the condition he was in, with his irons on, and in a very poor apparel: for he was at that time actually a priſoner. The king aſked him, whether he had any knowledge of phyſick. At firſt he denied he had, fearing, that if he ſhould give any proofs of his ſkill, he ſhould be detained in Perſia, and by that means be for ever debarred from returning to his own country, for which he had an exceeding affection. Darius, diſpleaſed with his anſwer, ordered him to be put to the torture. Democedes found it was neceſſary to own the truth; and therefore offered his ſervice to the king. The firſt thing he did was to apply gentle fomentations to the parts affected. This remedy had a ſpeedy effect: the king recovered his ſleep; and in a few days was perfectly cured, both of the ſprain and the diſlocation. To recompenſe the phyſician the king made him a preſent of two pair of golden chains. Upon which Democedes aſked him, whether he meant to reward the happy ſucceſs of his endeavours, by doubling his misfortune. The king was pleaſed with that ſaying; and ordered his eunuchs to conduct Democedes to his wives, that they might ſee the perſon, to whom he was indebted for his recovery. They all made him very magnificent preſents; ſo that in one day's time he became extremely rich.

(*k*) Democedes was a native of Crotona, a city of Græcia major, in the lower Calabria in Italy, from whence he had been obliged to fly, on account of the ill treatment he received from his father. He firſt went to * Egina, where by ſeveral ſucceſsful cures he acquired great reputation: the inhabitants of this place

(*k*) Her. l. 3. c. 131.

* *An iſland between Attica and Peloponneſus.*

ſettled

ſettled on him a yearly penſion of a talent. The talent contained ſixty mina's, and was worth about three thouſand livres, French money. Some time after, he was invited to Athens; where they augmented his penſion to five thouſand * livres *per annum*. After this, he was received into the family of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, who gave him a penſion of two thouſand crowns ‖. It is very much for the honour of cities, or princes, by handſome penſions and ſalaries to engage ſuch perſons in their ſervice, as are of publick benefit to mankind; and even to induce foreigners of worth and merit to come and ſettle among them. The Crotonians from this time had the reputation of having the ableſt phyſicians; and next after them, the people of Cyrene in Africa. The Argives were at the ſame time reputed to excel in muſick.

(*l*) Democedes, after performing this cure upon the king, was admitted to the honour of eating at his table, and came to be in great credit at Suſa. At his interceſſion, the Egyptian phyſicians were pardoned, who had all been condemned to be hanged for having been leſs ſkilful than the Grecian phyſician; as if they were obliged to anſwer for the ſucceſs of their remedies, or that it was a crime not to be able to cure a king. This is a ſtrange abuſe, though too common an effect of unlimited power, which is ſeldom guided by reaſon or equity, and which, being accuſtomed to ſee every thing give way implicitly to its authority, expects that its commands, of what nature ſoever, ſhould be infallibly performed! We have ſeen ſomething of this kind in the hiſtory of Nebuchadnezzar, who pronounced a general ſentence of death upon all his magicians, becauſe they could not divine what it was he had dreamed in the night, which he himſelf had forgot. Democedes procured alſo the enlargement of ſeveral of thoſe perſons, who had been impriſoned with him. He

(*l*) Her. l. 3. c. 132.

* *An hundred mina's.* ‖ *Two talents.*

lived

lived in the greateſt affluence, and was in the higheſt eſteem and favour with the king. But he was at a great diſtance from his own country, upon which his thoughts and deſires were continually bent.

(*m*) He had the good fortune to perform another cure, which contributed to raiſe his credit and reputation ſtill higher. Atoſſa, one of the king's wives, and daughter to Cyrus, was attacked with a cancer in her breaſt. As long as the pain of it was tolerable, ſhe bore it with patience, not being able to prevail on herſelf, out of modeſty, to diſcover her diſorder. But at laſt ſhe was conſtrained to it, and ſent for Democedes; who promiſed to cure her, and at the ſame time requeſted, that ſhe would be pleaſed to grant him a certain favour he ſhould beg of her, entirely conſiſtent with her honour. The queen engaged her word, and was cured. The favour promiſed the phyſician was to procure him a journey into his own country: and the queen was not unmindful of her promiſe. * It is worth while to take notice of ſuch events, which tho' not very conſiderable in themſelves, often give occaſion to the greateſt enterprizes of princes, and are even the ſecret ſprings and diſtant cauſes of them.

As Atoſſa was converſing one day with Darius, ſhe took occaſion to repreſent to him, that, being in the flower of his age, and of a vigorous conſtitution, capable of enduring the fatigues of war, and having great and numerous armies at command, it would be for his honour to form ſome great enterprize, and let the Perſians ſee, they had a man of courage for their king. You have hit my thoughts, replied Darius; which were upon invading the Scythians. I had much rather, ſays Atoſſa, you would firſt turn your arms againſt Greece. I have heard great things ſaid in praiſe of the women of Lacedæmon, of Argos, Athens, and Corinth; and ſhould be very glad to have

(*m*) Cap. 135, 137.

* Non ſine uſu fuerit introſpicere illa primo aſpectu levia, ex quibus magnarum ſæpe rerum motus oriuntur. *Tac.* l. 4. c. 32.

ſome

ſome of them in my ſervice. Beſides, you have a perſon here, that might be very uſeful to you in ſuch an enterprize, and could give you a perfect knowledge of the country: the perſon I mean is Democedes, who hath cured both you and me. This was enough for the king, and the affair was reſolved immediately. Fifteen Perſian noblemen were appointed to accompany Democedes into Greece, and to examine with him all the maritime places, as thoroughly as poſſible. The king further charged thoſe perſons, above all things, to keep a ſtrict eye upon the phyſician, that he did not give them the ſlip, and to bring him back with them to the Perſian court.

Darius in giving ſuch an order, plainly ſhewed, he did not underſtand the proper methods for engaging men of wit and merit to reſide in his dominions, and for attaching them to his perſon. To pretend to do this by authority and compulſion, is the ſure way of ſuppreſſing all knowledge and induſtry, and of driving away the liberal arts and ſciences, which muſt be free and unconfined, like the genius from whence they ſpring. For one man of genius, that will be kept in a country by force, thouſands will be driven away, who would probably have choſen to reſide in it, if they could enjoy their liberty, and meet with kind treatment.

When Darius had formed his deſign of ſending into Greece, he acquainted Democedes with it, laid open his views to him, and told him the occaſion he had for his ſervice to conduct the Perſian noblemen thither, particularly to the maritime towns, in order to obſerve their ſituation and ſtrength; at the ſame time earneſtly deſiring him, that, when that was done, he would return back with them to Perſia. The king permitted him to carry all his moveables with him, and give them, if he pleaſed, to his father and brothers, promiſing at his return to give him as many of greater value; and ſignified to him further, that he would order the galley, in which he was to ſail, to be laden

with very rich preſents, for him to beſtow as he thought fit on the reſt of his family. The king's intention appeared by his manner of ſpeaking to be undiſguiſed and without artifice: but Democedes was afraid it might be a ſnare laid for him, to diſcover whether he intended to return to Perſia, or not: and therefore to remove all ſuſpicion, he left his own goods behind him at Suſa, and only took with him the preſents deſigned for his family.

The firſt place they landed at was Sidon in Phœnicia, where they equipped two large veſſels for themſelves, and put all they had brought along with them on board another veſſel of burden. After having paſſed through and carefully examined the chief cities of Greece, they went to Tarentum in Italy. Here the Perſian noblemen were taken up as ſpies; and Democedes taking advantage of this arreſt, made his eſcape from them, and fled to Crotona. When the Perſian lords had recovered their liberty, they purſued him thither, but could not prevail upon the Crotonians to deliver up their fellow-citizen. The city moreover ſeized the loaded veſſel: and the Perſians having loſt their guide, laid aſide the thoughts of going over the other parts of Greece, and ſet out for their own country. Democedes let them know, at their departure, that he was going to marry the daughter of Milo, a famous wreſtler of Crotona, whoſe name was very well known to the king, and of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. This voyage of the Perſian noblemen into Greece, was attended with no immediate conſequence; becauſe on their return home they found the king engaged in other affairs.

(*p*) In the third year of this king's reign, which was but the ſecond according to the Jewiſh computation, the Samaritans excited new troubles againſt the Jews. In the preceding reigns, they had procured an order to prohibit the Jews from proceeding any further in building of the temple of Jeruſalem. But, upon the lively

(*p*) Eſdr. c. v.

exhor-

exhortation of the prophets, and the expreſs order of God, the Iſraelites had lately reſumed the work, which had been interrupted for ſeveral years, and carried it on with great vigour. The Samaritans had recourſe to their antient practices, to prevent them. To this end they applied to Thatanai, whom Darius had made governor of the provinces of Syria and Paleſtine. They complained to him of the audacious proceeding of the Jews, who, of their own authority, and in defiance of the prohibitions to the contrary, preſumed to rebuild their temple: which muſt neceſſarily be prejudicial to the king's intereſts. Upon this repreſentation of theirs, the governor thought fit to go himſelf to Jeruſalem. And being a perſon of great equity and moderation, when he had inſpected the work, he did not think proper to proceed violently, and to put a ſtop to it without any further deliberation; but enquired of the Jewiſh elders, what licence they had for entering upon a work of that nature. The Jews hereupon producing the edict of Cyrus made in that behalf, he would not of himſelf ordain any thing in contradiction of it, but ſent an account of the matter to the king, and deſired to know his pleaſure. He gave the king a true repreſentation of the matter, acquainting him with the edict of Cyrus which the Jews alledged in their juſtification, and deſiring him to order the regiſters to be conſulted, to know, whether Cyrus had really publiſhed ſuch an edict in their favour, and thereupon to ſend him inſtructions of what he thought fit to order in the affair. (q) Darius having commanded the regiſters to be examined, the edict was found at Ecbatana in Media, the place where Cyrus was, at the time of its being granted. Now Darius having a great reſpect for the memory of that prince, confirmed his edict, and cauſed another to be drawn up, wherein the former was referred to, and ratified. This motive of regard to the memory of Cyrus, had there been nothing elſe to influence the king, would

(q) Eſdr. c. vi.

be

be very laudable: but the ſcripture informs us, that it was God himſelf, who influenced the mind and heart of the king, and inſpired him with a favourable diſpoſition to the Jews. The truth of this appears pretty plain from the edict itſelf. In the firſt place it ordains, that all the victims, oblations, and other expences of the temple, be abundantly furniſhed the Jews, as the prieſts ſhould require: in the ſecond place it enjoins the prieſts of Jeruſalem, when they offered their ſacrifices to the God of heaven, to pray for the preſervation of the life of the king and the princes his children: and laſtly it goes ſo far, as to denounce imprecations againſt all princes and people, that ſhould hinder the carrying on of the building of the temple, or that ſhould attempt to deſtroy it: by all which Darius evidently acknowledges, that the God of Iſrael is able to overturn the kingdoms of the world, and to dethrone the moſt mighty and powerful princes.

By virtue of this edict, the Jews were not only authorized to proceed in the building of their temple, but all the expences thereof were alſo to be furniſhed to them, out of the taxes and impoſts of the province. What muſt have become of the Jews, when the crimes of diſobedience and rebellion were laid to their charge, if at ſuch a juncture their ſuperiors had only hearkened to their enemies, and not given them leave to juſtify themſelves!

The ſame prince, ſome time after, gave ſtill a more ſignal proof of his love for juſtice, and of his abhorrence for accuſers and informers, a deteſtable race of men, that are, by their very nature and condition, enemies to all merit and all virtue. It is pretty obvious, that I mean the famous edict, publiſhed by this prince againſt Haman, in favour of the Jews at the requeſt of Eſther, whom the king had taken to his bed in the room of Vaſthi, one of his wives. According to archbiſhop Uſher, this Vaſthi is the ſame perſon as is called by prophane writers Atoſſa; and the Ahaſuerus of the holy ſcriptures the ſame as Darius: but, according

cording to others, it is Artaxerxes. The fact is well known, being related in the ſacred hiſtory: I have given however a brief account of it in a former volume (*r*).

Such actions of juſtice do great honour to a prince's memory: as do alſo thoſe of gratitude, of which Darius on a certain occaſion gave a very laudable inſtance. (*s*) Syloſon, brother to Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, had once made Darius a preſent of a ſuit of cloaths, of a curious red colour, which extremely pleaſed Darius's fancy, and would never ſuffer him to make any return for it. Darius at that time was but a private gentleman, an officer in the guards of Cambyſes, whom he accompanied to Memphis in his Egyptian expedition. When Darius was on the throne of Perſia, Syloſon went to Suſa, preſented himſelf at the gate of his palace, and ſent up word to the king that there was a Grecian below, to whom his majeſty was under ſome obligation. Darius, ſurprized at ſuch a meſſage, and curious to know the truth of it, ordered him to be brought in. When he ſaw him, he remembred him, and acknowledged him to have been his benefactor; and was ſo far from being aſhamed of an adventure, which might ſeem not to be much for his honour, that he ingenuouſly applauded the gentleman's generoſity, which proceeded from no other motive than that of doing a pleaſure to a perſon, from whom he could have no expectations; and then propoſed to make him a conſiderable preſent of gold and ſilver. But money was not the thing Syloſon deſired: the love of his country was his predominant paſſion. The favour he required of the king was, that he would ſettle him at Samos, without ſhedding the blood of the citizens, by driving out the perſon, that had uſurped the government ſince the death of his brother. Darius conſented, and committed the conduct of the expedition to Otanes, one of the principal lords of his court, who undertook it with joy, and performed it with ſucceſs.

(*r*) Vol. II. (*s*) Her. l. 3. c. 139, 149.

SECT.

SECT. II. *Revolt and reduction of Babylon.*

(t) IN the beginning of the fifth year of Darius, Babylon revolted, and could not be reduced till after a twenty months siege. This city, formerly mistress of the East, grew impatient of the Persian yoak, especially after the removing of the imperial seat to Susa, which very much diminished Babylon's wealth and grandeur. The Babylonians, taking advantage of the revolution that happened in Persia, first on the death of Cambyses, and afterwards on the massacre of the Magians, made secretly for four years together all kinds of preparations for war. When they thought the city sufficiently stored with provisions for many years, they set up the standard of rebellion; which obliged Darius to besiege them with all his forces. Now God continued to accomplish those terrible threatnings he had denounced against Babylon: that he would not only humble and bring down that proud and impious city, but depopulate and lay it waste with fire and blood, utterly exterminate it, and reduce it to an eternal solitude. In order to fulfil these predictions, God permitted the Babylonians to rebel against Darius, and by that means to draw upon themselves the whole force of the Persian empire: and they themselves were the first in putting these prophecies in execution, by destroying a great number of their own people, as will be seen presently. It is probable, that the Jews, of whom a considerable number remained at Babylon, went out of the city, before the siege was formed, as the prophets (u) Isaiah and Jeremiah had exhorted them long before, and Zachariah very lately, in the following terms: *Thou Sion, that dwellest with the daughter of Babylon, flee from the country, and save thy self.*

The Babylonians, to make their provisions last the longer, and to enable them to hold out with the

(t) A. M. 3483. Ant. J. C. 516. Her. l. 3. c. 150—160.
(u) Is. xlviii. 20. Jer. l. 8. li. 6, 9, 45. Zach. ii. 6, 9.

greater

greater vigour, took the moſt deſperate and barbarous reſolution that ever was heard of; which was, to deſtroy all ſuch of their own people, as were unſerviceable on this occaſion. For this purpoſe they aſſembled together all their wives and children, and ſtrangled them. Only every man was allowed to keep his beſt beloved wife, and one ſervant-maid to do the buſineſs of the family.

After this cruel execution, the unhappy remainder of the inhabitants, thinking themſelves out of all danger, both on account of their fortifications, which they looked upon as impregnable, and the vaſt quantity of proviſions they had laid up, began to inſult the beſiegers from the tops of their walls, and to provoke them with opprobrious language. The Perſians, for the ſpace of eighteen months, did all that force or ſtratagem were capable of, to make themſelves maſters of the city; nor did they forget to make uſe of the ſame means, as had ſo happily ſucceeded with Cyrus ſome years before; I mean, that of turning the courſe of the river. But all their efforts were fruitleſs; and Darius began almoſt to deſpair of taking the place, when a ſtratagem, till then unheard of, opened the gates of the city to him. He was ſtrangely ſurprized one morning to ſee Zopyrus, one of the chief noblemen of his court, and ſon of Megabyſes, who was one of the ſeven lords, that made the aſſociation againſt the Magians; to ſee him, I ſay, appear before him all over blood, with his noſe and ears cut off, and his whole body wounded in a terrible manner. Starting up from his throne he cried out, Who is it, Zopyrus, that has dared to treat you thus? You yourſelf, O king, replied Zopyrus. The deſire I had of rendering you ſervice has put me into this condition. As I was fully perſuaded, that you never would have conſented to this method, I have conſulted none but the zeal I have for your ſervice. He then opened to him his deſign of going over to the enemy; and they ſettled every thing together that was proper to be done.

The king could not ſee him ſet out upon this extraordinary project without the utmoſt affliction and concern. Zopyrus approached the walls of the city; and having told them who he was, was ſoon admitted. They then carried him before the governor, to whom he laid open his misfortune, and the cruel treatment he had met with from Darius, for having diſſuaded him from continuing any longer before a city, which it was impoſſible for him to take. He offered the Babylonians his ſervice, which could not fail of being highly uſeful to them, ſince he was acquainted with all the deſigns of the Perſians, and ſince the deſire of revenge would inſpire him with freſh courage and reſolution. His name and perſon were both well known at Babylon: the condition in which he appeared, his blood and his wounds teſtified for him; and, by proofs not to be ſuſpected, confirmed the truth of all he advanced. They therefore entirely believed whatever he told them, and gave him moreover the command of as many troops as he deſired. In the firſt ſally he made, he cut off a thouſand of the beſiegers: a few days after he killed them double the number; and on the third time, four thouſand of their men lay dead upon the ſpot. All this had been before agreed upon between him and Darius. Nothing was now talked of in Babylon but Zopyrus: the whole city ſtrove who ſhould extol him moſt, and they had not words ſufficient to expreſs their high value for him, and how happy they eſteemed themſelves in having gained ſo great a man. He was now declared generaliſſimo of their forces, and entruſted with the care of guarding the walls of the city. Darius approaching with his army towards the gates, at the time agreed on between them, Zopyrus opened the gates to him, and made him by that means maſter of the city, which he never could have been able to take either by force or famine.

As powerful as this prince was, he found himſelf incapable of making a ſufficient recompence for ſo great a ſervice;

a ſervice; and he uſed often to ſay, that he would with pleaſure ſacrifice a hundred Babylons, if he had them, to reſtore Zopyrus to the condition he was in, before he inflicted that cruel treatment upon himſelf. He ſettled upon him during life the whole revenue of this opulent city, of which he alone had procured him the poſſeſſion, and heaped all the honours upon him, that a king could poſſibly confer upon a ſubject. Megabyſus, who commanded the Perſian army in Egypt againſt the Athenians, was ſon to this Zopyrus; and that Zopyrus, who went over to the Athenians as a deſerter, was his grandſon.

No ſooner was Darius in poſſeſſion of Babylon, but he ordered the hundred gates to be pulled down, and all the walls of that proud city to be entirely demoliſhed, that ſhe might never be in a condition to rebel more againſt him. If he had pleaſed to make uſe of all the rights of a conqueror, he might upon this occaſion have exterminated all the inhabitants. But he contented himſelf with cauſing three thouſand of thoſe who were principally concerned in the revolt to be impaled, and granted a pardon to all the reſt. And, in order to hinder the depopulation of the city, he cauſed fifty thouſand women to be brought from the ſeveral provinces of his empire, to ſupply the place of thoſe, which the inhabitants had ſo cruelly deſtroyed at the beginning of the ſiege. Such was the fate of Babylon; and thus did God execute his vengeance on that impious city, for the cruelty ſhe had exerciſed towards the Jews, in falling upon a free people without any reaſon or provocation; in deſtroying their government, laws and worſhip; in forcing them from their country, and tranſporting them to a ſtrange land; where they impoſed a moſt grievous yoke of ſervitude upon them, and made uſe of all their power to cruſh and afflict an unhappy nation, favoured however by God, and having the honour to be ſtiled his peculiar people.

SECT.

SECT. III. *Darius prepares for an expedition against the Scythians. A digression upon the manners and customs of that nation.*

(x) AFTER the reduction of Babylon, Darius made great preparations for the war against the Scythians, who inhabited that large tract of land, which lies between the Danube and the Tanais. His pretence for undertaking this war was to be revenged of that nation for the * invasion of Asia by their ancestors: a very frivolous and sorry pretext; and a very ridiculous ground for reviving an old quarrel, which had ceased an hundred and twenty years before. Whilst the Scythians were employed in that irruption, which lasted eight and twenty years, the Scythians wives married their slaves. When the husbands were on their return home, these slaves went out to meet them with a numerous army, and disputed their entrance into their country. After some battles fought with pretty equal loss on both sides, the masters considering, that it was doing too much honour to their slaves to put them upon the foot of soldiers, marched against them in the next encounter with whips in their hands, to make them remember their proper condition. This stratagem had the intended effect: for not being able to bear the sight of their masters thus armed, they all ran away.

I design in this place to imitate Herodotus, who in writing of this war takes occasion to give an ample account of all that relates to the customs and manners of the Scythians. But I shall be much more brief in my account of this matter than he is.

A digression concerning the Scythians.

Formerly there were Scythians both in Europe and Asia, most of them inhabiting those parts that lie towards the North. I design now chiefly to treat of the first, namely, of the European Scythians.

(x) Her. l. 4. c. 1. Justin. l. 2. c. 5.

* *Mention is made of this in the second volume*, p. 61, &c.

The hiſtorians, in the accounts they have left us of the manners and character of the Scythians, relate things of them, that are entirely oppoſite and contradictory to one another. One while they repreſent them as the juſteſt and moſt moderate people in the world: another while they deſcribe them as a fierce and barbarous nation, which carries its cruelty to ſuch horrible exceſſes, as are ſhocking to human nature. This contrariety is a manifeſt proof, that thoſe different characters are to be applied to different nations of Scythians, all comprized in that vaſt and extenſive tract of country; and that, though they were all comprehended under one and the ſame general denomination of Scythians, we ought not to confound them or their characters together.

(*y*) Strabo has quoted authors, who mention Scythians dwelling upon the coaſt of the Euxine ſea, that cut the throats of all ſtrangers who came amongſt them, fed upon their fleſh, and made pots and drinking-veſſels of their ſculls, when they had dried them. (*z*) Herodotus in deſcribing the ſacrifices, which the Scythians offered to the god Mars, ſays, they uſed to offer human ſacrifices. Their manner * of making treaties, according to this author's account, was very ſtrange and particular. (*a*) They firſt poured wine into a large earthen veſſel, and then the contracting parties, cutting their arms with a knife, let ſome of their blood run into the wine, and ſtained likewiſe their armour therein; after which they themſelves, and all that were preſent, drank of that liquor, making the ſtrongeſt imprecations againſt the perſon that ſhould violate the treaty.

(*b*) But what the ſame hiſtorian relates, concerning the ceremonies obſerved at the funeral of their kings,

(*y*) Strabo, l. 7. p. 298.
(*z*) Her. l. 4. c. 62.
(*a*) Ibid. c. 70.
(*b*) Ibid. c. 71, 72.

* *This cuſtom was ſtill practiſed by the Germans, that were originally deſcended from the Scythians, in the time of Tacitus, who makes mention of it.* Ann. l. 12. c. 47.

is

is ſtill more extraordinary. I ſhall only mention ſuch of thoſe ceremonies, as may ſerve to give us an idea of the cruel barbarity of this people. When their king died, they embalmed his body, and wrapped it up in wax; this done, they put it into an open chariot, and carried it from city to city, expoſing it to the view of all the people under his dominion. When this circuit was finiſhed, they laid the body down in the place appointed for the burial of it, and there they made a large grave, in which they interred the king, and with him one of his wives, his chief cup-bearer, his great chamberlain, his maſter of horſe, his chancellor, his ſecretary of ſtate, all which perſons were put to death for that purpoſe. To theſe they added ſeveral horſes, a great number of drinking-veſſels, and a certain part of every kind of houſhold goods and furniture belonging to their deceaſed monarch: after which they filled up the grave and covered it with earth. This was not all. When the anniverſary of his interment came, they cut the throats of fifty more of the dead king's officers, and of the ſame number of horſes, and placed the officers on horſeback round the king's tomb, having firſt prepared and embalmed their bodies for the purpoſe; this they did probably to ſerve him as guards. Theſe ceremonies poſſibly took their riſe from a notion they might have of their king's being ſtill alive: and upon this ſuppoſition they judged it neceſſary, that he ſhould have his court and ordinary officers ſtill about him. Whether employments, which terminated in this manner, were much ſought after, I will not determine.

It is now time to paſs to the conſideration of their manners and cuſtoms, that had more of humanity in them; though poſſibly in another ſenſe they may appear to be equally ſavage. The account I am going to give of them is chiefly taken from (*b*) Juſtin. According to this author, the Scythians lived in great innocence and ſimplicity. They were ignorant indeed

(*b*) Juſtin. l. 2. c. 2.

of all arts and ſciences, but then they were equally unacquainted with vice. They did not make any diviſion of their lands amongſt themſelves, ſays Juſtin: it would have been in vain for them to have done it; ſince they did not apply themſelves to cultivate them. Horace, in one of his odes, of which I ſhall inſert a part by and by, tells us, that ſome of them did cultivate a certain portion of land allotted to them for one year only, at the expiration of which they were relieved by others, who ſucceeded them on the ſame conditions. They had no houſes, nor ſettled habitation; but wandered continually with their cattle and their flocks from country to country. Their wives and children they carried along with them in waggons, covered with the ſkins of beaſts, which were all the houſes they had to dwell in. Juſtice * was obſerved and maintained amongſt them thro' the natural temper and diſpoſition of the people, without any compulſion of laws, with which they were wholly unacquainted. No crime was more ſeverely puniſhed among them, than theft and robbery; and that with good reaſon. For, their herds and their flocks, in which all their riches conſiſted, being never ſhut up, how could they poſſibly ſubſiſt, if theft had not been moſt rigorouſly puniſhed? They coveted neither ſilver nor gold, like the reſt of mankind; and made milk and honey their principal diet. They were ſtrangers to the uſe of linen or woollen manufactures; and to defend themſelves from the violent and continual cold weather of their climate, they made uſe of nothing but the ſkins of beaſts.

I ſaid before, that theſe manners of the Scythians would appear to ſome people, very wild and ſavage. And indeed, what can be ſaid for a nation, that has lands, and yet does not cultivate them; that has herds of cattle, of which they content themſelves to eat the milk, and neglect the fleſh? The wool of their ſheep might ſupply them with warm and comfortable cloaths, and yet they uſe no other raiment than the ſkins of

* Juſtitia gentis ingeniis culta, non legibus.

animals. But, that which is the greateſt demonſtration of their ignorance and ſavageneſs, according to the general opinion of mankind, is their utter neglect of gold and ſilver, which have always been had in ſuch great requeſt in all civilized nations.

But, oh! how happy was this ignorance; how vaſtly preferable this ſavage ſtate to our pretended politeneſs! * This contempt of all the conveniences of life, ſays Juſtin, was attended with ſuch an honeſty and uprightneſs of manners, as hindered them from ever coveting their neighbour's goods. For the deſire of riches can only take place, where riches can be made uſe of. And, would to God, ſays the ſame author, we could ſee the ſame moderation prevail among the reſt of mankind, and the like indifference to the goods of other people! If that were the caſe, the world would not have ſeen ſo many wars perpetually ſucceeding one another in all ages, and in all countries: nor would the number of thoſe, that are cut off by the ſword, exceed that of thoſe who fall by the irreverſible decree and law of nature.

Juſtin finiſhes his character of the Scythians with a very judicious reflection. † It is a ſurprizing thing, ſays he, that an happy, natural diſpoſition, without the aſſiſtance of education, ſhould carry the Scythians to ſuch a degree of wiſdom and moderation, as the Grecians could not attain to, neither by the inſtitutions of their legiſlators, nor the rules and precepts of all their philoſophers; and that the manners of a barbarous nation ſhould be preferable to thoſe of a people ſo much

* Hæc continentia illis morum quoque juſtitiam indidit, nihil alienum concupiſcentibus. Quippe ibidem divitiarum cupido eſt, ubi & uſus. Atque utinam reliquis mortalibus ſimilis moderatio & abſtinentia alieni foret! profectò non tantum bellorum per omnia ſecula terris omnibus continuaretur: neque plus hominum ferrum & arma, quam naturalis fatorum conditio raperet.

† Prorſus ut admirabile videatur, hoc illis naturam dare, quod Græci longa ſapientium doctrina præceptiſque philoſophorum conſequi nequeunt, cultoſque mores incultæ barbariæ collatione ſuperari. Tanto plus in illis proficit vitiorum ignoratio, quàm in his cognitio virtutis!

improved and refined by the polite arts and ſciences. So much more effectual and advantagious was the ignorance of vice in the one, than the knowledge of virtue in the other!

(*c*) The Scythian fathers thought with good reaſon, that they left their children a valuable inheritance, when they left them in peace and union with one another. One of their kings, whoſe name was Scylurus, finding himſelf draw near his end, ſent for all his children, and giving to each of them one after another a bundle of arrows tied faſt together, deſired them to break them. Each uſed his endeavours, but was not able to do it. Then untying the bundle, and giving them the arrows one by one, they were very eaſily broken. Let this image, ſays the father, be a leſſon to you of the mighty advantage that reſults from union and concord. (*d*) In order to ſtrengthen and enlarge theſe domeſtick advantages, the Scythians uſed to admit their friends into the ſame terms of union with them as their relations. Friendſhip was conſidered by them as a ſacred and inviolable alliance, which differed but little from the alliance nature has put between brethren, and which they could not infringe without being guilty of a heinous crime.

Antient authors ſeem to have ſtrove, who ſhould moſt extol the innocence of manners, that reigned among the Scythians, by magnificent encomiums. That of Horace I ſhall tranſcribe at large. That poet does not confine it entirely to them, the Scythians, but joins the Getæ with them, their near neighbours. It is in that beautiful ode, where he inveighs againſt the luxury and irregularities of the age he lived in. After he had told us, that peace and tranquillity of mind is not to be procured either by immenſe riches, or ſumptuous buildings, he adds, "An hundred times happier are the Scythians, who roam "about in their itinerant houſes, their waggons; and "happier even are the frozen Getæ. With them the

(*c*) Plut. de garrul. p. 511. (*d*) Lucian. in Tex. p. 51.

"earth,

" earth, without being divided by land-marks, pro-
" duceth her fruits which are gathered in common.
" There each man's tillage is but of one year's con-
" tinuance; and when that term of his labour is ex-
" pired, he is relieved by a ſucceſſor, who takes his
" place, and manures the ground on the ſame condi-
" tions. There the innocent ſtepmothers form no
" cruel deſigns againſt the lives of their huſbands chil-
" dren by a former wife. The wives do not pre-
" tend to domineer over their huſbands on account of
" their fortunes, nor are to be corrupted by the in-
" ſinuating language of ſpruce adulterers. The great-
" eſt portion of the maiden, is her father and mo-
" ther's virtue, her inviolable attachment to her huſ-
" band, and her perfect diſregard to all other men.
" They dare not be unfaithful, becauſe they are con-
" vinced that infidelity is a crime, and its reward
" is death." *

When we conſider the manners and character of the Scythians without prejudice, can we poſſibly forbear to look upon them with eſteem and admiration? Does not their manner of living, as to the exterior part of it at leaſt, bear a great reſemblance to that of the patriarchs, who had no fixed habitation; who did not till the ground; who had no other occupation than

* Campeſtres melìs Scythæ,
Quorum plauſtra vagas ritè trahunt domos,
Vivunt, & rigidi Getæ;
Immetata quibus jugera liberas
Fruges & Cererem ferunt!
Nec cultura placet longior annuâ,
Defunctumque laboribus
Æquali recreat ſorte vicarius.
Illic matre carentibus
Privignis mulier temperat innocens:
Nec dotata regit virum
Conjux, nec nitido fidit adultero.
Dos eſt magna parentium
Virtus, & metuens alterius viri
Certo fœdere caſtitas:
Et peccare nefas, aut pretium eſt mori.

Hor. lib. iii. Od. 24.

that of feeding their flocks and herds; and who dwelt in tents? Can we believe this people were much to be pitied, for not underſtanding, or rather for deſpiſing the uſe of gold and ſilver? * Is it not to be wiſhed, that thoſe metals had for ever lain buried in the bowels of the earth, and that they had never been dug from thence to become the cauſes and inſtruments of all vices and iniquity? What advantage could gold or ſilver be of to the Scythians, who valued nothing but what the neceſſities of man actually require, and who took care to ſet narrow bounds to thoſe neceſſities? It is no wonder, that, living as they did, without houſes, they ſhould make no account of thoſe arts that were ſo highly valued in other places, as architecture, ſculpture, and painting: or that they ſhould deſpiſe fine cloaths and coſtly furniture, ſince they found the ſkins of beaſts ſufficient to defend them againſt the inclemency of the ſeaſons. After all, can we truly ſay, that theſe pretended advantages contribute to the real happineſs of life? Were thoſe nations that had them in the greateſt plenty, more healthful or robuſt than the Scythians? Did they live to a greater age than they? Or did they ſpend their lives in greater freedom and tranquillity, or a greater exemption from cares and troubles? Let us acknowledge it, to the ſhame of antient philoſophy; the Scythians, who did not particularly apply themſelves to the ſtudy of wiſdom, carried it however to a greater height in their practice, than either the Egyptians, Grecians, or any other civilized nation. They did not give the name of goods or riches to any thing, but what, in a human way of ſpeaking, truly deſerved that title, as health, ſtrength, courage, the love of labour and liberty, innocence of life, ſincerity, an abhorrence of all fraud and diſſimulation, and, in a word, all ſuch qualities, as render a man

* Aurum irrepertum, & ſic melius ſitum
Cum terra celat, ſpernere fortior,
Quam cogere humanos in uſus
Omne ſacrum rapiente dextrâ.

Hor. lib. iii. *Od.* 3.

man more virtuous and more valuable. If to these happy dispositions, we add the knowledge and love of God and of our Redeemer, without which the most exalted virtues are of no value and ineffectual, they would have been a perfect people.

When we compare the manners of the Scythians with those of the present age, we are tempted to believe, that the pencils which drew so beautiful a picture, were not free from partiality and flattery; and that both Justin and Horace have decked them with virtues, that did not belong to them. But all antiquity agrees in giving the same testimony of them; and Homer in particular, whose opinion ought to be of great weight, calls them *the most just and upright of men*.

But at length (who could believe it) luxury, that might be thought only to thrive in an agreeable and delightful soil, penetrated into this rough and uncultivated region; and breaking down the fences, which the constant practice of several ages, founded in the nature of the climate, and the genius of the people, had set against it, did at last effectually corrupt the manners of the Scythians, and bring them, in that respect, upon a level with the other nations, where it had long been predominant. It is (*e*) Strabo that acquaints us with this particular, which is very worthy of our notice: he lived in the time of Augustus and Tiberius. After he has greatly commended the simplicity, frugality, and innocence of the antient Scythians, and their extreme aversion to all dissimulation and deceit, he owns, that their intercourse in later times with other nations had extirpated those virtues, and planted the contrary vices in their stead. One would think, says he, that the natural effect of such an intercourse with civilized and polite nations should have consisted only in rendering them more humanized and courteous, by softening that air of savageness and ferocity, which they had before: but, instead of that, it introduced a total dissolution of manners amongst them,

(*e*) Strabo, l. 7. p. 301.

and quite transformed them into different creatures. It is undoubtedly with reference to this change that Athenæus (*f*) ſays, the Scythians abandoned themſelves to voluptuouſneſs and luxury, at the ſame time that they ſuffered ſelf-intereſt and avarice to prevail amongſt them.

Strabo, in making the remark I have been mentioning, does not deny, but that it was to the Romans and Grecians this fatal change of manners was owing. Our example, ſays he, has perverted almoſt all the nations of the world: by carrying the refinements of luxury and pleaſure amongſt them, we have taught them inſincerity and fraud, and a thouſand kinds of ſhameful and infamous arts to get money. It is a miſerable talent and a very unhappy diſtinction for a nation, through its ingenuity in inventing modes, and refining upon every thing that tends to nouriſh and promote luxury, to become the corrupter of all its neighbours, and the author, as it were, of their vices and debauchery.

It was againſt theſe Scythians, but at a time when they were yet uncorrupted, and in their utmoſt vigour, that Darius undertook an unſucceſsful expedition; which I ſhall make the ſubject of the next article.

SECT. IV. *Darius's expedition againſt the Scythians.*

(*g*) I Have already obſerved, that the pretence uſed by Darius, for undertaking this war againſt the Scythians, was the irruption formerly made by that people into Aſia: but in reality he had no other end therein, than to ſatisfy his own ambition, and to extend his conqueſts.

His brother Artabanes, for whom he had a great regard, and who on his ſide had no leſs zeal for the true intereſts of the king his brother, thought it his duty on this occaſion to ſpeak his ſentiments with all the freedom that an affair of ſuch importance re-

(*f*) Athen. l. 12. p. 524.

(*g*) Her. l. 4. c. 83—96.

quired,

quired. "Great prince, says he to him, * they, "who form any great enterprize, ought carefully to "consider, whether it will be beneficial or prejudi- "cial to the state; whether the execution of it will "be easy or difficult; whether it be likely to aug- "ment or diminish their glory; and lastly, whe- "ther the thing designed be consistent with or con- "trary to the rules of justice. For my own part, I "cannot perceive, Sir, even though you were sure of "success, what advantage you can propose to your "self in undertaking a war against the Scythians. "Consider the vast distance between them and you; "and the prodigious space of land and sea, that se- "parates them from your dominions: besides, they "are a people that dwell in wild and uncultivated "deserts; that have neither towns nor houses; that "have no fixt settlement, or places of habitation; "and that are destitute of all manner of riches. What "spoil or benefit can accrue to your troops from such "an expedition; or, to speak more properly, what "loss have you not reason to apprehend?

"As they are accustomed to remove from country "to country, if they should think proper to fly before "you, not out of cowardise or fear, for they are a "very couragious and warlike people, but only with "a design to harrass and ruin your army by continual "and fatiguing marches, what would become of us "in such an uncultivated, barren, and naked coun- "try, where we shall neither find forage for our "horses, nor provision for our men? I am afraid, "Sr, that through a false notion of glory, and the "influence of flatterers, you may be hurried into a "war, which may turn to the dishonour of the na- "tion. You now enjoy the sweets of peace and tran- "quillity in the midst of your people, where you are "the object of their admiration, and the author of

* Omnes qui magnarum rerum consilia suscipiunt, æstimare debent, an, quod inchoatur, reipublicæ utile, ipsis glorioſum, aut promptum effectu, aut certè non arduum sit. *Tacit. Hist.* l. 2. c. 76.

"their

" their happineſs. You are ſenſible the gods have
" placed you upon the throne to be their co-adjutor,
" or, to ſpeak more properly, to be the diſpenſer of
" their bounty, rather than the miniſter of their pow-
" er. It is your pleaſure to be the protector, the
" guardian, and the father of your ſubjects: and you
" often declare to us, becauſe you really believe ſo, that
" you look upon yourſelf as inveſted with ſovereign
" power, only to make your people happy. What
" exquiſite joy muſt it be to ſo great a prince as you
" are, to be the ſource of ſo many bleſſings; and
" under the ſhadow of your name to preſerve ſuch in-
" finite numbers of people in ſo deſirable a tranquil-
" lity! Is not the glory of a king, who loves his ſub-
" jects, and is beloved by them; who, inſtead of
" making war againſt neighbouring or diſtant na-
" tions, makes uſe of his power to keep them in peace
" and amity with each other; is not ſuch a glory
" vaſtly preferable to that of ravaging and ſpoiling
" of nations, of filling the earth with ſlaughter and
" and deſolation, with horror, conſternation and
" deſpair? But there is one motive more, which
" ought to have a greater influence upon you than all
" others, I mean that of juſtice. Thanks to the
" gods, you are not of the number of thoſe princes,
" who * acknowledge no other law than that of
" force, and who imagine that they have a peculiar
" privilege annexed to their dignity, which private
" perſons have not, of invading other men's proper-
" ties. † You do not make your greatneſs conſiſt in
" being able to do whatever you will, but in willing
" only what may be done, without infringing the
" laws, or violating juſtice. To ſpeak plain, ſhall
" one man be reckoned unjuſt, and a robber, for

* Id in ſumma fortuna æquius, quod validius: & ſua retinere, privatæ domus; de alienis certare, regiam laudem eſſe. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 25. c. 1.

† Ut fælicitatis eſt quantum velis poſſe, ſic magnitudinis velle quantum poſſis. *Plin. in Pan. Traj.*

" ſeizing

" ſeizing on a few acres of his neighbour's eſtate;
" and ſhall another be reckoned juſt and great, and
" have the title of hero, only becauſe he ſeizes upon
" and uſurps whole provinces? Permit me, Sir, to aſk
" you, what title have you to Scythia? What injury
" have the Scythians done you? What reaſon can you
" alledge for declaring war againſt them? The war
" indeed, in which you have been engaged againſt the
" Babylonians, was at the ſame time both juſt and ne-
" ceſſary: the gods have accordingly crowned your
" arms with ſucceſs. It belongs to you, Sir, to judge
" whether that which you are now going to under-
" take, be of the ſame nature."

Nothing but the generous zeal of a brother, truly concerned for the glory of his prince, and the good of his country, could inſpire ſuch a freedom: as on the other hand, nothing but a perfect moderation in the prince could make him capable of bearing with it. Darius, as † Tacitus obſerves of another great emperor, had the art of reconciling two things, which are generally incompatible, the ſovereignty and liberty. Far from being offended at the freedom uſed by his brother, he thanked him for his good advice, tho' he did not follow it: for he had taken his reſolution. He departed from Suſa at the head of an army of ſeven hundred thouſand men; and his fleet, conſiſting of ſix hundred ſail of ſhips, was chiefly manned with Ionians, and other Grecian nations, that dwelt upon the ſea-coaſts of Aſia minor and the Helleſpont. He marched his army towards the Thracian Boſphorus, which he paſſed upon a bridge of boats: after which having made himſelf maſter of all Thrace, he came to the banks of the Danube, otherwiſe called the Iſter, where he had ordered his fleet to join him. In ſeveral places on his march he cauſed pillars to be erected with magnificent inſcriptions, in one of which he ſuffered

† Nerva Cæſar res olim diſſociabiles miſcuit, principatum & libertatem. *Tacit. in vit. Agric.* cap. 3.

himſelf

himſelf to be called, *the beſt and handſomeſt of all men living.* What a littleneſs of ſoul and vanity was this!

And yet if all this prince's faults had terminated only in ſentiments of pride and vanity, perhaps they would appear more excuſable than they do, at leaſt they would not have been ſo pernicious to his ſubjects. (*b*) But how ſhall we reconcile Darius's diſpoſition, which ſeemed to be ſo exceeding humane and gentle, with a barbarous and cruel action of his towards Oebaſus, a venerable old man, whoſe merit, as well as quality, entitled him to reſpect? This nobleman had three ſons, who were all preparing themſelves to attend the king in this expedition againſt the Scythians. Upon Darius's departure from Suſa, the good old father begged as a favour of him, that he would pleaſe to leave him one of his ſons at home, to be a comfort to him in his old age. *One*, replied Darius, *will not be ſufficient for you; I will leave you all the three:* and immediately he cauſed them all to be put to death.

(*i*) When the army had paſſed the Danube upon a bridge of boats, the king was for having the bridge broke down, that his army might not be weakened by leaving ſo conſiderable a detachment of his troops, as were neceſſary to guard it. But one of his officers repreſented to him, that it might be proper to keep that, as a neceſſary reſource, in caſe the war with the Scythians ſhould prove unfortunate. The king gave into this opinion, and committed the guarding of the bridge to the care of the Ionians, who built it; giving them leave at the ſame time to go back to their own country, if he did not return in the ſpace of two months: He then proceeded on his march to Scythia.

(*k*) Aſſoon as the Scythians were informed that Darius was marching againſt them, they immediately entered into conſultation upon the meaſures neceſſary to be taken. They were very ſenſible, that they were not in a condition to reſiſt ſo formidable an enemy

(*b*) Her. l. 4. c. 84. Senec. de ira, c. 16. (*i*) Her. l. 4. c. 99, 101. (*k*) Her. l. 4. c. 102, 118, 119.

alone. They applied therefore to all the neighbouring people, and desired their assistance, alledging that the danger was general and concerned them all, and that it was their common interest to oppose an enemy, whose views of conquest were not confined to one nation. Some returned favourable answers to their demand: others absolutely refused to enter into a war, which, they said, did not regard them; but they had soon reason to repent their refusal.

(*l*) One wise precaution taken by the Scythians, was to secure their wives and children by sending them in carriages to the most northern parts of the country; and with them likewise they sent all their herds and flocks, reserving nothing to themselves but what was necessary for the support of their army. Another precaution of theirs was to fill up all their wells, and stop up their springs, and to consume all the forage in those parts through which the Persian army was to pass. This done, they marched, in conjunction with their allies, against the enemy, not with the view of giving him battle, for they were determined to avoid that, but to draw him into such places, as suited best their interest. Whenever the Persians seemed disposed to attack them, they still retired farther up into the country: and thereby drew them on from place to place, into the territories of those nations that had refused to enter into alliance with them, by which means their lands became a prey to the two armies of the Persians and Scythians.

(*m*) Darius, weary of these tedious and fatiguing pursuits, sent an herald to the king of the Scythians, whose name was Indathyrsus, with this message in his name: "Prince of the Scythians, wherefore dost "thou continually fly before me? Why dost thou not "stop somewhere or other, either to give me battle, "if thou believest thy self able to encounter me, or, "if thou thinkest thy self too weak, to acknowledge "thy master, by presenting him with earth and wa-

(*l*) Her. l. 4. c. 120, 125. (*m*) Her. l. 4. c. 126, 127.

"ter?"

" ter?" The Scythians were an high-ſpirited people, extremely jealous of their liberty, and profeſſed enemies to all ſlavery. Indathyrſus ſent Darius the following anſwer: " If I fly before thee, prince of the " Perſians, it is not becauſe I fear thee: what I do " now, is no more than what I am uſed to do in " time of peace. We Scythians have neither cities " nor lands to defend: if thou haſt a mind to force " us to come to an engagement, come and attack the " tombs of our fathers, and thou ſhalt find what " manner of men we are. As to the title of maſter, " which thou aſſumeſt, keep it for other nations " than the Scythians. For my part I acknowledge " no other maſter, than the great Jupiter, one of my " own anceſtors, and the goddeſs Veſta."

(*n*) The farther Darius advanced into the country, the greater hardſhips his army was expoſed to. Juſt when it was reduced to the laſt extremity, there came an herald to Darius from the Scythian prince, with a bird, a mouſe, a frog, and five arrows for a preſent. The king deſired to know the meaning of thoſe gifts. The meſſenger anſwered, that his orders were only to deliver them, and nothing more; and that it was left to the Perſian king to find out the meaning. Darius concluded at firſt, that the Scythians thereby conſented to deliver up the earth and water to him, which were repreſented by a mouſe and a frog; as alſo their cavalry, whoſe ſwiftneſs was repreſented by the bird; together with their own perſons and arms, ſignified by the arrows. But Gobrias, one of the ſeven lords, that had depoſed the Magian impoſtor, expounded the enigma in the following manner: " Know," ſays he to the Perſians, " that unleſs you can fly a- " way in the air like birds, or hide your ſelves in the " earth like mice, or ſwim in the water like frogs, " you ſhall in no wiſe be able to avoid the arrows of " the Scythians."

(*o*) And indeed, the whole Perſian army marching

(*n*) Ibid. c. 128, 130. (*o*) Strabo, l. 7. p. 305. &. l. 16. p. 737.

in

in a vaſt, uncultivated, and barren country, in which there was no water, it was reduced to ſo deplorable a condition, that they had nothing before their eyes but inevitable ruin: nor was Darius himſelf exempt from the common danger. He owed his preſervation to a camel, which was loaded with water, and followed him with great difficulty through that wild and deſart country. The king afterwards did not forget his benefactor: to reward him for the ſervice he had done him, and the fatigues he had undergone, on his return into Aſia, he ſettled a certain diſtrict of his own upon him for his peculiar uſe and ſubſiſtance, for which reaſon the place was called Gangamele, that is, in the Perſian tongue, *the camel's habitation.* It was near this ſame place that Darius Codomannus received a ſecond overthrow by Alexander the Great.

(*p*) Darius deliberated no longer, finding himſelf under an abſolute neceſſity of quitting his imprudent enterprize. He began then to think in earneſt upon returning home; and ſaw but too plainly, that there was no time to be loſt. Therefore aſſoon as night came, the Perſians, to deceive the enemy, lighted a great number of fires, as uſual; and leaving the old men and the ſick behind them in the camp, together with all their aſſes, which made a ſufficient noiſe, they marched away, as faſt as they could, in order to reach the Danube. The Scythians did not perceive they were gone, till the next morning: whereupon they immediately ſent a conſiderable detachment as quick as poſſible to the Danube: this detachment being perfectly well acquainted with the roads of the country, arrived at the bridge a great while before the Perſians. The Scythians had ſent expreſſes beforehand to perſuade the Ionians to break the bridge, and to return to their own country: and the latter had promiſed to do it, but without deſign to execute their promiſe. The Scythians now preſſed them to it more earneſtly, and repreſented to them, that the time pre-

(*p*) Her. l. 4. c. 134, 140.

ſcribed

ſcribed by Darius for ſtaying there was elapſed; that they were at liberty to return home without either violating their word or their duty; that they now had it in their power to throw off for ever the yoke of their ſubjection, and make themſelves a happy and free people; and that the Scythians would render Darius incapable of forming any more enterprizes againſt any of his neighbours.

The Ionians entered into conſultation upon the affair. Miltiades, an Athenian, who was prince, or, as the Greeks call it, tyrant of the Cherſoneſus of Thrace at the mouth of the Helleſpont, was one of thoſe that had accompanied Darius, and furniſhed him with ſhips for his enterprize. Having † the publick intereſt more at heart than his private advantage, he was of opinion, that they ſhould comply with the requeſt of the Scythians, and embrace ſo favourable an opportunity of recovering the liberty of Ionia: all the other commanders gave into his ſentiments, except Hyſtiæus, the tyrant of Miletos. When it came to his turn to ſpeak, he repreſented to the Ionian generals, that their fortune was linked with that of Darius; that it was under that prince's protection, each of them was maſter in his own city; and if the power of the Perſians ſhould ſink, or decline, the cities of Ionia would not fail to depoſe their tyrants, and recover their freedom. All the other chiefs gave into his opinion; and, as is uſual in moſt caſes, the conſideration of private intereſt prevailed over the publick good. The reſolution they came to was to wait for Darius: but, in order to deceive the Scythians, and hinder them from undertaking any thing, they declared to them, they had reſolved to retire, purſuant to their requeſt; and, the better to carry on the fraud, they actually began to break one end of the bridge, exhorting the Scythians at the ſame time to do their part, to return ſpeedily back to meet the common enemy, to attack and defeat them. The Scythians

† Amicior omnium libertati quam ſuæ dominationi fuit. *Corn. Nep.*

being

being too credulous, retired, and were deceived a ſecond time.

(q) They miſſed Darius, who had taken a different rout from that in which they expected to come up with him. He arrived by night at the bridge over the Danube, and finding it broke down, he no longer doubted but the Ionians were gone, and that conſequently he ſhould be ruined. He made his people call out with a loud voice for Hyſtiæus, the Miletian, who at laſt anſwered, and put the king out of his anxiety. They entirely repaired the bridge; ſo that Darius repaſſed the Danube, and came back into Thrace. There he left Megabyſus, one of his chief generals, with part of his army, to compleat the conqueſt of that country, and entirely reduce it to his obedience. After which he repaſſed the Boſphorus with the reſt of his troops, and went to Sardis, where he ſpent the winter and the greateſt part of the year following, in order to refreſh his army, which had ſuffered extremely in that ill-concerted and unfortunate expedition.

(r) Megabyſus continued ſome time in Thrace; whoſe inhabitants, according to Herodotus, would have been invincible, had they had the diſcretion to unite their forces, and to chuſe one chief commander. Some of them had very particular cuſtoms. In one of their diſtricts, when a child came into the world, all the relations expreſſed great ſorrow and affliction, bitterly weeping at the proſpect of miſery the new-born infant had to experience. As on the other hand, when any perſon died, all their kindred rejoiced, becauſe they looked upon the deceaſed perſon, as happy only from that moment, wherein he was delivered for ever from the troubles and calamities of this life. In another diſtrict, where polygamy was in faſhion, when a huſband died, it was a great diſpute among his wives, which of them was the beſt beloved. She, in whoſe favour the conteſt was decided, had the privilege of being ſacrificed by her neareſt relation upon the tomb

(q) Her. l. 4. c. 141, 144. (r) Her. l. 5. c. 1.

of

of her husband, and of being buried with him; whilst all the other wives envied her happiness, and thought themselves in some sort dishonoured.

(*s*) Darius, on his return to Sardis after his unhappy expedition against the Scythians, having learnt for certain, that he owed both his own safety and that of his whole army to Hystiæus, who had persuaded the Ionians not to destroy the bridge on the Danube, sent for that prince to his court, and desired him freely to ask any favour, in recompence of his service. Hystiæus hereupon desired the king to give him Mircina of Edonia, a territory upon the river Strymon in Thrace, together with the liberty of building a city there. His request was readily granted: whereupon he returned to Miletos, where he caused a fleet of ships to be equipped, and then set out for Thrace. Having taken possession of the territory granted him, he immediately set about the execution of his project in building a city.

(*t*) Megabysus, who was then governor of Thrace for Darius, immediately perceived how prejudicial that undertaking would be to the king's affairs in those quarters. He considered, that this new city stood upon a navigable river; that the country round about it abounded in timber fit for building of ships; that it was inhabited by different nations, both Greeks and Barbarians, that might furnish great numbers of men for land and sea-service; that, if once those people were under the management of a prince so skilful and enterprizing as Hystiæus, they might become so powerful both by sea and land, that it would be no longer possible for the king to keep them in subjection: especially considering, that they had a great many gold and silver mines in that country, which would enable them to carry on any projects or enterprizes. At his return to Sardis, he represented all these things to the king, who was convinced by his reasons, and therefore sent for Hystiæus to come to him at Sardis, pretending

(*s*) Ibid. c. 11. & 23. (*t*) Ibid. c. 23. & 25.

to

to have ſome great deſigns in view, wherein he wanted the aſſiſtance of his counſel. When he had brought him to his court by this means, he carried him to Suſa, making him believe, that he ſet an extraordinary value upon a friend of his fidelity and underſtanding; two qualifications that had rendered him ſo very dear to him, and of which he had given ſuch memorable proofs in the Scythian expedition; and giving him to underſtand at the ſame time, that he ſhould be able to find ſomething for him in Perſia, which would make him ample amends for all that he could leave behind him. Hyſtiæus, pleaſed with ſo honourable a diſtinction, and finding himſelf likewiſe under a neceſſity of complying, accompanied Darius to Suſa, and left Ariſtagoras to govern at Miletos in his room.

(*u*) Whilſt Megabyſus was ſtill in Thrace, he ſent ſeveral Perſian noblemen to Amintas, king of Macedonia, to require him to give earth and water to Darius his maſter: this was the uſual form of one prince's ſubmitting to another. Amintas readily complied with that requeſt, and paid all imaginable honours to the envoys. At an entertainment, which he made for them, they deſired at the latter end of it, that the ladies might be brought in, which was a thing contrary to the cuſtom of the country: however the king would not venture to refuſe them. The Perſian noblemen, being heated with wine, and thinking they might uſe the ſame freedom as in their own country, did not obſerve a due decorum towards thoſe princeſſes. The king's ſon, whoſe name was Alexander, could not ſee his mother and ſiſters treated in ſuch a manner, without great reſentment and indignation. Wherefore upon ſome pretence or other he contrived to ſend the ladies out of the room, as if they were to return again preſently; and had the precaution to get the king, his father, alſo out of the company. In this interval he cauſed ſome young men to be dreſt like women, and to be armed with poignards under their

(*u*) Ibid. c. 17. & 21.

garments.

garments. These pretended ladies came into the room instead of the others; and when the Persians began to treat them, as they had before treated the princesses, they drew out their poignards, fell violently upon them, and killed, not only the noblemen, but every one of their attendants. The news of this slaughter soon reached Susa; and the king appointed commissioners to take cognizance of the matter: but Alexander, by the power of bribes and presents, stifled the affair, so that nothing came of it.

(x) The Scythians, to be revenged of Darius for invading their country, passed the Danube, and ravaged all that part of Thrace, that had submitted to the Persians, as far as the Hellespont. Miltiades, to avoid their fury, abandoned the Chersonesus: but after the enemy retired, he returned thither again, and was restored to the same power he had before over the inhabitants of the country.

SECT. V. *Darius's conquest of India.*

(y) ABOUT the same time, which was in the 13th year of Darius's reign, this prince having an ambition to extend his dominion eastwards, first resolved, in order to facilitate his conquests, to get a proper knowledge of the country. (z) To this end, he caused a fleet to be built and fitted out at Caspatyra, a city upon the Indus, and did the same at several other places on the same river, as far as the frontiers of * Scythia. The command of this fleet was given to † Scylax, a Grecian of Caryandia, a town of Caria, who was perfectly well versed in maritime affairs. His orders were to sail down that river, and get all the knowledge he possibly could of the country, on both sides,

(x) Her. l. 6. c. 40.
(z) Her. l. 4. c. 44.

(y) A. M. 3496. Ant. J. C. 508.

* *He means the Asiatic Scythia.*

† *There is a treatise of geography entitled* Περίπλους, *and composed by one Scylax of Caryandia, who is thought to be the same person spoken of in this place. But that opinion is attended with some difficulties, which have given occasion to many learned dissertations.*

quite

quite down to the mouth of the river; to paſs from thence into the ſouthern ocean, and to ſteer his courſe afterwards to the weſt, and ſo return back that way to Perſia. Scylax, having exactly obſerved his inſtructions, and ſailed quite down the river Indus, entered the Red ſea by the ſtreights of Babelmandel; and after a voyage of thirty months from the time of his ſetting out from Caſpatyra, he arrived in Egypt at the ſame port (*a*), from whence Nechao, king of Egypt, had formerly ſent the Phœnicians, who were in his ſervice, with orders to ſail round the coaſts of Africa. Very probably, this was the ſame port where now ſtands the town of Suez, at the farther end of the Red ſea. From thence Scylax returned to Suſa, where he gave Darius an account of all his diſcoveries. Darius afterwards entered India with an army, and ſubjected all that vaſt country. The reader will naturally expect to be informed of the particulars of ſo important a war. But (*b*) Herodotus ſays not one word about it: he only tells us, that India made the twentieth province, or government of the Perſian empire, and that the annual revenue of it was worth three hundred and ſixty talents of gold to Darius, which amount to near eleven millions of livres French money, ſomething leſs than five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

SECT. VI. *The revolt of the Ionians.*

(*c*) DARIUS, after his return to Suſa from his Scythian expedition, had given his brother Artaphernes the government of Sardis, and made Otanes commander in Thrace, and the adjacent countries along the ſea-coaſt, in the room of Megabyſus.

(*d*) From a ſmall ſpark, kindled by a ſedition at Naxus, a great flame aroſe, which gave occaſion to a conſiderable war. Naxus was the moſt important iſland of the Cyclades in the Egæan ſea, now called the Archipelago. In this ſedition the principal inhabi-

(*a*) Ibid. c. 42. (*b*) L. 3. c. 94. (*c*) A. M. 3500. Ant. J. C. 504. Her. l. 5. c. 25. (*d*) Ibid. c. 28. & 34.

tants

tants having been overpowered by the populace, who were the greater number; many of the richeſt families were baniſhed out of the iſland. Hereupon they fled to Miletos, and addreſſed themſelves to Ariſtagoras, imploring him to reinſtate them in their own city. He was at that time governor of that city, as lieutenant to Hyſtiæus, to whom he was both nephew and ſon-in-law, and whom Darius had carried along with him to Suſa. Ariſtagoras promiſed to give theſe exiles the aſſiſtance they deſired.

But, not being powerful enough himſelf to execute what he had promiſed, he went to Sardis and communicated the affair to Artaphernes. He repreſented to him, that this was a very favourable opportunity for reducing Naxus under the power of Darius; that if he were once maſter of that iſland, all the reſt of the Cyclades would fall of themſelves into his hands, one after another; that in conſequence the iſle of Eubœa, (now Negropont) which was as large as Cyprus, and lay very near it, would be eaſily conquered, which would give the king a free paſſage into Greece, and the means of ſubjecting all that country; and in ſhort, that an hundred ſhips would be ſufficient for the effectual execution of this enterprize. Artaphernes was ſo pleaſed with the project, that inſtead of one hundred veſſels, which Ariſtagoras required, he promiſed him two hundred, in caſe he obtained the king's conſent to the expedition.

The king, charmed with the mighty hopes with which he was flattered, very readily approved the enterprize, though at the bottom it was founded only in injuſtice and a boundleſs ambition; as alſo upon perfidiouſneſs on the part of Ariſtagoras and Artaphernes. No conſideration gave him a moment's pauſe. The moſt injurious project is formed and accepted without the leaſt reluctance or ſcruple: motives of advantage and convenience ſolely determine. The iſle lies convenient for the Perſians: this is conceived a ſufficient title, and a warrantable ground to reduce it by force of arms.

And

And indeed, moſt of the other expeditions of this prince had no better principle.

Aſſoon as Artaphernes had obtained the king's conſent to this project, he made the neceſſary preparations for executing it. The better to conceal his deſign, and to ſurprize the people of Naxus, he ſpread a report, that this fleet was going towards the Helleſpont, and the ſpring following he ſent the number of ſhips he had promiſed to Miletos under the command of Megabates, a Perſian nobleman of the royal family of Archæmenes. But, being directed in his commiſſion to obey the orders of Ariſtagoras, that haughty Perſian could not bear to be under the command of an Ionian, eſpecially one who treated him in a lofty and imperious manner. This pique occaſioned a breach between the two generals, which roſe ſo high, that Megabates, to be revenged of Ariſtagoras, gave the Naxians ſecret intelligence of the deſign formed againſt them. Upon which intelligence they made ſuch preparations for their defence, that the Perſians, after having ſpent four months in beſieging the capital of the iſland, and conſumed all their proviſions, were obliged to retire.

(*e*) This project having thus miſcarried, Megabates threw all the blame upon Ariſtagoras, and entirely ruined his credit with Artaphernes. The Ionian foreſaw, that this accident would be attended, not only with the loſs of his government, but with his utter ruin. The deſperate ſituation he was in made him think of revolting from the king, as the only expedient, whereby he could poſſibly ſave himſelf. No ſooner had he formed this deſign, but a meſſenger came to him from Hyſtiæus, who gave him the ſame counſel. Hyſtiæus, who had now been ſome years at the Perſian court, being diſguſted with the manners of that nation, and having an ardent deſire to return to his own country, thought this the moſt likely means of bringing it about, and therefore gave Ariſtagoras

(*e*) Her. l. 5. c. 35, 36.

that counſel. He flattered himſelf, that in caſe any troubles aroſe in Ionia, he could prevail with Darius to ſend him thither to appeaſe them: and in effect the thing happened according to his opinion. Aſſoon as Ariſtagoras found his deſigns ſeconded by the orders of Hyſtiæus, he imparted them to the principal perſons of Ionia, whom he found extremely well diſpoſed to enter into his views. He therefore deliberated no longer, but being determined to revolt, applied himſelf wholly in making preparations for it.

(*f*) The people of Tyre, having been reduced to ſlavery, when their city was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, had groaned under that oppreſſion for the ſpace of ſeventy years. But after the expiration of that term, they were reſtored, according to Iſaiah's prophecy *, to the poſſeſſion of their antient privileges, with the liberty of having a king of their own; which liberty they enjoyed till the time of Alexander the Great. It ſeems probable, that this favour was granted them by Darius, in conſideration of the ſervices he expected to receive from that city, (which was ſo powerful by ſea) in reducing the Ionians to their antient ſubjection. This was in the 19th year of Darius's reign.

(*g*) The next year, Ariſtagoras, in order to engage the Ionians to adhere the more cloſely to him, re-inſtated them in their liberty, and in all their former privileges. He began with Miletos, where he diveſted himſelf of his power, and reſigned it into the hands of the people. He then made a journey through all Ionia, where by his example, his credit, and perhaps by the fear that they would be forced to it whether they would or no, he prevailed upon all the other tyrants to do the ſame in every city. They complied the more readily with it, as the Perſian power, ſince the check it received in Scythia, was the leſs able to

(*f*) A. M. 3502. Ant. J. C. 502.

(*g*) Her. l. 5. c. 37, 38.

* *And it ſhall come to paſs after the end of ſeventy years, that the Lord will viſit Tyre, and ſhe ſhall turn to her hire.* Iſai. xxiii. 17.

protect

protect them againſt the Ionians, who were naturally fond of liberty and a ſtate of independency, and profeſſed enemies to all tyranny. Having united them all in this manner in one common league, of which he himſelf was declared the head, he ſet up the ſtandard of rebellion againſt the king, and made great preparations by ſea and land for ſupporting a war againſt him.

(*b*) To enable himſelf to carry on the war with more vigour, Ariſtagoras went in the beginning of the year following to Lacedæmon, in order to bring that city into his intereſts, and engage it to furniſh him with ſuccours. Cleomenes was at this time king of Sparta. He was the ſon of Anaxandrides by a ſecond wife, whom the Ephori had obliged him to marry, becauſe he had no iſſue by the firſt. He had by her three ſons beſides Cleomenes, namely, Doriæus, Leonidas, and Cleombrotus, the two laſt of which aſcended the throne of Lacedæmon in their turns. Ariſtagoras then addreſſed himſelf to Cleomenes, and the time and place for an interview between them being agreed on, he waited upon him, and repreſented to him, that the Ionians and Lacedæmonians were countrymen; that Sparta being the moſt powerful city of Greece, it would be for her honour to concur with him in the deſign he had formed of reſtoring the Ionians to their liberty; that the Perſians, their common enemy, were not a warlike people, but exceeding rich and wealthy, and conſequently would become an eaſy prey to the Lacedæmonians; that, conſidering the preſent ſpirit and diſpoſition of the Ionians, it would not be difficult for them to carry their victorious arms even to Suſa, the metropolis of the Perſian empire, and the place of the king's reſidence: he ſhewed him, at the ſame time, a deſcription of all the nations and towns thro' which they were to paſs, engraven upon a little plate of braſs which he had brought along with him. Cleomenes deſired three days time to conſider of his propoſals. That term being expired, he aſked the Ionian how far

(*b*) Ibid. c. 38, 41, 49 & 51.

it was from the Ionian ſea to Suſa, and how much time it required to go from the one place to the other. Ariſtagoras, without conſidering the effect his anſwer was likely to have with Cleomenes, told him, that from Ionia to Suſa was about a three months * journey. Cleomenes was ſo amazed at this propoſal, that he immediately ordered him to depart from Sparta before ſun-ſet. Ariſtagoras nevertheleſs followed him home to his houſe, and endeavoured to win him by arguments of another ſort, that is, by preſents. The firſt ſum he offered him was only ten talents, which were equivalent to thirty thouſand livres French money: that being refuſed, he ſtill roſe in his offers, till at laſt he propoſed to give him fifteen talents. Gorgo, a daughter of Cleomenes, about eight or nine years of age, whom her father had not ordered to quit the room, as apprehending nothing from ſo young a child, hearing the propoſals that were made to her father, cried out: *Fly, father, fly, this ſtranger will corrupt you.* Cleomenes laughed, but yet obſerved the child's admonition, and actually retired: Ariſtagoras left Sparta.

(*i*) From hence he proceeded to Athens, where he found a more favourable reception. He had the good fortune to arrive there at a time, when the Athenians were extremely well diſpoſed to hearken to any propoſals that could be made to them againſt the Perſians, with whom they were highly offended on the following occaſion. Hippias, the † ſon of Piſiſtratus, tyrant of Athens, about ten years before the time we

(*i*) Ibid. c. 55, & 96, 97.

* *According to Herodotus's computation, who reckons the paraſanga a Perſian meaſure, to contain* 30 *ſtadia, it is from Sardis to Suſa* 450 *paraſangas, or* 13500 *ſtadia, which make* 675 *of our leagues: (for we generally reckon* 20 *ſtadia to one of our common leagues.) So that by travelling* 150 *ſtadia per day, which make ſeven leagues and an half, our meaſure, it is ninety days journey from Sardis to Suſa. If they ſet out from Epheſus, it would require about four days more: for Epheſus is* 540 *ſtadia from Sardis.*

† *This fact has been treated at large in the former volume.*

are

are ſpeaking of, having been baniſhed, after having try'd in vain abundance of methods for his re-eſtabliſhment, at laſt went to Sardis, and made his application to Artaphernes. He inſinuated himſelf ſo far into the good opinion of that governor, that he gave a favourable ear to all he ſaid, to the diſadvantage of the Athenians, and became extremely prejudiced againſt them. The Athenians, having intelligence of this, ſent an ambaſſador to Sardis, and deſired of Artapher-nes, not to give ear to what any of their out-laws ſhould inſinuate to their diſadvantage. The anſwer of Artaphernes to this meſſage was, that if they deſired to live in peace, they muſt recal Hippias. When this haughty anſwer was brought back to the Athenians, the whole city were violently enraged againſt the Perſians. Ariſtagoras, coming thither juſt at this juncture, eaſily obtained all he deſired. Herodotus remarks on this occaſion, how much eaſier it is to impoſe upon a multitude, than upon a ſingle perſon: and ſo Ariſtagoras found it; for he prevailed with thirty thouſand Athenians to come to a reſolution, into which he could not perſuade Cleomenes alone. They engaged immediately to furniſh twenty ſhips to aſſiſt him in his deſign: and it may be truly ſaid, that this little fleet was the original ſource of all the calamities, in which both the Perſians and Grecians were afterwards involved.

(*k*) In the 3d year of this war, the Ionians, having collected all their forces together, with the twenty veſſels furniſhed by the city of Athens, and five more from Eretria, in the iſland of Eubœa, they ſet ſail for Epheſus, where leaving their ſhips they marched by land to the city of Sardis; and finding the place in a defenceleſs condition, they ſoon made themſelves maſters of it; but the citadel into which Artaphernes retired, they were not able to force. As moſt of the houſes of this city were built with reeds, and conſequently were very combuſtible, an Ionian ſoldier ſet

(*k*) Ibid. c. 99, 103.

fire to one houſe, the flames of which ſpreading and communicating itſelf to the reſt, reduced the whole city to aſhes. Upon this accident the Perſians and Lydians, aſſembling their forces together for their defence, the Ionians judged it was time for them to think of retreating: and accordingly they marched back with all poſſible diligence, in order to reimbark at Epheſus: but the Perſians arriving there almoſt as ſoon as they, attacked them vigorouſly, and deſtroyed a great number of their men. The Athenians, after the return of their ſhips, would never engage any more in this war, notwithſtanding all the inſtances and ſollicitations of Ariſtagoras.

(*l*) Darius being informed of the burning of Sardis, and of the part the Athenians took in that affair, he reſolved from that very time to make war upon Greece: and, that he might never forget his reſolution, he commanded one of his officers to cry out to him with a loud voice every day, when he was at ſupper: *Sir, remember the Athenians.* In the burning of Sardis it happened, that the temple of Cybele, the goddeſs of that country, was conſumed with the reſt of the city. This accident ſerved afterwards as a pretence to the Perſians to burn all the temples they found in Greece: to which they were likewiſe induced by a motive of religion, which I have explained in another † place.

(*m*) As Ariſtagoras, the head and manager of this revolt, was Hyſtiæus's lieutenant at Miletos, Darius ſuſpected that the latter might probably be the contriver of the whole conſpiracy: for which reaſon he entered into a free conference with him upon the ſubject, and acquainted him with his thoughts, and the juſt grounds he had for his ſuſpicions. Hyſtiæus, who was a craſty courtier, and an expert maſter in the art of diſſembling, appeared extremely ſurprized and afflicted; and ſpeaking in a tone that at once expreſſed both ſorrow and indignation, thus endeavoured to purge himſelf to

(*l*) Ibid. c. 105.

(*m*) Her. l. 5. 6. 105. & 107.

† Vol. II.

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the king: "Is it poſſible then for your majeſty to "have entertained ſo injurious a ſuſpicion of the moſt "faithful and moſt affectionate of your ſervants? I "concerned in a rebellion againſt you! Alas! What "is there in the world that could tempt me to it? Do "I want any thing here? Am I not already raiſed to "one of the higheſt ſtations in your court? And be-"ſides the honour I have of aſſiſting at your councils, "do I not daily receive new proofs of your bounty, "by the numberleſs favours you heap upon me?" After this he inſinuated, that the revolt in Ionia proceeded from his abſence and diſtance from the country; that they had waited for that opportunity to rebel; that if he had ſtaid at Miletos, the conſpiracy would never have been formed; that the ſureſt way to reſtore the king's affairs in that province, would be to ſend him thither; that he promiſed him, on the forfeiture of his head, to deliver Ariſtagoras into his hands; and engaged, beſides all this, to make the large iſland of Sardinia* tributary to him. The beſt princes are often too credulous; and when they have once taken a ſubject into their confidence, it is with difficulty they withdraw it from him; nor do they eaſily undeceive themſelves. Darius impoſed upon by the air of ſincerity, with which Hyſtiæus ſpoke on this occaſion, believed him on his own word, and gave him leave to return to Ionia, on condition he came back to the Perſian court, aſſoon as he had executed what he promiſed.

(*n*) The revolters in the mean time, tho' deſerted by the Athenians, and notwithſtanding the conſiderable check they had received in Ionia, did not loſe courage, but ſtill puſhed on their point with reſolution. Their fleet ſet ſail towards the Helleſpont, and the Propontis, and reduced Bizantium, with the major

(*n*) Ibid. c. 103, 104, 108, & 122.

* *This iſland is very remote from Ionia, and could have no relation to it. I am therefore apt to believe it muſt be an error that has crept into the text of Herodotus.*

part of the other Grecian cities, in that quarter. After which, as they were returning back again, they obliged the Carians to join with them in this war, as alſo the people of Cyprus. The Perſian generals, having divided their forces among themſelves, marched three different ways againſt the rebels, and defeated them in ſeveral encounters, in one of which Ariſtagoras was ſlain.

(o) When Hyſtiæus came to Sardis, his intriguing temper formed a plot againſt the government, into which he drew a great number of Perſians. But, perceiving by ſome diſcourſe he had with Artaphernes, that the part he had had in the revolt of Ionia was not unknown to that governor, he thought it not ſafe for him to ſtay any longer at Sardis, and retired ſecretly the night following to the iſle of Chios; from thence he ſent a truſty meſſenger to Sardis, with letters for ſuch of the Perſians as he had gained to his party. This meſſenger betrayed him, and delivered his letters to Artaphernes, by which means the plot was diſcovered, all his accomplices put to death, and his project utterly defeated. But ſtill imagining, that he could bring about ſome enterprize of importance, if he were once at the head of the Ionian league, he made ſeveral attempts to get into Miletos, and to be admitted into the confederacy by the citizens: but none of his endeavours ſucceeded, and he was obliged to return to Chios.

(p) There, being aſked why he had ſo ſtrongly urged Ariſtagoras to revolt, and by that means involved Ionia in ſuch calamities, he made anſwer, that it was becauſe the king had reſolved to tranſport the Ionians into Phœnicia, and to plant the Phœnicians in Ionia. But all this was a mere ſtory and fiction of his own inventing, Darius having never conceived any ſuch deſign. The artifice however ſerved his purpoſe extremely well, not only for juſtifying him to the Ionians, but alſo for engaging them to proſecute the

(o) Her. l. 6. c. 1—5. (p) Ibid. c. 3.

war

war with vigour. For, being alarmed at the thoughts of this tranſmigration, they came to a firm reſolution to defend themſelves againſt the Perſians to the laſt extremity.

(q) Artaphernes and Otanes, with the reſt of the Perſian generals, finding that Miletos was the center of the Ionian confederacy, they reſolved to march thither with all their forces; concluding, that if they could carry that city, all the reſt would ſubmit of courſe. The Ionians, having intelligence of their deſign, determined in a general aſſembly to ſend no army into the field, but to fortify Miletos, and to furniſh it as well as poſſible with proviſions and all things neceſſary for enduring a ſiege: and to unite all their forces to engage the Perſians at ſea, their dexterity in maritime affairs inducing them to believe that they ſhould have the advantage in a naval battle. The place of their rendezvous was Lada, a ſmall iſle over-againſt Miletos, where they aſſembled a fleet of three hundred fifty three veſſels. At the ſight of this fleet, the Perſians, though ſtronger by one half with reſpect to the number of their ſhips, were afraid to hazard a battle, till by their emiſſaries they had ſecretly debauched the greateſt part of the confederates, and engaged them to deſert: So that when the two fleets came to blows, the ſhips of Samos, of Leſbos, and ſeveral other places, ſailed off, and returned to their own country, and the remaining fleet of the confederates did not conſiſt of above an hundred veſſels, which were all quickly overpowered by numbers, and almoſt entirely deſtroyed. After this, the city of Miletos was beſieged, and became a prey to the conquerors, who utterly deſtroyed it. This happened ſix years after Ariſtagoras's revolt. All the other cities, as well on the continent as on the ſea-coaſt and in the iſles, returned to their duty ſoon after, either voluntarily or by force. Thoſe perſons that ſtood out were treated as they had been threatened beforehand. The handſomeſt of the young men were

(q) Ibid. c. 6, 20, 31, & 33.

choſen to ſerve in the king's palace; and the young women were all ſent into Perſia; the cities and temples were reduced to aſhes. Theſe were the effects of the revolt, into which the people were drawn by the ambitious views of Ariſtagoras and Hyſtiæus.

(r) The laſt of theſe two had his ſhare in the general calamity: for that ſame year he was taken by the Perſians, and carried to Sardis, where Artaphernes cauſed him to be immediately hanged, without conſulting Darius, leſt that prince's affection for Hyſtiæus ſhould incline him to pardon him, and by that means a dangerous enemy ſhould be left alive, who might create the Perſians new troubles. It appeared by the ſequel, that Artaphernes's conjecture was well grounded: for when Hyſtiæus's head was brought to Darius, he expreſſed great diſſatisfaction at the authors of his death, and cauſed the head to be honourably interred, as being the remains of a perſon to whom he had infinite obligations, the remembrance whereof was too deeply engraven on his mind, ever to be effaced by the greatneſs of any crimes he had afterwards committed. Hyſtiæus was one of thoſe reſtleſs, bold, and enterprizing ſpirits, in whom many good qualities are joined with ſtill greater vices; with whom all means are lawful and good, that ſeem to promote the end they have in view; who look upon juſtice, probity, and ſincerity, as mere empty names; who make no ſcruple to employ lying or fraud, treachery or even perjury, when it is to ſerve their turn; and who reckon it as nothing to ruin nations, or even their own country, if neceſſary to their own elevation. His end was worthy his ſentiments, and what is common enough to theſe irreligious politicians, who ſacrifice every thing to their ambition, and acknowledge no other rule of their actions, and hardly any other God, but their intereſt and fortune.

(r) Ibid. c. 29 & 30.

SECT.

SECT. VII. *The expedition of Darius's armies againſt Greece.*

(s) DARIUS, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, having recalled all his other generals, ſent Mardonius the ſon of Gobryas, a young lord of an illuſtrious Perſian family, who had lately married one of the king's daughters, to command in chief throughout all the maritime parts of Aſia, with a particular order to invade Greece, and to revenge the burning of Sardis upon the Athenians and Eretrians. The king did not ſhew much wiſdom in this choice, by which he preferred a young man becauſe he was a favourite, to all his oldeſt and moſt experienced generals; eſpecially as it was in ſo difficult a war, the ſucceſs of which he had very much at heart, and wherein the glory of his reign was infinitely concerned. His being ſon-in-law to the king was a quality indeed, that might augment his credit, but added nothing to his real merit, or his capacity as a general.

Upon his arrival in Macedonia, into which he had marched with his land-forces after having paſſed thro' Thrace, the whole country, terrified by his power, ſubmitted. But his fleet, attempting to double mount Athos (now called Capo Santo) in order to gain the coaſts of Macedonia, was attacked with ſo violent a ſtorm of wind, that upwards of three hundred ſhips, with above twenty thouſand men, periſhed in the ſea. His land-army met at the ſame time with no leſs fatal a blow. For, being incamped in a place of no ſecurity, the Thracians attacked the Perſian camp by night, made a great ſlaughter of the men, and wounded Mardonius himſelf. All this ill ſucceſs obliged him ſhortly after to return into Aſia, with grief and confuſion at his having miſcarried both by ſea and land in this expedition.

Darius, perceiving too late, that Mardonius's youth and inexperience had occaſioned the defeat of his

(s) A. M. 3510. Ant. J. C. 494. Her. l. 6. c. 43, 45.

troops,

troops, recalled him, and put two other generals in his place, Datis a Mede, and Artaphernes, ſon of his brother Artaphernes, who had been governor of Sardis. The king's thoughts were earneſtly bent upon putting in execution the great deſign he had long had in his mind, which was, to attack Greece with all his forces, and particularly to take a ſignal vengeance of the people of Athens and Eretria, whoſe enterprize againſt Sardis was perpetually in his thoughts.

I. *The ſtate of Athens. The characters of Miltiades, Themiſtocles, and Ariſtides.*

Before we enter upon this war, it will be proper to refreſh our memories with a view of the ſtate of Athens at this time, which alone ſuſtained the firſt ſhock of the Perſians at Marathon; as alſo to form ſome idea beforehand of the great men, who ſhared in that celebrated victory.

Athens, juſt delivered from that yoke of ſervitude, which ſhe had been forced to bear for above thirty years under the tyranny of Piſiſtratus and his children, now peaceably enjoyed the advantages of liberty, the ſweetneſs and value of which were only heightned and improved by that ſhort privation. Lacedæmon, which was at this time the miſtreſs of Greece, and had contributed at firſt to this happy change in Athens, ſeemed afterwards to repent of her good offices: and growing jealous of the tranquillity ſhe herſelf had procured for her neighbours, ſhe attempted to diſturb it, by endeavouring to reinſtate Hippias the ſon of Piſiſtratus, in the goverment of Athens. But all her attempts were fruitleſs, and ſerved only to manifeſt her ill-will, and her grief, to ſee Athens determined to maintain its independence even of Sparta itſelf. Hippias hereupon had recourſe to the Perſians. Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, ſent the Athenians word, as we have already mentioned, that they muſt re-eſtabliſh Hippias in his authority, unleſs they choſe rather to draw the whole power of Darius upon them. This ſecond at-

tempt

tempt ſucceeded no better than the firſt, Hippias was obliged to wait for a more favourable juncture. We ſhall ſee preſently, that he ſerved as a conductor or guide to the Perſian generals, ſent by Darius againſt Greece.

Athens, from the recovery of her liberty, was quite another city than under her tyrants, and diſplayed a very different kind of ſpirit. (*t*) Among the citizens, Miltiades diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt in the war with the Perſians, which we are going to relate. He was the ſon of Cimon an illuſtrious Athenian. This Cimon had a half-brother by the mother's ſide, whoſe name was likewiſe Miltiades, of a very antient and noble family in Egina, who had lately been received into the number of the Athenian citizens. He was a perſon of great credit even in the time of Piſiſtratus: but, being unwilling to bear the yoke of a deſpotic government, he joyfully embraced the offer made him, of going to ſettle with a colony in the Thracian Cherſoneſus, whither he was invited by the Dolonci, the inhabitants of that country, to be their king, or, according to the language of thoſe times, their tyrant. He dying without children, left the ſovereignty to Steſagoras, who was his nephew, and eldeſt ſon of his brother Cimon; and Steſagoras dying alſo without iſſue, the ſons of Piſiſtratus, who then ruled the city of Athens, ſent his brother Miltiades, the perſon we are now ſpeaking of, into that country to be his ſucceſſor. He arrived there, and eſtabliſhed himſelf in the government in the ſame year Darius undertook his expedition againſt the Scythians. He attended that prince with ſome ſhips as far as the Danube; and was the perſon who adviſed the Ionians to deſtroy the bridge, and return home without waiting for Darius. During his reſidence in the Cherſoneſus, he married * Hegeſipyla, daughter of Olorus, a Thracian king in the

(*t*) Ibid. c. 34, 41. Cor. Nep. in Mil. cap. 1—3.

* *After the death of Miltiades, this princeſs had by a ſecond huſband a ſon, who was called Olorus, after the name of his grandfather, and who was the father of Thucydides the hiſtorian.* Herod. ibid.

neigh-

neighbourhood, by whom he had Cimon, the famous Athenian general, of whom a great deal will be ſaid in the ſequel. Miltiades, having for ſeveral reaſons abdicated his government in Thrace, embarked, and took all that he had on board five ſhips, and ſet ſail for Athens. There he ſettled a ſecond time, and acquired great reputation.

(*u*) At the ſame time two other citizens, younger than Miltiades, began to diſtinguiſh themſelves at Athens, namely Ariſtides and Themiſtocles. Plutarch obſerves, that the former of theſe two had endeavoured to form himſelf upon the model of Cliſthenes, one of the greateſt men of his time, and a zealous defender of liberty, who had very much contributed to the reſtoring it at Athens, by expelling the Piſiſtratides out of that city. It was an excellent cuſtom among the antients, and which it were to be wiſhed might prevail amongſt us, that the young men, ambitious of publick employments, particularly * attached themſelves to ſuch aged and experienced perſons, as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt eminently therein; and who, both by their converſation and example, could teach them the art of acting themſelves, and governing others with wiſdom and diſcretion. Thus, ſays Plutarch, did Ariſtides attach himſelf to Cliſthenes, and Cimon to Ariſtides; and he mentions ſeveral others, among the reſt Polybius, whom we have mentioned ſo often, and who in his youth was the conſtant diſciple, and faithful imitator of the celebrated Philopœmen.

Themiſtocles and Ariſtides were of very different diſpoſitions; but they both rendered great ſervices to the commonwealth. Themiſtocles, who naturally inclined to popular government, omitted nothing, that could contribute to render him agreeable to the people, and to gain him friends; behaving himſelf with great affability and complaiſance to every body, always

(*u*) Plut. in Ariſt. p. 319, 320. & in Them. p. 112, 113. An ſeni ſit ger. Reſp. p. 790, 791.

* Diſcere à peritis, ſequi optimos. *Tacit. in Agric.*

ready to do ſervice to the citizens, every one of whom he knew by name; nor was he very nice about the means he uſed to oblige them. (x) Some body talking with him once on this ſubject, told him, he would make an excellent magiſtrate, if his behaviour towards the citizens was more equal, and if he was not biaſſed in favour of one more than another: *God forbid*, replied Themiſtocles, *I ſhould ever ſit upon a tribunal, where my friends ſhould find no more credit or favour, than ſtrangers.* Cleon, who appeared ſome time after at Athens, obſerved a quite different conduct, but yet ſuch as was not wholly exempt from blame. When he came into the adminiſtration of public affairs, he aſſembled all his friends, and declared to them, that from that moment he renounced their friendſhip, leſt it ſhould prove an obſtacle to him in the diſcharge of his duty, and cauſe him to act with partiality and injuſtice. This was doing them very little honour, and judging hardly of their integrity. But, as Plutarch ſays, it was not his friends but his paſſions that he ought to have renounced.

Ariſtides had the diſcretion to obſerve a juſt medium between theſe two vicious extremes. Being a favourer of ariſtocracy in imitation of Lycurgus, whoſe great admirer he was, he in a manner ſtruck out a new path of his own: not endeavouring to oblige his friends at the expence of juſtice, and yet always ready to do them ſervice when conſiſtent with it. He carefully avoided making uſe of his friends recommendations for obtaining employments, leſt it ſhould prove a dangerous obligation upon him, as well as a plauſible pretext for them, to require the ſame favour from him on the like occaſion. He uſed to ſay, that the true citizen, or the honeſt man, ought to make no other uſe of his credit and power, than upon all occaſions to practiſe what was honeſt and juſt, and engage others to do the ſame.

Conſidering this contrariety of principles and hu-

(x) Cic. de Seneſt. Plut. An ſeni ſit ger. Reſp. p. 806, 807.

mours

mours among these great men, we are not to wonder, if, during their administration, there was a continual opposition between them. Themistocles, who was bold and enterprizing in almost all his attempts, was still sure almost always to find Aristides against him, who thought himself obliged to thwart the other's designs, even sometimes when they were just and beneficial to the public, lest he should get too great an ascendant and authority, which might become pernicious to the commonwealth. One day, having got the better of Themistocles, who had made some proposal really advantagious to the state, he could not contain himself, but cried out aloud as he went out of the assembly, *That the Athenians would never prosper, till they threw them both into the Barathrum:* the Barathrum was a pit, into which malefactors condemned to die were thrown. (y) But notwithstanding this mutual opposition, when the common interest was at stake, they were no longer enemies: and whenever they were to take the field, or engage in any expedition, they agreed together to lay aside all differences on leaving the city, and to be at liberty to resume them on their return, if they thought fit.

The predominant passion of Themistocles was ambition and the love of glory, which discovered itself from his childhood. After the battle of Marathon, which we shall speak of presently, when the people were every where extolling the valour and conduct of Miltiades, who had won it, Themistocles never appeared but in a very thoughtful and melancholy humour: he spent whole nights without sleep, and was never seen at public feasts and entertainments as usual. When his friends, astonished at this change, asked him the reason of it, he made answer, *that Miltiades's trophies would not let him sleep.* These were a kind of incentive, which never ceased to prompt and animate his ambition. From this time Themistocles addicted

(y) Plut. Apophthegm. p. 186.

himself

himſelf wholly to arms; and the love of martial glory wholly engroſſed him.

As for Ariſtides, the love of the public good was the great ſpring of all his actions. What he was moſt particularly admired for, was his conſtancy and ſteadineſs under the unforeſeen changes, to which thoſe, who have the adminiſtration of affairs, are expoſed; for he was neither elevated with the honour conferred upon him, nor caſt down at the contempt and diſappointments he ſometimes experienced. On all occaſions, he preſerved his uſual calmneſs and temper, being perſuaded, that a man ought to give himſelf up entirely to his country, and to ſerve it with a perfect diſintereſtedneſs, as well with regard to glory as to riches. The general eſteem for the uprightneſs of his intentions, the purity of his zeal for the intereſts of the ſtate, and the ſincerity of his virtue, appeared one day in the theatre, when one of *Æ*ſchylus's plays was acting. For when the actor had repeated that verſe, which deſcribes the character of Amphiarus, *He does not deſire to ſeem an honeſt and virtuous man, but really to be ſo*, the whole audience caſt their eyes upon Ariſtides, and applied the ſenſe to him.

Another thing related of him, with relation to a public employment, is very remarkable. He was no ſooner made treaſurer-general of the republic, but he made it appear, that his predeceſſors in that office had cheated the ſtate of vaſt ſums of money; and among the reſt Themiſtocles in particular: for this great man, with all his merit, was not irreproachable on that head. For which reaſon, when Ariſtides came to paſs his accounts, Themiſtocles raiſed a mighty faction againſt him, accuſed him of having embezzled the public treaſure, and prevailed ſo far, as to have him condemned and fined. But the principal inhabitants, and the moſt virtuous part of the citizens, riſing up againſt ſo unjuſt a ſentence, not only the judgment was reverſed and the fine remitted, but he was elected treaſurer again for the year enſuing. He then ſeemed

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to repent of his former adminiſtration; and by ſhewing himſelf more tractable and indulgent towards others, he found out the ſecret of pleaſing all that plundered the commonwealth. For, as he neither reproved them, nor narrowly inſpected their accompts; all thoſe plunderers, grown fat with ſpoil and rapine, now extolled Ariſtides to the ſkies. It would have been eaſy for him, as we perceive, to have enriched himſelf in a poſt of that nature, which ſeems, as it were, to invite a man to it by the many favourable opportunities it lays in his way; eſpecially as he had to do with officers, who for their part were intent upon nothing but robbing the public, and would have been ready to conceal the frauds of the treaſurer their maſter, upon condition he did them the ſame favour.

Theſe very officers now made intereſt with the people to have him continued a third year in the ſame employment. But, when the time of election was come, juſt as they were upon the point of electing Ariſtides unanimouſly, he roſe up, and warmly reproved the Athenian people: "What, ſays he, when I managed "your treaſure with all the fidelity and diligence an "honeſt man is capable of, I met with the moſt cruel "treatment, and the moſt mortifying returns; and "now that I have abandoned it to the mercy of all "theſe robbers of the public, I am an admirable "man, and the beſt of citizens! I cannot help de"claring to you, that I am more aſhamed of the "honour you do me this day, than I was of the con"demnation you paſſed againſt me this time twelve"month: and with grief I find, that it is more "glorious with us to be complaiſant to knaves, than "to ſave the treaſures of the republic." By this declaration he ſilenced the public plunderers, and gained the eſteem of all good men.

Such were the characters of theſe two illuſtrious Athenians, who began to diſtinguiſh their extenſive merit, when Darius turned his arms againſt Greece.

2. *Darius ſends heralds into Greece, in order to ſound the people, and to require them to ſubmit.*

(z) Before this prince would directly engage in this enterprize, he judged it expedient, firſt of all to ſound the Grecians, and to know in what manner the different ſtates ſtood affected towards him. With this view he ſent heralds into all parts of Greece, to require earth and water in his name: this was the form uſed by the Perſians when they exacted ſubmiſſion from thoſe they were for ſubjecting to them. On the arrival of theſe heralds, many of the Grecian cities dreading the power of the Perſians, comply'd with their demands: as did alſo the inhabitants of *Æ*gina, a little iſle, over-againſt and not far from Athens. This proceeding of the people of *Æ*gina was looked upon as a public treaſon. The Athenians repreſented the matter to the Spartans, who immediately ſent Cleomenes, one of their kings, to apprehend the authors of it. The people of *Æ*gina refuſed to deliver them, under pretence that he came without his collegue. This collegue was Demaratus, who had himſelf ſuggeſted that excuſe. As ſoon as Cleomenes was returned to Sparta, in order to be revenged on Demaratus for that affront, he endeavoured to get him depoſed, as not being of the royal family; and ſucceeded in his attempt by the aſſiſtance of the prieſteſs of Delphos, whom he had ſuborned to give an anſwer favourable to his deſigns. Demaratus, not being able to endure ſo groſs an injury, baniſhed himſelf from his country, and retired to Darius, who received him with open arms, and gave him a conſiderable ſettlement in Perſia. He was ſucceeded in the throne by Leutychides, who joined his collegue, and went with him to *Æ*gina, from whence they brought away ten of the principal inhabitants, and committed them to the cuſtody of the Athenians, their declared enemies. Cleomenes dying not long after, and the fraud he had committed

(z) Her. l. 6. c. 49 & 86.

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at Delphos being diſcovered, the Lacedæmonians endeavoured to oblige the people of Athens to ſet thoſe priſoners at liberty, but they refuſed.

(*a*) The Perſian heralds, that went to Sparta and Athens, were not ſo favourably received, as thoſe that had been ſent to the other cities. One of them was thrown into a well, and the other into a deep ditch, and were bid to take there earth and water. I ſhould be leſs ſurprized at this unworthy treatment, if Athens alone had been concerned in it. It was a proceeding ſuitable enough to a popular government, raſh, impetuous, and violent; where reaſon is ſeldom heard, and every thing determined by paſſion. But I do not find any thing in this agreeable to the Spartan equity and gravity. They were at liberty to refuſe what was demanded: but to treat public officers in ſuch a manner, was an open violation of the law of nations. (*b*) If what the hiſtorians ſay on this head be true, the crime did not remain unpuniſhed. Talthybius, one of Agamemnon's heralds, was honoured at Sparta as a god, and had a temple there. He revenged the indignities done to the heralds of the king of Perſia, and made the Spartans feel the effects of his wrath, by bringing many terrible accidents upon them. In order to appeaſe him, and to expiate their offence, they ſent afterwards ſeveral of their chief citizens into Perſia, who voluntarily offered themſelves as victims for their country. They were delivered into the hands of Xerxes, who would not let them ſuffer, but ſent them back to their own country. As for the Athenians, Talthybius executed his vengeance on the family of Miltiades, who was principally concerned in the outrage committed upon Darius's heralds.

3. *The Perſians defeated at Marathon by Miltiades.*

(*c*) Darius immediately ſent away Datis and Artaphernes, whom he had appointed generals in the room

(*a*) Her. l. 7. c. 133, 136. Paul. in Lacon. p. 182 & 183.
(*b*) Ibid. c. 135 & 136.
(*c*) A. M. 3514. Ant. J. C. 490.

of

of Mardonius. Their inſtructions were, to give up Eretria and Athens to be plundered, to burn all the houſes and temples therein, to make all the inhabitants of both places priſoners, and to ſend them to Darius; for which purpoſe they went provided with a great number of chains and fetters. (*d*) They ſet ſail with a fleet of five or ſix hundred ſhips, and an army of five hundred thouſand men. After having made themſelves maſters of the iſles in the Ægæan ſea, which they did without difficulty, they turned their courſe towards Eretria, a city of Eubœa, which they took after a ſiege of ſeven days by the treachery of ſome of the principal inhabitants: they reduced it entirely to aſhes, put all the inhabitants in chains, and ſent them to Perſia. (*e*) Darius, contrary to their expectation, treated them kindly, and gave them a village in the country of Ciſſia for their habitation, which was but a day's journey from Suſa, where (*f*) Apollonius Tyaneus found ſome of their deſcendants ſix hundred years afterwards.

(*g*) After this ſucceſs at Eretria, the Perſians advanced towards Attica. Hippias conducted them to Marathon, a little town by the ſea-ſide. They took care to acquaint the Athenians with the fate of Eretria; and to let them know, that not an inhabitant of that place had eſcaped their vengeance, in hopes that this news would induce them to ſurrender immediately. The Athenians had ſent to Lacedæmon, to deſire ſuccours againſt the common enemy, which the Spartans granted them inſtantly and without deliberation; but which could not ſet out till ſome days after, on account of an antient cuſtom and a ſuperſtitious maxim amongſt them, that did not admit them to begin a march before the full of the moon. Not one of their other allies prepared to ſuccour them, ſo great terror had the formidable army of the Perſians ſpread on every

(*d*) Plut. in Moral. p. 829. (*e*) Her. l. 6. c. 119.
(*f*) Philoſtr. l. 1. c. 17. (*g*) Her. l. 6. c. 102 & 120.
Cor. Nep. in Milt. c. 4—6. Juſtin. l. 2. c. 3. Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 321.

ſide.

ſide. The inhabitants of Platæa alone furniſhed them with a thouſand ſoldiers. In this extremity the Athenians were obliged to arm their ſlaves, which had never been done there before this occaſion.

The Perſian army commanded by Datis conſiſted of an hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe. That of the Athenians amounted in all but to ten thouſand men. This had ten generals, of whom Miltiades was the chief; and theſe ten were to have the command of the whole army, each for a day, one after another. There was a great diſpute among theſe officers, whether they ſhould hazard a battle, or expect the enemy within their walls. The latter opinion had a great majority, and appeared very reaſonable. For, what appearance of ſucceſs could there be in facing with a handful of ſoldiers ſo numerous and formidable an army as that of the Perſians? Miltiades however declared for the contrary opinion, and ſhowed, that the only means to exalt the courage of their own troops, and to ſtrike a terror into thoſe of the enemy, was to advance boldly towards them with an air of confidence and intrepidity. Ariſtides ſtrenuouſly defended this opinion, and brought ſome of the other commanders into it, ſo that when the ſuffrages came to be taken, they were equal on both ſides of the queſtion. Hereupon Miltiades addreſſed himſelf to Callimachus, who was then * Polemarch, and had a right of voting as well as the ten commanders. He very warmly repreſented to him, that the fate of their country was then in his hands; that his ſingle vote was to determine, whether Athens ſhould preſerve her liberty, or be enſlaved; and that he had it in his power by one word to become as famous as Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, the authors of that liberty which the Athenians enjoyed. Callimachus pronounced that word

* *The Polemarch at Athens was both an officer and a conſiderable magiſtrate, equally employed to command in the army, and to adminiſter juſtice. I ſhall give a larger account of this office in another place.*

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in favour of Miltiades's opinion. And accordingly a battle was reſolved upon.

Ariſtides reflecting, that a command which changes every day, muſt neceſſarily be feeble, unequal, not of a piece, often contrary to itſelf, and incapable either of projecting, or executing any uniform deſign, was of opinion, that their danger was both too great and too preſſing for them to expoſe their affairs to ſuch inconveniences. In order to prevent them, he judged it neceſſary to veſt the whole power in one ſingle perſon: and to induce his collegues to act conformably, he himſelf ſet the firſt example of reſignation. When the day came, on which it was his turn to take upon him the command, he reſigned it to Miltiades, as the more able and experienced general. The other commanders did the ſame, all ſentiments of jealouſy giving way to the love of the public good: and by this day's behaviour we may learn, that it is almoſt as glorious to acknowledge merit in other perſons, as to have it one's ſelf. Miltiades however thought fit to wait till his own day came. Then, like an able captain, he endeavoured by the advantage of the ground to gain what he wanted in ſtrength and number. He drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, that the enemy ſhould not be able either to ſurround him, or charge him in the rear. On the two ſides of his army he cauſed large trees to be thrown, which were cut down on purpoſe, in order to cover his flanks, and render the Perſian cavalry uſeleſs. Datis, their commander, was very ſenſible, that the place was not advantagious for him: but, relying upon the number of his troops, which was infinitely ſuperior to that of the Athenians; and on the other hand, not being willing to ſtay till the reinforcement of the Spartans arrived, he determined to engage. The Athenians did not wait for the enemy's charging them. As ſoon as the ſignal of battle was given, they ran againſt the enemy with all the fury imaginable. The Perſians looked upon this firſt ſtep of the Athenians as a piece of madneſs, conſidering

ſidering their army was ſo ſmall, and utterly deſtitute both of cavalry and archers: but they were quickly undeceived. Herodotus obſerves, that this was the firſt time the Grecians began an engagement by running in this manner: which may ſeem ſomewhat aſtoniſhing. And indeed, was there not reaſon to apprehend, that their running would in ſome meaſure weaken the troops, and blunt the edge of their firſt impetuoſity; and that the ſoldiers having quitted their ranks, might be out of breath, ſpent, and in diſorder, when they came to the enemy, who, waiting to receive them, in good order and without ſtirring, ought, one would think, to be in a condition to ſuſtain their charge advantagiouſly? (*b*) This conſideration engaged Pompey, at the battle of Pharſalia, to keep his troops in a ſteady poſture, and to forbid them making any motion, till the enemy made the firſt attack: (*i*) but Cæſar * blames Pompey's conduct in this reſpect, and gives this reaſon for it: that the impetuoſity of an army's motion in running to engage inſpires the ſoldiers with a certain enthuſiaſm and martial fury, and it gives an additional force to their blows, and that it encreaſes and enflames their courage, which by the rapid movement of ſo many thouſand men together is blown up and animated, to uſe the expreſſion, like flames by the wind. I leave it to the gentlemen who profeſs arms, to decide the point between thoſe two great captains, and return to my ſubject.

The battle was very fierce and obſtinate. Miltiades had made the wings of his army exceeding ſtrong, but

(*b*) Cæſ. in bell. civil. l. 3.

(*i*) Plut. in Pomp. p. 656. & in Cæſ. p. 719.

* Quod nobis quidem nulla ratione factum à Pompeio videtur: propterea quod eſt quædam incitatio atque alacritas naturaliter innata omnibus quæ ſtudio pugnæ incenditur. Hanc non reprimere, ſed augere imperatores debent. *Cæſ.*

Καῖσαρ περὶ τοῦτο διαμαρτεῖν φησὶ τὸν Πομπήϊον, ἀγνοήσαντα, τὴν μετὰ δρόμου καὶ φορᾶς ἐν ἀρχῇ γινομένην σύρραξιν, ὡς ἔνια τοῖς πλήγαις βίαν προσιθησι, καὶ συνεκκαίει τὸν θυμὸν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀναῤῥιπιζόμενον. *Plut. in Cæſ.*

had

had left the main body more weak and not ſo deep; the reaſon of which ſeems manifeſt enough. Having but ten thouſand men to oppoſe to ſuch a numerous and vaſt army, it was impoſſible for him either to make a large front, or to give an equal depth to his battalions. He was obliged therefore to take his choice: and he imagined, that he could gain the victory no otherwiſe, than by the efforts he ſhould make with his two wings in order to break and diſperſe thoſe of the Perſians: not doubting, but, when his wings were once victorious, they would be able to attack the enemies main body in flank, and compleat the victory without much difficulty. This was the ſame plan as Hannibal followed afterwards at the battle of Cannæ, which ſucceeded ſo well with him, and which indeed can ſcarce ever fail of ſucceeding. The Perſians then attacked the main body of the Grecian army, and made their greateſt effort particularly upon their front. This was led by Ariſtides and Themiſtocles, who ſupported it a long time with an intrepid courage and bravery, but were at length obliged to give ground. At that very inſtant came up their two victorious wings, which had defeated thoſe of the enemy, and put them to flight. Nothing could be more ſeaſonable for the main body of the Grecian army, which began to be broken, being quite borne down by the number of the Perſians. The ſcale was quickly turned, and the Barbarians were entirely routed. They all betook themſelves to their heels and fled, not towards their camp, but to their ſhips, that they might make their eſcape. The Athenians purſued them thither, and ſet many of their veſſels on fire. On this occaſion it was that Cynægyrus, the brother of the poet Æſchylus, who laid hold of one of the ſhips, in order to get into it with thoſe that fled, * had his right hand cut off, and fell into the

* *Juſtin adds, that Cynægyrus, having firſt had his right and then his left hand cut off with an ax, laid hold of the veſſel with his teeth, and would not let go, ſo violent was his rage againſt the enemy. This account is utterly fabulous, and has not the leaſt appearance of truth in it.*

ſea and was drowned. The Athenians took ſeven of their ſhips. They had not above two hundred men killed on their ſide in this engagement; whereas on the ſide of the Perſians above ſix thouſand were ſlain, without reckoning thoſe who fell into the ſea as they endeavoured to eſcape, or thoſe that were conſumed with the ſhips ſet on fire.

Hippias was killed in the battle. That ungrateful and perfidious citizen, in order to recover the unjuſt dominion uſurped by his father Piſiſtratus over the Athenians, had the baſeneſs to become a ſervile courtier to a barbarian prince, and to implore his aid againſt his native country. Urged on by hatred and revenge, he ſuggeſted all the means he could invent to load his country with chains; and even put himſelf at the head of its enemies with deſign to reduce that city to aſhes, to which he owed his birth, and againſt which he had no other ground of complaint, than that ſhe would not acknowledge him for her tyrant. An ignominious death, together with everlaſting infamy entailed upon his name, was the juſt reward of ſo black a treachery.

(*k*) Immediately after the battle, an Athenian ſoldier, ſtill reeking with the blood of the enemy, quitted the army and ran to Athens to carry his fellow-citizens the happy news of the victory. When he arrived at the magiſtrates houſe, he only uttered two or three words, * *Rejoice, rejoice, the victory is ours*, and fell down dead at their feet.

(*l*) The Perſians had thought themſelves ſo ſure of victory, that they had brought marble to Marathon, in order to erect a trophy there. The Grecians took this marble, and cauſed a ſtatue to be made of it by Phidias, in honour of the goddeſs † Nemeſis, who had a temple near the place where the battle was fought.

(*k*) Plut. de glor. Athen. p. 347.

* Χαίρετε, Χαίρομεν. *I could not render the livelineſs of the Greek expreſſion in our language.*

(*l*) Pauſ. l. 1. p. 62.

† *This was the goddeſs, whoſe buſineſs it was to puniſh injuſtice and oppreſſion.*

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The Perſian fleet, inſtead of ſailing by the iſlands, in order to re-enter Aſia, doubled the cape of Sunium, with the deſign of ſurprizing Athens, before the Athenian forces ſhould arrive there to defend the city. But the latter had the precaution to march thither with nine tribes to ſecure their country, and performed their march with ſo much expedition, that they arrived there the ſame day. The diſtance from Marathon to Athens is about forty miles, or fifteen French leagues. This was a great deal for an army, that had juſt undergone a long and rude battle. By this means the deſign of their enemies miſcarried.

Ariſtides, the only general that ſtayed at Marathon with his tribe, to take care of the ſpoil and priſoners, acted ſuitably to the good opinion that was entertained of him. For, though gold and ſilver were ſcattered about in abundance in the enemy's camp, and though all the tents as well as galleys that were taken, were full of rich cloaths and coſtly furniture, and treaſure of all kinds to an immenſe value, he not only was not tempted to touch any of it himſelf, but hindered every body elſe from touching it.

Aſſoon as the day of the full moon was over, the Lacedæmonians began their march with two thouſand men; and, having travelled with all imaginable expedition, arrived in Attica after three days hard marching; the length of the way from Sparta to Attica was no leſs than twelve hundred ſtadia, or one hundred and fifty Engliſh miles. (*m*) The battle was fought the day before they arrived: however they proceeded to Marathon, where they found the fields covered with dead bodies and riches. After having congratulated the Athenians on the happy ſucceſs of the battle, they returned to their own country.

They were hindered by a fooliſh and ridiculous ſuperſtition from having a ſhare in the moſt glorious action recorded in hiſtory. For it is almoſt without example that ſuch an handful of men, as the Athenians

(*m*) Iſocr. in Panegyr. p. 113.

were, ſhould not only make head againſt ſo numerous an army as that of the Perſians, but ſhould entirely rout and defeat them. One is aſtoniſhed to ſee ſo formidable a power attack ſo ſmall a city and miſcarry; and we are almoſt tempted to diſbelieve the truth of an event, that appears ſo improbable, and which nevertheleſs is very certain and unqueſtionable. This battle alone ſhows, what wonderful things may be performed by an able general, who knows how to take his advantages; by the intrepidity of ſoldiers, that are not afraid of death; by a zeal for one's country; the love of liberty; an hatred and deteſtation of ſlavery and tyranny; which were ſentiments natural to the Athenians, but undoubtedly very much augmented and enflamed in them by the very preſence of Hippias, whom they dreaded to have again for their maſter, after all that had paſſed between them.

(*n*) Plato, in more places than one, makes it his buſineſs to extol the battle of Marathon, and is for having that action conſidered as the ſource and original cauſe of all the victories that were gained afterwards. It was undoubtedly this victory that deprived the Perſian power of that terror, which had rendered them ſo formidable, and made every thing ſtoop before them: it was this victory that taught the Grecians to know their own ſtrength, and not to tremble before an enemy, terrible only in name; that made them find by experience, that victory does not depend ſo much upon the number, as the courage of troops; that ſet before their eyes in a moſt conſpicuous light, the glory there is in ſacrificing one's life in the defence of our country, and for the preſervation of liberty; and laſtly, that inſpired them, thro' the whole courſe of ſucceeding ages, with a noble emulation and warm deſire to imitate their anceſtors, and not to degenerate from their virtue. For, on all important occaſions, it was cuſtomary among them to put the people in mind of Miltiades and his invincible troop, that is, of a

(*n*) In Menex. p. 239, 240. Et lib. 3. de leg. p. 698 & 699.

little

little army of heroes, whoſe intrepidity and bravery had done ſo much honour to Athens.

(*o*) Thoſe that were ſlain in the battle, had all the honour immediately paid to them, that was due to their merit. Illuſtrious monuments were erected to them all, in the very place where the battle was fought; upon which their own names and that of their tribes were recorded. There were three diſtinct ſetts of monuments ſeparately ſet up, one for the Athenians, another for the Platæans, and a third for the ſlaves, whom they had admitted among their ſoldiers on that occaſion. Miltiades's tomb was erected afterwards in the ſame place.

(*p*) The reflection Cornelius Nepos makes upon what the Athenians did to honour the memory of their general, deſerves to be taken notice of. Formerly, ſays he, ſpeaking of the Romans, our anceſtors rewarded virtue by marks of diſtinction, that were not ſtately or magnificent, but ſuch as were rarely granted, and for that very reaſon were highly eſteemed; whereas now they are ſo profuſely beſtowed, that little or no value is ſet upon them. The ſame thing happened, adds he, among the Athenians. All the honour that was paid to Miltiades, the great deliverer of Athens and of all Greece, was, that in a picture of the battle of Marathon, drawn by order of the Athenians, he was repreſented at the head of the ten commanders, exhorting the ſoldiers, and ſetting them an example of their duty. But this ſame people in later ages, being grown more powerful, and corrupted by the flatteries of their orators, decreed three hundred ſtatues to Demetrius Phalereus.

(*q*) Plutarch makes the ſame reflection, and wiſely obſerves, that the † honour which is paid to great men ought not to be looked upon as the reward of their il-

(*o*) Pauſ. in Attic. p. 60, 61. (*p*) Cor. Nep. in Milt. c. 6.
(*q*) In præc. de rep. ger. p. 820.

† Οὐ γὰρ μισθὸν εἶναι δεῖ τῆς πράξεως, ἀλλὰ σύμβολον, τὴν τιμὴν, ἵνα καὶ διαμένῃ πολὺν χρόνον.

luſtrious actions, but only as a mark of the eſteem of them, whereof ſuch monuments are intended to perpetuate the remembrance. It is not then the ſtatelineſs or magnificence of public monuments, which gives them their value, or makes them durable, but the ſincere gratitude of thoſe that erect them. The three hundred ſtatues of Demetrius Phalereus were all thrown down even in his own life time, but the picture in which Miltiades's courage was repreſented was preſerved many ages after him.

(r) This picture was kept at Athens in a gallery, adorned and enriched with different paintings, all excellent in their kind, and done by the greateſt maſters; which for that reaſon was called ποικίλη, ſignifying varied and diverſified. The celebrated Polygnotus, a native of the iſle of Thaſos, and one of the fineſt painters of his time, painted this picture, or at leaſt the greateſt part of it; and, as he valued himſelf upon his honour, and was more attached to glory than intereſt, he did it *gratis*, and would not receive any recompence for it. The city of Athens therefore rewarded him with a ſort of coin, that was more acceptable to his taſte, by procuring an order from the Amphictyons to appoint him a public lodging in the city, where he might live during his own pleaſure.

(s) The gratitude of the Athenians towards Miltiades was of no very long duration. After the battle of Marathon, he deſired and obtained the command of a fleet of ſeventy ſhips, in order to puniſh and ſubdue the iſlands that had favoured the Barbarians. Accordingly he reduced ſeveral of them: but having had ill ſucceſs in the iſle of Paros, and upon a falſe report of the arrival of the enemy's fleet, having raiſed the ſiege which he had laid to the capital city, wherein he had received a very dangerous wound, he returned to Athens with his fleet; and was there impeached by a citizen, called Xanthippus, who accuſed him of

(r) Plin. l. 35. c. 9. Cor. Nep. in Milt. c. 7 & 8.

(s) Her. l. 6. c. 132 & 136.

having

having raiſed the ſiege through treachery, and in conſideration of a great ſum of money given him by the king of Perſia. As little probability as there was in this accuſation, it nevertheleſs took place againſt the merit and innocence of Miltiades. (*t*) He was condemned to loſe his life, and to be thrown into the Barathrum; a ſentence paſſed only upon the greateſt criminals and malefactors. The magiſtrate oppoſed the execution of ſo unjuſt a condemnation. All the favour ſhewn to this preſerver of his country, was to have the ſentence of death commuted into a penalty of fifty talents, or fifty thouſand crowns French money, being the ſum to which the expences of the fleet, that had been equipped upon his ſollicitation and advice, amounted. Not being rich enough to pay this ſum, he was put into priſon, where he died of the wound he had received at Paros. Cimon, his ſon, who was at this time very young, ſignalized his piety on this occaſion, as we ſhall find in the ſequel he did his courage afterwards. He purchaſed the permiſſion of burying his father's body, by paying the fine of fifty thouſand crowns, in which he had been condemned; which ſum the young man raiſed, as well as he could, by the aſſiſtance of his friends and relations.

Cornelius Nepos obſerves, that what chiefly induced the Athenians to act in this manner with regard to Miltiades, was only his merit and great reputation, which made the people, that were but lately delivered from the yoke of ſlavery under Piſiſtratus, apprehend, that Miltiades, who had been tyrant before in the Cherſoneſus, might affect the ſame at Athens. *They therefore choſe rather to puniſh an innocent perſon, than to be under perpetual apprehenſions of him. To this ſame principle was the inſtitution of the oſtraciſm at Athens owing. (*u*) I have elſewhere given an account of the moſt plauſible reaſons, upon which the

(*t*) Plut. in Georg. p. 519. (*u*) Man. d'etud. Tom. 3. p. 407.

* Hæc populus reſpiciens maluit eum innocentem plecti, quàm ſe diutius eſſe in timore.

oſtraciſm could be founded. But I do not ſee how we can fully juſtify ſo ſtrange a policy, to which all merit becomes ſuſpected, and virtue itſelf appears criminal.

(x) This appears plainly in the baniſhment of Ariſtides. His inviolable attachment to juſtice obliged him on many occaſions to oppoſe Themiſtocles, who did not pique himſelf upon his delicacy in that reſpect, and who ſpared no intrigues and cabals to engage the ſuffrages of the people, for removing a rival who always oppoſed his ambitious deſigns. * This is a ſtrong inſtance, that a perſon may be ſuperior in merit and virtue, without being ſo in credit. The impetuous eloquence of Themiſtocles bore down the juſtice of Ariſtides, and occaſioned his baniſhment. In this kind of trial the citizens gave their ſuffrages by writing the name of the accuſed perſon upon a ſhell, called in Greek ὄστρακον, from whence came the term oſtraciſm. On this occaſion a peaſant, who could not write, and did not know Ariſtides, applied to himſelf, and deſired him to put the name of Ariſtides upon his ſhell. "Has he done you any wrong, ſaid Ariſtides, that "you are for condemning him in this manner? No, "replied the other, I don't ſo much as know him; "but I am quite tired and angry with hearing every "body call him *the Juſt.*" Ariſtides, without ſaying a word more, calmly took the ſhell, wrote his own name in it, and returned it. He ſet out for his baniſhment, imploring the gods that no accident might befal his country to make it regret him. The † great Camillus, in a like caſe, did not imitate his generoſity,

(x) Plut. in Ariſt. p. 322, 323.

* In his cognitum eſt, quanto antiſtaret eloquentia innocentiæ. Quanquam enim adeo excellebat Ariſtides abſtinentia, ut unus poſt hominum memoriam, quod quidem nos audierimus, cognomine Juſtus ſit appellatus; tamen à Themiſtocle collabefactus teſtulâ illâ exilio decem annorum multatus eſt. *Cor. Nep. in Ariſt.*

† In exilium abiit, precatus ab diis immortalibus, ſi exilio ſibi ea injuria fieret, primo quoque tempore deſiderium ſui civitati ingratæ facerent. *Liv.* l. 5. n. 32.

and

and prayed to a quite different effect, desiring the gods to force his ungrateful country by some misfortune to have occasion for his aid, and recal him assoon as possible.

(y) O happy republic, cries out Valerius Maximus, speaking of Aristides's banishment, which after having so basely treated the most virtuous man it ever produced, has still been able to find citizens zealously and faithfully attached to her service! *Felices Athenas, quæ post illius exilium invenire aliquem aut virum bonum, aut amantem sui civem potuerunt; cum quo tunc ipsa sanctitas migravit!*

SECT. VIII. *Darius resolves to make war in person against Egypt and against Greece: is prevented by death. Dispute between two of his sons, concerning the succession to the crown. Xerxes is chosen king.*

(z) WHEN Darius received the news of the defeat of his army at Marathon, he was violently enraged; and that bad success was so far from discouraging or diverting him from carrying on the war against Greece, that it only served to animate him to pursue it with the greater vigour, in order to be revenged at the same time for the burning of Sardis, and for the dishonour incurred at Marathon. Being thus determined to march in person with all his forces, he dispatched orders to all his subjects in the several provinces of his empire to arm themselves for this expedition.

After having spent three years in making the necessary preparations, he had another war to carry on occasioned by the revolt of Egypt. It seems from what we read in (a) Diodorus Siculus, that Darius went thither himself to quel it, and that he succeeded. The historian relates, that upon this prince's desiring to have his statue placed before that of Sesostris, the chief priest of the Egyptians told him, *he had not*

(y) Val. Max. l. 5. c. 3.
(z) Her. l. 7. c. 1.
(a) Lib. 1. p. 54 & 85.

yet equalled the glory of that conqueror; and that the king, without being offended at the Egyptian prieſt's freedom, made anſwer, that he would endeavour to ſurpaſs it. Diodorus adds farther, that Darius, deteſting the impious cruelty which his predeceſſor Cambyſes had exerciſed in that country, expreſſed great reverence for their gods and temples; that he had ſeveral converſations with the Egyptian prieſts upon matters of religion and government; and that having learnt of them, with what gentleneſs their antient kings uſed to treat their ſubjects, he endeavoured after his return into Perſia, to form himſelf upon their model. But (*b*) Herodotus, more worthy of belief in this particular than Diodorus, only obſerves, that this prince reſolving at once to chaſtiſe his revolted ſubjects, and to be avenged of his antient enemies, determined to make war againſt both at the ſame time, and to attack Greece in perſon with the groſs of his army, whilſt the reſt of it was employed in the reduction of Egypt.

(*c*) According to an antient cuſtom among the Perſians, their king was not allowed to go to war, without having firſt named the perſon that ſhould ſucceed him in the throne; a cuſtom wiſely eſtabliſhed to prevent the ſtate's being expoſed to the troubles, which generally attend the uncertainty of a ſucceſſor; to the inconveniences of anarchy, and to the cabals of various pretenders. Darius, before he undertook his expedition againſt Greece, thought himſelf the more obliged to obſerve this rule, as he was already advanced in years, and as there was a difference between two of his ſons, upon the point of ſucceeding to the empire; which difference might occaſion a civil war after his death, if he left it undetermined. Darius had three ſons by his firſt wife, the daughter of Gobrias, all three born before their father came to the crown; and four more by Atoſſa, the daughter of Cyrus, who were all born after their father's acceſſion to the throne.

(*b*) Lib. 6. c. 2. (*c*) Ibid. c. 2 & 3.

Arta-

Artabazanes, called by Juſtin Artemenes, was the eldeſt of the former, and Xerxes of the latter. Artabazanes alledged in his own behalf, that, as he was the eldeſt of all the brothers, the right of ſucceſſion, according to the cuſtom and practice of all nations, belonged to him preferably to all the reſt. Xerxes's argument was, that as he was the ſon of Darius by Atoſſa, the daughter of Cyrus, who founded the Perſian empire, it was more juſt that the crown of Cyrus ſhould devolve upon one of his deſcendants, than upon one that was not. Demaratus, a Spartan king, unjuſtly depoſed by his ſubjects, and at that time in exile at the court of Perſia, ſecretly ſuggeſted to Xerxes another argument to ſupport his pretenſions: that Artabazanes was indeed the eldeſt ſon of Darius, but he, Xerxes, was the eldeſt ſon of the king; and therefore, Artabazanes being born when his father was but a private perſon, all he could pretend to, on account of his ſeniority, was only to inherit his private eſtate; but that he, Xerxes, being the firſt born ſon of the king, had the beſt right to ſucceed to the crown. He further ſupported this argument by the example of the Lacedæmonians, who admitted none to inherit the kingdom, but thoſe children that were born after their father's acceſſion. The right of ſucceeding was accordingly determined in favour of Xerxes.

* Juſtin (*d*) and Plutarch place this diſpute after Darius's deceaſe. They both take notice of the prudent conduct of theſe two brothers on ſo nice an occaſion. According to their manner of relating this fact, Artabazanes was abſent when the king died; and Xerxes immediately aſſumed all the marks, and exerciſed all

(*d*) Juſtin. l. 2. c. 10. Plut. de frat. amore, p. 448.

* Adeò fraterna contentio fuit, ut nec victor inſultaverit, nec victus doluerit; ipſoque litis tempore invicem munera miſerint; jucunda quoque inter ſe non ſolum, ſed credula convivia habuerint: judicium quoque ipſum ſine arbitris, ſine convitio fuerit. Tanto mederatiùs tum fratres inter ſe regna maxima dividebant, quam nunc exigua patrimonia partiuntur. *Juſtin.*

the

the functions of the sovereignty. But upon his brother's returning home, he quitted the diadem and the tiara, which he wore in such a manner as only suited the king, went out to meet him, and shewed him all imaginable respect. They agreed to make their uncle Artabanes the arbitrator of their difference, and without any further appeal, to acquiesce in his decision. All the while this dispute lasted, the two brothers shewed one another all the demonstrations of a truly fraternal friendship, by keeping up a continual intercourse of presents and entertainments, from whence their mutual esteem and confidence for each other banished all fears and suspicions on both sides; and introduced an unconstrained chearfulness, and a perfect security. This is a spectacle, says Justin, highly worthy of our admiration: to see, whilst most brothers are at daggers-drawing with one another about a small patrimony, with what moderation and temper both waited for a decision, which was to dispose of the greatest empire then in the universe. When Artabanes gave judgment in favour of Xerxes, Artabazanes the same instant prostrated himself before him, acknowledging him for his master, and placed him upon the throne with his own hand; by which proceeding he shewed a greatness of soul, truly royal, and infinitely superior to all human dignities. This ready acquiescence in a sentence so contrary to his interests, was not the effect of an artful policy, that knows how to dissemble upon occasion, and to derive honour to itself from what it could not prevent: No; it proceeded from a real respect for the laws, a sincere affection for his brother, and an indifference for that which so warmly inflames the ambition of mankind, and so frequently arms the neareſt relations against each other. For his part, during his whole life, he continued firmly attached to the interests of Xerxes, and prosecuted them with so much ardor and zeal, that he lost his life in his service at the battle of Salamin.

At

(*e*) At whatever time this diſpute is to be placed, it is evident Darius could not execute the double expedition he was meditating againſt Egypt and Greece; and that he was prevented by death from purſuing that project. He had reigned thirty-ſix years. The epitaph * of this prince, which contains a boaſt, that he could drink much without diſordering his reaſon, proves that the Perſians actually thought that circumſtance for their glory. We ſhall ſee in the ſequel, that Cyrus the younger aſcribes this quality to himſelf, as a perfection that rendered him more worthy of the throne than his elder brother. Who in theſe times would think of annexing this merit to the qualifications of an excellent prince?

This prince had many excellent qualities, but they were attended with great failings; and the kingdom felt the effects both of the one and the other. † For ſuch is the condition of princes, they never act nor live for themſelves alone. Whatever they are, either as to good or evil, they are for their people: and the intereſts of the one and the other are inſeparable. Darius had a great fund of gentleneſs, equity, clemency, and kindneſs for his people: he loved juſtice, and reſpected the laws: he eſteemed merit, and was careful to reward it: he was not jealous of his rank or authority, ſo as to exact a forced homage, or to render himſelf inacceſſible; and notwithſtanding his own great experience and abilities in public affairs, he would hearken to the advice of others, and reap the benefit of their counſels. It is of him the holy (*f*) ſcripture ſpeaks, where it ſays, that he did nothing without conſulting the wiſe men of his court. He was not afraid of expoſing his perſon in battle, and was always cool even in the heat of action: (*g*) he ſaid of himſelf,

(*e*) Her. l. 6. c. 4. (*f*) Eſth. i. 13. (*g*) Plut. in Apoph. p. 172.

* Ἡδυνάμην καὶ ἶνον πίνειν πολὺν, καὶ τοῦτον φέρειν καλῶς. *Athen.* l. 10. p. 434.

† Ita nati eſtis, ut bona malaque veſtra ad remp. pertineant. *Tacit.* l. 4. c. 8.

that

that the moſt imminent and preſſing danger ſerved only to increaſe his courage and his prudence: in a word, there have been few princes more expert than he in the art of governing, or more experienced in the buſineſs of war. Nor was the glory of being a conqueror, if that may be called a glory, wanting to his character. For he not only reſtored and entirely confirmed the empire of Cyrus, which had been very much ſhaken by the ill conduct of Cambyſes and the Magian impoſtor, but he likewiſe added many great and rich provinces to it, and particularly India, Thrace, Macedonia, and the iſles contiguous to the coaſts of Ionia.

But ſometimes theſe good qualities of his gave way to failings of a quite oppoſite nature. Do we ſee any thing like Darius's uſual gentleneſs and good nature in his treatment of that unfortunate father, who deſired the favour of him to leave him one of his three ſons at home, while the other two followed the king in his expedition? Was there ever an occaſion, wherein he had more need of counſel, than when he formed the deſign of making war upon the Scythians? And could any one give more prudent advice, than what his brother gave him on that occaſion? But he would not follow it. Does there appear in that whole expedition any mark of wiſdom, or prudence? What do we ſee in all that affair, but a prince intoxicated with his greatneſs, who fancies there is nothing in the world that can reſiſt him; and whoſe weak ambition to ſignalize himſelf by an extraordinary conqueſt, has ſtifled all the good ſenſe, judgment, and even military knowledge he poſſeſs'd before?

What conſtitutes the ſolid glory of Darius's reign is, his being choſen by God himſelf, as Cyrus had been before, to be the inſtrument of his mercies towards his people, the declared protector of the Iſraelites, and the reſtorer of the temple at Jeruſalem. The reader may ſee this part of his hiſtory in the book of Ezra, and in the writings of the prophets Haggai and Zachariah.

CHAP-

CHAPTER II.

The history of Xerxes intermixed with that of the Greeks.

XERXES's reign lasted but twelve years, but abounds with great events.

SECT. I. *Xerxes, after having reduced Egypt, makes preparations for carrying the war into Greece. He holds a council. The wise discourse of Artabanes. War is resolved upon.*

(*b*) XERXES having ascended the throne, employed the first year of his reign in carrying on the preparations, begun by his father, for the reduction of Egypt. He also confirmed to the Jews at Jerusalem all the privileges granted them by his father, and particularly that which assigned them the tribute of Samaria, for the supplying of them with victims for the temple of God.

(*i*) In the second year of his reign he marched against the Egyptians, and having reduced and subdued those rebels, he made the yoke of their subjection more heavy; then giving the government of that province to his brother Achemenes, he returned about the latter end of the year to Susa.

(*k*) Herodotus, the famous historian, was born this same year at Halicarnassus in Caria. For he was fifty-three years old, when the Peloponnesian war first began.

(*l*) Xerxes, puffed up with his success against the Epyptians, determined to make war against the Grecians. (He (*m*) did not intend, he said, to buy the figs of Attica, which were very excellent, any longer, because he would eat no more of them till he was master of the country.) But before he engaged in

(*b*) A. M. 3519. Ant. J. C. 485. Her. l. 7. c. 5. Joseph. Antiq. l. 11. c. 5. (*i*) Her. l. 7. c. 7. A. M. 3520. Ant. J. C. 484. (*k*) Aul. Gel. l. 15. c. 23. (*l*) Her. l. 7. c. 8—18. (*m*) Plut. in Apoph. p. 173.

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an enterprize of that importance, he thought proper to aſſemble his council, and take the advice of all the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious perſons of his court. He laid before them the deſign he had of making war againſt Greece, and acquainted them with his motives; which were, the deſire of imitating the example of his predeceſſors, who had all of them diſtinguiſhed their names and reigns by noble enterprizes; the obligation he was under to revenge the inſolence of the Athenians, who had preſumed to fall upon Sardis, and reduce it to aſhes; the neceſſity he was under, to avenge the diſgrace his country had received at the battle of Marathon; and the proſpect of the great advantages that might be reaped from this war, which would be attended with the conqueſt of Europe, the moſt rich and fertile country in the univerſe. He added farther, that this war had been reſolved on by his father Darius, and he meant only to follow and execute his intentions; he concluded with promiſing ample rewards to thoſe, who ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves by their valour in the expedition.

Mardonius, the ſame perſon that had been ſo unſucceſsful in Darius's reign, grown neither wiſer, nor leſs ambitious by his ill ſucceſs, and extremely affecting the command of the army, was the firſt who gave his opinion. He began by extolling Xerxes above all the kings that had gone before or ſhould ſucceed him. He endeavoured to ſhew the indiſpenſable neceſſity of avenging the diſhonour done to the Perſian name: He diſparaged the Grecians, and repreſented them as a cowardly, timorous people, without courage, without forces, or experience in war. For a proof of what he ſaid, he mentioned his own conqueſt of Macedonia, which he exaggerated in a very vain and oſtentatious manner, as if that people had ſubmitted to him without any reſiſtance. He preſumed even to affirm, that not any of the Grecian nations would venture to come out againſt Xerxes, who would march with all the forces of Aſia; and if they had the temerity to preſent

ſent themſelves before him, they would learn, to their coſt, that the Perſians were the braveſt and moſt warlike nation in the world.

The reſt of the council perceiving that this flattering diſcourſe extremely pleaſed the king, were afraid to contradict it, and all kept ſilence. This was almoſt an unavoidable conſequence of Xerxes's manner of proceeding. A wiſe prince, when he propoſes an affair in council, and really deſires that every one ſhould ſpeak his true ſentiments, is extremely careful to conceal his own opinion, that he may put no conſtraint upon that of others, but leave them entirely at liberty. Xerxes, on the contrary, had openly diſcovered his own inclination, or rather reſolution to undertake the war. When a prince acts in this manner, he will always find artful flatterers, who being eager to inſinuate themſelves and to pleaſe, and ever ready to comply with his paſſions, will not fail to ſecond his opinion with ſpecious and plauſible reaſons; whilſt thoſe, that would be capable of giving good counſel, are reſtrained by fear; there being very few courtiers, who love their prince well enough, and have ſufficient courage to venture to diſpleaſe him by diſputing what they know to be his taſte or opinion.

The exceſſive praiſes given by Mardonius to Xerxes, which are the uſual language of flatterers, ought to have rendered him ſuſpicious to the king, and made him apprehend, that under an appearance of zeal for his glory, that nobleman endeavoured to cloak his own ambition, and the violent deſire he had to command the army. But theſe ſweet and flattering words, which glide like a ſerpent under flowers, are ſo far from diſpleaſing princes, that they captivate and charm them. They do not conſider, that men flatter and praiſe them, becauſe they believe them weak and vain enough to ſuffer themſelves to be deceived by commendations, that bear no proportion to their merits and actions.

This behaviour of the king made the whole council

cil mute. In this general ſilence, Artabanes, the king's uncle, a prince very venerable for his age and prudence, made the following ſpeech. "Permit me, "great prince", ſays he, addreſſing himſelf to Xerxes, "to deliver my ſentiments to you on this occaſion "with a liberty ſuitable to my age and to your inte- "reſt. When Darius, your father and my brother, "firſt thought of making war againſt the Scythians, "I uſed all my endeavours to divert him from it. I "need not tell you what that enterprize coſt, or what "was the ſucceſs of it. The people you are going "to attack are infinitely more formidable than the "Scythians. The Grecians are eſteemed the very "beſt troops in the world, either by land or ſea. "If the Athenians alone could defeat the numerous "army commanded by Datis and Artaphernes, what "ought we to expect from all the ſtates of Greece "united together? You deſign to paſs from Aſia into "Europe by laying a bridge over the ſea. And what "will become of us, if the Athenians proving victo- "rious ſhould advance to this bridge with their fleet, "and break it down? I ſtill tremble when I conſider, "that in the Scythian expedition, the life of the "king your father, and the ſafety of all his army "were reduced to depend upon the fidelity of one "ſingle man, and that if Hyſtiæus the Mileſian had, "in compliance with the ſtrong inſtances made to "him, conſented to break down the bridge, which "had been laid over the Danube, the Perſian empire "had been entirely ruined. Do not expoſe yourſelf, "Sir, to the like danger, eſpecially ſince you are not "obliged to do it. Take time at leaſt to reflect upon "it. When we have maturely deliberated upon an "affair, whatever happens to be the ſucceſs of it, we "have nothing to impute to ourſelves. Precipita- "tion, beſides its being imprudent, is almoſt always "unfortunate, and attended with fatal conſequences. "Above all, do not ſuffer yourſelf, great prince, to "be dazzled with the vain ſplendor of imaginary "glory,

" glory, or with the pompous appearance of your " troops. The higheſt and moſt lofty trees have the " moſt reaſon to dread the thunder. As God alone " is truly great, he is an enemy to * pride, and takes " pleaſure in humbling every thing that exalteth it- " ſelf: and very often the moſt numerous armies fly " before an handful of men, becauſe he inſpires theſe " with courage, and ſcatters terror among the others."

Artabanes, after having ſpoke thus to the king, turned himſelf towards Mardonius, and reproached him with his want of ſincerity or judgment, in giving the king a notion of the Grecians ſo directly contrary to truth; and ſhewed, how extremely he was to blame for deſiring raſhly to engage the nation in a war, which nothing but his own views of intereſt and ambition could tempt him to adviſe. " If a war be " reſolved upon, added he, let the king, whoſe life " is dear to us all, remain in Perſia: and do you, ſince " you ſo ardently deſire it, march at the head of the " moſt numerous army that can be aſſembled. In the " mean time, let your children and mine be given up " as a pledge, to anſwer for the ſucceſs of the war. " If the iſſue of it be favourable, I conſent that " mine be put to death †: but if it proves otherwiſe, " as I well foreſee it will, then I deſire that your " children, and you yourſelf on your return, may be " treated in ſuch a manner as you deſerve, for the " raſh counſel you have given your maſter."

Xerxes, who was not accuſtomed to have his ſentiments contradicted in this manner, fell into a rage. " Thank the gods, ſays he to Artabanes, that you are " my father's brother; were it not for that, you " ſhould this moment ſuffer the juſt reward of your " audacious behaviour. But I will puniſh you for " it in another manner, by leaving you here among " the women, whom you too much reſemble in your

* Φιλεῖ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολούειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐᾷ φρονέειν ἄλλον μέγα ὁ θεὸς, ἢ ἑωυτόν.

† *Why ſhould the children be puniſhed for their fathers faults?*

COW-

"cowardiſe and fear, whilſt I march at the head of "my troops, where my duty and glory call me."

Artabanes had expreſſed his ſentiment in very reſpectful and inoffenſive terms: Xerxes nevertheleſs was extremely offended. It is the * misfortune of princes, ſpoiled by flattery, to look upon every thing as dry and auſtere, that is ſincere and ingenuous, and to regard all counſel, delivered with a generous and diſintereſted freedom, as a ſeditious preſumption. They do not conſider, that even a good man never dares to tell them all he thinks, or diſcover the whole truth; eſpecially in things that may be diſagreeable to their humour: and that what they ſtand moſt in need of, is a ſincere and faithful friend, that will conceal nothing from them. A prince ought to think himſelf very happy, if in his whole reign he finds but one man born with that degree of generoſity, who certainly ought to be conſidered as the moſt valuable treaſure of the ſtate, as he is, if the expreſſion may be admitted, both the moſt neceſſary, and at the ſame time the moſt rare inſtrument † of government.

Xerxes himſelf acknowledged this upon the occaſion we are ſpeaking of. When the firſt emotions of his anger were over, and he had had time to reflect on his pillow upon the different counſels that were given him, he confeſſed he had been to blame to give his uncle ſuch harſh language, and was not aſhamed to confeſs his fault the next day in open council, ingenuouſly owning, that the heat of his youth and his want of experience had made him negligent in paying the regard due to a prince ſo worthy of reſpect as Artabanes, both for his age and wiſdom: and declaring at the ſame time, that he was come over to his opinion, notwithſtanding a dream he had had in the night, wherein a viſion had appeared to him, and warmly exhorted

* Ita formatis principum auribus, ut aſpera quæ utilia, nec quicquam niſi jucundum & lætum accipiant. *Tacit. Hiſt.* l. 3. c. 56.

† Nullum majus boni imperii inſtrumentum quam bonus amicus. *Tacit. Hiſt.* l. 4. c. 7.

him

him to undertake that war. All the lords who compoſed the council, were raviſhed to hear the king ſpeak in this manner; and to teſtify their joy, they fell proſtrate before him, ſtriving who ſhould moſt extol the glory of ſuch a proceeding: nor could their praiſes on ſuch an occaſion be at all ſuſpected. * For it is no hard matter to diſcern, whether the praiſes given to princes proceed from the heart, and are founded upon truth, or whether they drop from the lips only, as an effect of mere flattery and deceit. That ſincere and humble declaration of the king's, far from appearing as a weakneſs in him, was looked upon by them as the effort of a great ſoul, which riſes above its faults in bravely confeſſing them, by way of reparation and atonement. They admired the nobleneſs of this procedure the more, as they knew that princes educated like Xerxes, in a vain haughtineſs and falſe glory, are never diſpoſed to own themſelves in the wrong, and generally make uſe of their authority to juſtify, with pride and obſtinacy, whatever faults they have committed through ignorance or imprudence. We may venture, I think, to ſay, that it is more glorious to riſe in this manner, than it would be never to have fallen. Certainly there is nothing greater, and at the ſame time more rare and uncommon, than to ſee a mighty and powerful prince, and that in the time of his greateſt proſperity, acknowledge his faults, when he happens to commit any, without ſeeking pretexts or excuſes to cover them; pay homage to truth, even when it is againſt him and condems him; and leave other princes, who have a falſe delicacy concerning their grandeur, the ſhame of always abounding with errors and defects, and of never owning that they have any.

The night following, the ſame phantom, if we may believe Herodotus, appeared again to the king, and repeated the ſame ſollicitations with new menaces and

* Nec occultum eſt quando ex veritate, quando adumbrata lætitia, facta imperatorum celebrantur. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 4. c. 31.

threatnings

threatnings. Xerxes communicated what paſſed to his uncle, and in order to find out whether this viſion was divine or not, entreated him earneſtly to put on the royal robes, to aſcend the throne, and afterwards to take his place in his bed for the night. Artabanes hereupon diſcourſed very ſenſibly and rationally with the king upon the vanity of dreams; and then coming to what perſonally regarded him: * "I look upon it, "ſays he, almoſt equally commendable to think well "one's ſelf, or to hearken with docility to the good "counſels of others. You have both theſe qualities, "great prince; and if you followed the natural bent of "your own temper, it would lead you entirely to "ſentiments of wiſdom and moderation. You never "take any violent meaſures or reſolutions, but when "the arts of evil counſellors draw you into them, or "the poiſon of flattery miſleads you; in the ſame "manner as the ocean, which of itſelf is calm and "ſerene, and never diſturbed but by the extraneous "impulſe of other bodies. What afflicted me in the "anſwer you made me the other day, when I de-"livered my ſentiments freely in council, was not the "perſonal affront to me, but the injury you did your "ſelf, by making ſo wrong a choice between the dif-"ferent counſels that were offered; rejecting that "which led you to ſentiments of moderation and "equity; and embracing the other, which, on the "contrary, tended only to nouriſh pride, and to en-"flame ambition."

Artabanes, through complaiſance, paſſed the night in the king's bed, and had the ſame viſion which Xerxes had before; that is, in his ſleep he ſaw a man, who made him ſevere reproaches, and threatned him with the greateſt misfortunes, if he continued to oppoſe

* *This thought is in Heſiod*, Opera & Dies, v. 293. Cic. pro Cluent. n. 84. & Tit. Liv. l. 22. n. 19. Sæpe ego audivi, milites, eum primum eſſe virum, qui ipſe conſulat quid in rem ſit; ſecundum eum, qui benè menenti obediat: qui nec ipſe conſulere, nec alteri parere ſciat, eum extremi ingenii eſſe.

the king's intentions. This ſo much affected him, that he came over to the king's firſt opinion, believing that there was ſomething divine in theſe repeated viſions; and the war againſt the Grecians was reſolved upon. Theſe circumſtances I relate, as I find them in Herodotus.

Xerxes in the ſequel did but ill ſupport this character of moderation. We ſhall find, that he had but very ſhort intervals of wiſdom and reaſon, which ſhone out only for a moment, and then gave way to the moſt culpable and extravagant exceſſes. We may judge however even from thence, that he had very good natural parts and inclinations. But the moſt excellent qualities are ſoon ſpoiled and corrupted by the poiſon of flattery, and the poſſeſſion of abſolute and unlimited power: * *vi dominationis convulſus.*

It is a fine ſentiment in a miniſter of ſtate, to be leſs affected with an affront to himſelf, than with the wrong done his maſter by giving him evil and pernicious counſel.

Mardonius's counſel was pernicious; becauſe, as Artabanes obſerves, it tended only to nouriſh and increaſe that ſpirit of haughtineſs and violence in the prince, which was but too prevalent in him already, ὕβριν αὐξέσης; and † in that it diſpoſed and accuſtomed his mind ſtill to carry his views and deſires beyond his preſent fortune, ſtill to be aiming at ſomething farther, and to ſet no bounds to his ambition. ‖ This is the predominant paſſion of thoſe men, whom we uſually call conquerors, and whom, according to the language of the holy ſcripture, we might call with greater

* Tacit.

† Ὡς κακὸν εἴη διδάσκειν τὴν ψυχὴν πλέον τι δίζεσθαι αἰεὶ ἔχειν τοῦ παρέοντος.

‖ Nec hoc Alexandri tantùm vitium fuit, quem per Liberi Herculiſque veſtigia felix temeritas egit; ſed omnium, quos fortuna irritavit implendo. Totum regni Perſici ſtemma percenſe: quem invenies, cui modum imperii ſatietas fecerit? qui non vitam in aliqua ulteriùs procedendi cogitatione finierit? Nec id mirum eſt. Quicquid cupiditati contigit, penitùs hauritur & conditur: nec intereſt quantum eo, quod inexplebile eſt, congeras. *Senec.* l. 7. *de benef.* c. 3.

propriety,

propriety, (p) *robbers of nations.* If you consider and examine the whole succession of Persian kings, says Seneca, will you find any one of them that ever stopped his career of his own accord; that was ever satisfied with his past conquests; or that was not forming some new project or enterprize, when death surprized him? Nor ought we to be astonished at such a disposition, adds the same author: for ambition is a gulf and a bottomless abyss, wherein every thing is lost that is thrown in, and where, though you were to heap province upon province, and kingdom upon kingdom, you would never be able to fill up the mighty void.

SECT. II. *Xerxes begins his march, and passes from Asia into Europe, by crossing the streights of the Hellespont upon a bridge of boats.*

(q) THE war being resolved upon, Xerxes, that he might omit nothing which might contribute to the success of his undertaking, entered into a confederacy with the Carthaginians, who were at that time the most potent people of the west, and made an agreement with them, that whilst the Persian forces should attack Greece, the Carthaginians should fall upon the Grecian colonies that were settled in Sicily and Italy, in order to hinder them from coming to the aid of the other Grecians. The Carthaginians made Amilcar their general, who did not content himself with raising as many troops as he could in Africa, but with the money that Xerxes had sent him, engaged a great number of soldiers out of Spain, Gaul, and Italy, in his service; so that he collected an army of three hundred thousand men, and a proportionate number of ships, in order to execute the projects and stipulations of the league.

Thus Xerxes, agreeably to the prophet (r) Daniel's prediction, *having through his power and his great*

(p) Jer. iv. 7. (q) A. M. 3523. Ant. J. C. 481.
(r) Dan. xi. 2.

riches ſtirred up all the nations of the then known world againſt the realm of Greece, that is to ſay, of all the weſt under the command of Amilcar, and of all the eaſt, that was under his own banner, (*s*) ſet out from Suſa, in order to enter upon this war, in the fifth year of his reign, which was the tenth after the battle of Marathon, and marched towards Sardis, the place of rendezvous for the whole land-army, whilſt the fleet advanced along the coaſts of Aſia Minor towards the Helleſpont.

(*t*) Xerxes had given orders to have a paſſage cut through mount Athos. This is a mountain in Macedonia, now a province of Turkey in Europe, which extends a great way into the Archipelago, in the form of a peninſula. It is joined to the land only by an Iſthmus of about half a league over. We have already taken notice, that the ſea in this place was very tempeſtuous, and occaſioned frequent ſhipwrecks. Xerxes made this his pretext for the orders he gave for cutting through the mountain: but the true reaſon was the vanity of ſignalizing himſelf by an extraordinary enterprize, and by doing a thing that was extremely difficult; as Tacitus ſays of Nero: *erat incredibilium cupitor*. Accordingly Herodotus obſerves, that this undertaking was more vain-glorious than uſeful, ſince he might with leſs trouble and expence have had his veſſels carried over the Iſthmus, as was the practice in thoſe days. The paſſage he cauſed to be cut through the mountain was broad enough to let two galleys with three banks of oars each paſs through it a-breaſt. (*u*) This prince, who was extravagant enough to believe, that all nature and the very elements were under his command, in conſequence of that opinion, writ a letter to mount Athos in the following terms: *Athos, thou proud and aſpiring mountain, that lifteſt up thy head unto the heavens, I adviſe thee not to be ſo audacious, as to put rocks and ſtones, which cannot be cut,*

(*s*) Her. l. 7. c. 26. A. M. 3524. Ant. J. C. 480. (*t*) Ibid. c. 21, 24. (*u*) Plut. de irâ cohib. p. 455.

in the way of my workmen. If thou giveſt them that oppoſition, I ſhall cut thee entirely down, and throw thee headlong into the ſea. (x) At the ſame time he ordered his labourers to be whipt, in order to make them carry on the work the faſter.

(y) A traveller, who lived in the time of Francis the firſt, and who wrote a book in Latin concerning the ſingular and remarkable things he had ſeen in his travels, doubts the truth of this fact, and takes notice, that as he paſſed near mount Athos, he could perceive no traces or footſteps of the work we have been ſpeaking of.

(z) Xerxes, as we have already related, advanced towards Sardis. Having left Cappadocia and paſſed the river Halys, he came to Celene, a city of Phrygia, near which is the ſource of the Mæander. Pythius, a Lydian, had his reſidence in this city, and next to Xerxes was the moſt opulent prince of thoſe times. He entertained Xerxes and his whole army with an incredible magnificence, and made him an offer of all his wealth towards defraying the expences of his expedition. Xerxes, ſurprized and charmed at ſo generous an offer, had the curioſity to enquire to what ſum his riches amounted. Pythius made anſwer, that having the deſign of offering them to his ſervice he had taken an exact account of them, and that the ſilver he had by him amounted to two thouſand * talents, (which make ſix millions French money); and the gold to four millions of Darics †, wanting ſeven thouſand, (that is to ſay, to forty millions of livres, wanting ſeventy thouſand, reckoning ten livres French money to the Daric.) All this money he offered him, telling him, that his revenues were ſufficient for the ſupport of his houſhold. Xerxes made him very hearty acknowledgments, entered into a particular friendſhip with him, and, that he might not be outdone in ge-

(x) Plut. de anim. tranq. p. 470. (y) Bellon. ſingul. rer. obſerv. p. 78. (z) Herod. l. 7. c. 26, 29.

* *About* 133 331 *l. ſterling.* † *About* 1,700,000 *l. ſterling.*

nerоſity,

nerosity, instead of accepting his offers, obliged him to accept of a present of the seven thousand Darics, which were wanting to make up his gold a round sum of four millions.

After such a conduct as this, who would not think that * Pythius's peculiar character and particular virtue had been generosity, and a noble contempt of riches? And yet he was one of the most penurious princes in the world; and, who besides his sordid avarice with regard to himself, was extremely cruel and inhuman to his subjects, whom he kept continually employed in hard and fruitless labour, always digging in the gold and silver mines, which he had in his territories. When he was absent from home, all his subjects went with tears in their eyes to the princess his wife, laid their complaints before her, and implored her assistance. Commiserating their condition, she made use of a very extraordinary method to work upon her husband, and to give him a clear sense and a kind of palpable demonstration of the folly and injustice of his conduct. On his return home, she ordered an entertainment to be prepared for him, very magnificent in appearance, but what in reality was no entertainment. All the courses and services were of gold and silver; and the prince in the midst of all these rich dishes and splendid rarities could not satisfy his hunger. He easily divined the meaning of this ænigma, and began to consider, that the end of gold and silver was not merely to be looked upon, but to be employed and made use of; and that to neglect, as he had done, the business of husbandry and the tilling of lands, by employing all his people in digging and working of mines, was the direct way to bring a famine both upon himself and his country. For the future therefore he only reserved a fifth part of his people for the business of mining. Plutarch has preserved this fact in a treatise, wherein he has collected a great many others to prove the ability and industry of ladies. We have the same disposition

* *Plutarch calls him Pythis.* Plut. de virt. mulier. p. 262.

of mind designed in fabulous story, in the example of a † prince, who reigned in this very country, for whom every thing that he touched was immediately turned into gold, according to the request which he himself had made to the gods, and who by that means was in danger of perishing with hunger.

(*b*) The same prince, who had made such obliging offers to Xerxes, having desired as a favour of him sometime afterwards, that out of his five sons who served in his army, he would be pleased to leave him the eldest, in order to be a support and comfort to him in his old age; the king was so enraged at the proposal, though so reasonable in itself, that he caused the eldest son to be killed before the eyes of his father, giving the latter to understand, that it was a favour he spared him and the rest of his children; and then causing the dead body to be cut in two, and one part to be placed on the right, and the other on the left, he made the whole army pass between them, as if he meant to purge and purify it by such a sacrifice. What a monster in nature is a prince of this kind! How is it possible to have any dependance upon the friendship of the great, or to rely upon their warmest professions and protestations of gratitude and service?

(*c*) From Phrygia Xerxes marched, and arrived at Sardis, where he spent the winter. From hence he sent heralds to all the cities of Greece, except Athens and Lacedæmon, to require them to give him earth and water, which, as we have taken notice before, was the way of exacting and acknowledging submission.

Assoon as the spring of the year came on, he left Sardis, and directed his march towards the Hellespont. (*d*) Being arrived there, he was desirous to see a naval engagement for his curiosity and diversion. To this end, a throne was erected for him upon an emi-

(*b*) Her. l. 7. c. 38, 39. Sen. de ira, l. 3. c. 17. (*c*) Her. l. 7. c. 30—32. (*d*) Ibid. c. 44 & 46.

† *Midas king of Phrygia.*

nence;

nence; and in that ſituation, ſeeing all the ſea crowded with his veſſels, and the land covered with his troops, he at firſt felt a ſecret joy diffuſe itſelf through his ſoul, in ſurveying with his own eyes the vaſt extent of his power, and conſidering himſelf as the moſt happy of mortals: but reflecting ſoon afterwards, that of ſo many thouſands, in an hundred years time there would not be one living ſoul remaining, his joy was turned into grief, and he could not forbear weeping at the uncertainty and inſtability of human things. He might have found another ſubject of reflection, which would have more juſtly merited his tears and affliction, had he turned his thoughts upon himſelf, and conſidered the reproaches he deſerved for being the inſtrument of ſhortning that fatal term to millions of people, whom his cruel ambition was going to ſacrifice in an unjuſt and unneceſſary war.

Artabanes, who neglected no opportunity of making himſelf uſeful to the young prince, and of inſtilling into him ſentiments of goodneſs for his people, laid hold of this moment, in which he found him touched with a ſenſe of tenderneſs and humanity, and led him into further reflections upon the miſeries with which the lives of moſt men are attended, and which render them ſo painful and unhappy; endeavouring at the ſame time to make him ſenſible of the duty and obligation of princes, who, not being able to prolong the natural life of their ſubjects, ought at leaſt to do all that lies in their power, to alleviate the pains, and allay the bitterneſs of it.

In the ſame converſation Xerxes aſked his uncle if he ſtill perſiſted in his firſt opinion, and if he would ſtill adviſe him not to make war againſt Greece, ſuppoſing he had not ſeen the viſion, which occaſioned him to change his ſentiments. Artabanes owned, he ſtill had his fears; and that he was very uneaſy concerning two things. What are thoſe two things, replies Xerxes? The land and the ſea, ſays Artabanes: the land, becauſe there is no country that can feed and

maintain ſo numerous an army; the ſea, becauſe there are no ports capable of receiving ſuch a multitude of veſſels. The king was very ſenſible of the ſtrength of this reaſoning; but, as it was now too late to go back, he made anſwer, that in great undertakings men ought not ſo narrowly to examine all the inconveniences that may attend them; that if they did, no ſignal enterprizes would ever be attempted; and that if his predeceſſors had obſerved ſo ſcrupulous and timorous a rule of policy, the Perſian empire would never have attained its preſent height of greatneſs and glory.

Artabanes gave the king another piece of very prudent advice, which he thought fit to follow no more than he had done the former: this advice was, not to employ the Ionians in his ſervice againſt the Grecians, from whom they were originally deſcended, and on which account he ought to ſuſpect their fidelity. Xerxes, however, after theſe converſations with his uncle, treated him with great friendſhip, paid him the higheſt marks of honour and reſpect, ſent him back to Suſa to take the care and adminiſtration of the empire upon him during his own abſence, and to that end veſted him with his whole authority.

(c) Xerxes, at a vaſt expence, had cauſed a bridge of boats to be built upon the ſea, for the paſſage of his forces from Aſia into Europe. The ſpace that ſeparates the two continents, formerly called the Helleſpont, and now called the ſtreights of the Dardanells, or of Gallipoli, is ſeven ſtadia's in breadth, which is near an Engliſh mile. A violent ſtorm riſing on a ſudden, ſoon after broke down the bridge. Xerxes hearing this news on his arrival, fell into a tranſport of paſſion; and in order to avenge himſelf of ſo cruel an affront, commanded two pair of chains to be thrown into the ſea, as if he meant to ſhackle and confine it, and that his men ſhould give it three hundred ſtrokes of a whip, and ſpeak to it in this manner: *Thou troubleſome and unhappy element, thus does thy maſter chaſtiſe*

(c) Her. l. 7. c. 33—36.

thee

thee for having affronted him without reaſon. Know, that Xerxes will eaſily find means to paſs over thy waters in ſpite of all thy billows and reſiſtance. The extravagance of this prince did not ſtop here; but making the undertakers of the work anſwerable for events, which do not in the leaſt depend upon the power of man, he ordered all the perſons to have their heads ſtruck off, that had been charged with the direction and management of that undertaking.

(*f*) Xerxes commanded two other bridges to be built, one for the army to paſs over, and the other for the baggage and beaſts of burden. He appointed workmen more able and expert than the former, who went about it in this manner. They placed three hundred and ſixty veſſels acroſs, ſome of them having three banks of oars, and other fifty oars a-piece, with their ſides turned towards the Euxine ſea; and on the ſide that faced the Ægæan ſea they put three hundred and fourteen. They then caſt large anchors into the water on both ſides, in order to fix and ſecure all theſe veſſels againſt the violence of the winds, and againſt the current * of the water. On the eaſt ſide they left three paſſages or vacant ſpaces between the veſſels, that there might be room for ſmall boats to go and come eaſily, as there was occaſion, to and from the Euxine ſea. After this upon the land on both ſides they drove large piles into the earth, with huge rings faſtened to them, to which were tied ſix vaſt cables, which went over each of the two bridges; two of which cables were made of hemp, and four of a ſort of reeds, called βίβλος, which were made uſe of in thoſe times for the making of cordage. Thoſe that were made of hemp muſt have been of an extraordinary ſtrength and thickneſs, ſince every cubit of thoſe cables weighed a

(*f*) Her. l. 7. c. 33—36.

* *Polybius remarks, that there is a current of water from the lake Mæotis and the Euxine ſea into the Ægæan ſea, occaſioned by the rivers, which empty themſelves into thoſe two ſeas.* Pol. l. 4. pag. 307, 308.

talent *. The cables laid over the whole extent of the veſſels lengthwiſe, reached from one ſide to the other of the ſea. When this part of the work was finiſhed quite over the veſſels lengthwiſe, and over the cables we have been ſpeaking of, they laid the trunks of trees, cut purpoſely for that uſe, and flat boats again over them, faſtened and joined together, to ſerve as a kind of floor or ſolid bottom: all which they covered over with earth, and added rails or battlements on each ſide, that the horſes and cattle might not be frightned with ſeeing the ſea in their paſſage. This was the form of thoſe famous bridges built by Xerxes.

When the whole work was compleated, a day was appointed for their paſſing over. And aſſoon as the firſt rays of the ſun began to appear, ſweet odours of all kinds were abundantly ſpread over both the bridges, and the way was ſtrewed with myrtle. At the ſame time Xerxes poured out libations into the ſea, and turning his face towards the ſun, the principal object of the Perſian worſhip, he implored the aſſiſtance of that god in the enterprize he had undertaken, and deſired the continuance of his protection till he had made the entire conqueſt of Europe, and had brought it into ſubjection to his power: this done, he threw the veſſel, which he uſed in making his libations, together with a golden cup, and a Perſian ſcymitar, into the ſea. The army was ſeven days and ſeven nights in paſſing over theſe ſtreights; thoſe who were appointed to conduct the march, laſhing the poor ſoldiers all the while with whips, in order to quicken their ſpeed, according to the cuſtom of that nation, which properly ſpeaking was only an huge aſſemblage of ſlaves.

* *A talent in weight conſiſted of 60 minæ, that is to ſay, of 42 pounds of our weight; and the mina conſiſted of 100 drachms.*

SECT.

SECT. III. *The number of Xerxes's forces. Demaratus delivers his sentiments freely upon that prince's enterprize.*

(g) XERXES directing his march acroſs the Thracian Cherſoneſus, arrived at Dor, a city ſtanding at the mouth of the Hebrus in Thrace; where, having incamped his army, and given orders for his fleet to follow him along the ſhore, he reviewed them both.

He found the land-army, which he had brought out of Aſia, conſiſted of ſeventeen hundred thouſand foot, and of fourſcore thouſand horſe, which with twenty thouſand men that were abſolutely neceſſary at leaſt for conducting and taking care of the carriages and the camels, made in all eighteen hundred thouſand men. When he had paſſed the Helleſpont, the other nations that ſubmitted to him, made an addition to his army of three hundred thouſand men; which made all his land-forces together amount to two millions one hundred thouſand men.

His fleet, as it was when it ſet out from Aſia, conſiſted of twelve hundred and ſeven veſſels, or galleys, all of three banks of oars, and intended for fighting. Each veſſel carried two hundred men, natives of the country that fitted them out, beſides thirty more, that were either Perſians or Medes, or of the Sacæ: which made in all two hundred and ſeventy ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and ten men. The European nations augmented his fleet with an hundred and twenty veſſels, each of which carried two hundred men, in all four and twenty thouſand: theſe added to the other amount together to three hundred and one thouſand ſix hundred and ten men.

Beſides this fleet, which conſiſted all of large veſſels, the ſmall galleys of thirty and fifty oars, the tranſport ſhips, the veſſels that carried the proviſions, and that were employed in other uſes, amounted to

(g) Her. l. 7. c. 56—99. & 184—187.

three thouſand. If we reckon but eighty men in each of theſe veſſels, one with another, that made in the whole two hundred and forty thouſand men.

Thus when Xerxes arrived at Thermopylæ, his land and ſea-forces together made up the number of two millions, ſix hundred and forty one thouſand, ſix hundred and ten men, without including ſervants, eunuchs, women, ſutlers, and other people of that ſort, which uſually follow an army, and of which the number at this time was equal to that of the forces: ſo that the whole number of ſouls that followed Xerxes in this expedition, amounted to five millions, two hundred eighty-three thouſand two hundred and twenty. This is the computation which Herodotus makes of them, and in which Plutarch and Iſocrates agree with him. (*b*) Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, Ælian and others, fall very ſhort of this number in their calculation: but their accounts of the matter appear to be leſs authentic than that of Herodotus, who liv'd in the ſame age this expedition was made, and who repeats the inſcription engraved by the order of the Amphictyons, upon the monument of thoſe Grecians who were killed at Thermopylæ, which expreſſed that they fought againſt three millions of men.

(*i*) For the ſuſtenance of all theſe perſons there muſt be every day conſumed, according to Herodotus's computation, above an hundred and ten thouſand three hundred and forty medimni's of flour, (the medimnus was a meaſure, which according to Budæus was equivalent to ſix of our buſhels) allowing for every head the quantity of a chœnix, which was the daily portion or allowance that maſters gave their ſlaves among the Grecians. We have no account in hiſtory of any other army ſo numerous as this. And amongſt all theſe millions of men, there was not one that could vie with Xerxes in point of beauty, either for the comelineſs of his face, or the tallneſs of his perſon.

(*b*) Diod. l. 11. p. 3. Plin. l. 33. c. 10. Ælian. l. 13. c. 3.
(*i*) Her. l. 7. c. 187.

But

But this is a poor merit or pre-eminence for a prince, when attended with no other. Accordingly Juſtin, after he has mentioned the number of theſe troops, adds, that this vaſt body of forces wanted a chief: *Huic tanto agmini dux defuit.*

We ſhould hardly be able to conceive how it was poſſible to find a ſufficient quantity of proviſions for ſuch an immenſe number of perſons, if the (*k*) hiſtorian had not informed us, that Xerxes had employed four whole years in making preparations for this expedition. We have ſeen already how many veſſels of burthen there were, that coaſted along continually to attend upon and ſupply the land-army: and doubtleſs there were freſh ones arriving every day, that furniſhed the camp with a ſufficient plenty of all things neceſſary.

(*l*) Herodotus acquaints us with the method they made uſe of to calculate their forces, which were almoſt innumerable. They aſſembled ten thouſand men in a particular place, and ranked them as cloſe together as was poſſible; after which they deſcribed a circle quite round them, and erected a little wall upon that circle about half the height of a man's body: when this was done, they made the whole army ſucceſſively paſs through this ſpace, and thereby knew to what number it amounted.

Herodotus gives us alſo a particular account of the different armour of all the nations this army conſiſted of. Beſides the generals of every nation, who each of them commanded the troops of their reſpective country, the land-army was under the command of ſix Perſian generals; *viz.* Mardonius, the ſon of Gobryas; Tirintatechmus, the ſon of Artabanes, and Sinerdonus, ſon to Otanes, both near relations to the king; Maſiſtus, ſon of Darius and Atoſſa; Gergis, ſon of Ariazes; and Megabyzus, ſon of Zopyrus. The ten thouſand Perſians, who were called the im-

(*k*) Her. l. 7. c. 20. (*l*) Ibid. c. 60.

mo tal

mortal band, were commanded by Hydarnes. The cavalry had its particular commanders.

There were likewiſe four Perſian generals who commanded the fleet. In (*m*) Herodotus we have a particular account of all the nations by which it was fitted out. Artemiſa queen of Halicarnaſſus, who from the death of her huſband governed the kingdom for her ſon, that was ſtill a minor, brought but five veſſels along with her; but they were the beſt equipped, and the lighteſt ſhips in the whole fleet, next to thoſe of the Sidonians. This princeſs diſtinguiſhed herſelf in this war by her ſingular courage, and ſtill more by her prudence and conduct. Herodotus obſerves, that among all the commanders in the army, there was not one who gave Xerxes ſo good advice and ſuch wiſe counſel as this queen: but he was not prudent enough to apply it to his advantage.

When Xerxes had numbered his whole forces by land and ſea, he aſked Demaratus, if he thought the Grecians would dare to expect him. I have already taken notice, that this Demaratus was one of the two kings of Sparta, who being exil'd by the faction of his enemies, had taken refuge at the Perſian court, where he was entertained with the greateſt marks of honour and beneficence. (*n*) As the courtiers were one day expreſſing their ſurprize that a king ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be baniſhed, and deſired him to acquaint them with the reaſon of it: *It is*, ſays he, *becauſe the law is more powerful than the kings at Sparta.* This prince was very much conſidered in Perſia: but neither the injuſtice of the Spartan citizens, nor the kind treatment of the Perſian king, could make him forget his country *. Aſſoon as he knew that Xerxes was making preparations for the war, he found means to give the Grecians ſecret intelligence of it. And now being obliged on this occaſion to ſpeak his ſentiments to the

(*m*) Her. l. 7. c. 89, 99. (*n*) Plut. in Apoph. Lacon. p. 220.

* Amicior patriæ poſt fugam, quàm regi poſt beneficia. *Juſtin.*

king, he did it with ſuch a noble freedom and dignity, as became a Spartan, and a king of Sparta.

(o) Demaratus, before he anſwered the king's queſtion, deſired to know whether it was his pleaſure that he ſhould flatter him, or that he ſhould ſpeak his thoughts to him freely and truly. Xerxes having declared that he deſired him to act with entire ſincerity, he ſpoke in the following terms: "Great prince, "ſays Demaratus, ſince it is agreeable to your plea- "ſure and commands, I ſhall deliver my ſentiments "to you with the utmoſt truth and ſincerity. It "muſt be confeſſed, that from the beginning of time, "Greece has been trained up, and accuſtomed to po- "verty: but then ſhe has introduced and eſtabliſhed "virtue within her territories, which wiſdom culti- "vates, and the vigour of her laws maintains. And "it is by the uſe, which Greece knows how to make "of this virtue, that ſhe equally defends herſelf againſt "the inconveniences of poverty, and the yoke of "ſervitude. But, to ſpeak only of the Lacedæmo- "nians, my particular countrymen, you may aſſure "yourſelf, that as they are born and bred up in li- "berty, they will never hearken to any propoſals "that tend to ſlavery. Though they were deſerted "and abandoned by all the other Grecians, and re- "duced to a band of a thouſand men, or even to a "more inconſiderable number, they will ſtill come "out to meet you, and not refuſe to give you battle." Xerxes upon hearing this diſcourſe fell a laughing: and as he could not comprehend how men, in ſuch a ſtate of liberty and independence, as the Lacedæmonians were deſcribed to enjoy, who had no maſter to force and compel them to it, could be capable of expoſing themſelves in ſuch a manner to danger and death; Demaratus replied: (p) "The Spartans indeed "are free, and under no ſubjection to the will of any "man; but at the ſame time they have laws, to "which they are ſubject, and of which they ſtand

(o) Her. l. 7. c. 101, 105. (p) Ibid. c. 145, 146.

"in

" in greater awe than your ſubjects do of your ma-
" jeſty. Now by theſe laws they are forbid ever to
" fly in battle, let the number of their enemies be
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Xerxes was not offended at the liberty wherewith Demaratus ſpoke to him, and continued his march.

SECT. IV. *The Lacedæmonians and Athenians ſend to their allies in vain to require ſuccours from them. The command of the fleet given to the Lacedæmonians.*

(q) LACEDÆMON and Athens, which were the two moſt powerful cities of Greece, and the cities againſt which Xerxes was moſt exaſperated, were not indolent or aſleep, whilſt ſo formidable an enemy was approaching. Having received intelligence long before of the deſigns of this prince, they had ſent ſpies to Sardis, in order to have a more exact information of the number and quality of his forces. Theſe ſpies were ſeized, and as they were juſt going to be put to death, Xerxes countermanded it, and gave orders that they ſhould be conducted through his army, and then ſent back without any harm being done to them. At their return the Grecians underſtood what they had to apprehend from ſo potent an enemy.

They ſent deputies at the ſame time to Argos, into Sicily to Gelon tyrant of Syracuſe, to the iſles of Corcyra and Crete, to deſire ſuccours from them, and to form a league againſt the common enemy.

(r) The people of Argos offered a very conſiderable ſuccour, on condition they ſhould have an equal ſhare of the authority and command with the Lacedæmonians. The latter conſented, that the king of Argos ſhould have the ſame authority as either of the two kings of Sparta. This was granting them a great deal: but into what errors and miſchiefs are not men led by a miſtaken point of honour, and a fooliſh jealouſy of command! The Argives were not con-

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tented

tented with this offer, and refuſed to enter into the league with the Grecians, without conſidering, that if they ſuffered them to be deſtroyed, their own ruin muſt inevitably follow.

(*s*) The deputies proceeded from Argos to Sicily, and addreſſed themſelves to Gelon, who was the moſt potent prince of the Greeks at that time. He promiſed to aſſiſt them with two hundred veſſels of three benches of oars, with an army of twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, two thouſand light-armed ſoldiers, and the ſame number of bow-men and ſlingers, and to ſupply the Grecian army with proviſions during the whole war, on condition they would make him generaliſſimo of all the forces both by land and ſea. The Lacedæmonians were highly offended at ſuch a propoſal. Gelon then abated ſomewhat in his demands, and promiſed the ſame, provided he had at leaſt the command either of the fleet or of the army. This propoſal was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the Athenians, who made anſwer, that they alone had a right to command the fleet, in caſe the Lacedæmonians were willing to give it up. Gelon had a more ſubſtantial reaſon for not leaving Sicily unprovided of troops, which was the approach of the formidable army of the Carthaginians, commanded by Amilcar, that conſiſted of three hundred thouſand men.

(*t*) The inhabitants of Corcyra, now called Corfu, gave the envoys a more favourable anſwer, and immediately put to ſea with a fleet of ſixty veſſels. But they advanced no farther than to the coaſts of Laconia, pretending they were hindered by contrary winds, but in reality waiting to ſee the ſucceſs of an engagement, that they might afterwards range themſelves on the ſide of the conqueror.

(*u*) The people of Crete, having conſulted the Delphic oracle, to know what reſolution they were to take on this occaſion, abſolutely refuſed to enter into the league.

(*s*) Ibid. c. 153—162. (*t*) Ibid. c. 168. (*u*) Ibid. c. 169—171.

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(x) Thus were the Lacedæmonians and Athenians left almoſt to themſelves, all the reſt of the cities and nations having ſubmitted to the heralds, that Xerxes had ſent to require earth and water of them, excepting the people of Theſpia and of Platæa. (y) In ſo preſſing a danger, their firſt care was to put an end to all diſcord and diviſion among themſelves; for which reaſon the Athenians made peace with the people of Ægina, with whom they were actually at war.

(z) Their next care was to appoint a general: for there never was any occaſion wherein it was more neceſſary to chooſe one, capable of ſo important a truſt, than in the preſent conjuncture, when Greece was upon the point of being attacked by the whole forces of Aſia. The moſt able and experienced captains, terrify'd at the greatneſs of the danger, had taken the reſolution of not preſenting themſelves as candidates. There was a certain citizen at Athens, whoſe name was Epicydes, that had ſome eloquence, but in other reſpects was a perſon of no merit, was in diſreputation for his want of courage, and notorious for his avarice. Notwithſtanding all which it was apprehended, that in

ſent ſtate of affairs he was the only perſon capable of commanding, did for that reaſon make no ſcruple of employing bribes and preſents to remove his competitor: * and having found means to make the ambition of Epicydes amends, by gratifying his avarice, he got himſelf elected general in his ſtead. We may here, I think, very juſtly apply to Themiſtocles what Titus Livius ſays of Fabius on a like occaſion. This great commander finding, when Hannibal was in the heart of Italy, that the people were going to make a man of no merit conſul, employed all his own credit, as well as that of his friends, to be continued in the conſulſhip, without being concerned at the clamour that might be raiſed againſt him; and he ſucceeded in the attempt. The hiſtorian adds, "† The con-
"juncture of affairs, and the extreme danger the
"commonwealth was expoſed to, were arguments of
"ſuch weight, that they prevented any one from
"being offended at a conduct, which might appear
"to be contrary to rules, and removed all ſuſpicion
"of Fabius's having acted upon any motive of inte-
"reſt or ambition. On the contrary, the public ad-
"[illegible] his [illegible] & ſoul, in that

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Thus

(x) Thus were the Lacedæmonians and Athenians left almoſt to themſelves, all the reſt of the cities and nations having ſubmitted to the heralds, that Xerxes had ſent to require earth and water of them, excepting the people of Theſpia and of Platæa. (y) In ſo preſſing a danger, their firſt care was to put an end to all diſcord and diviſion among themſelves; for which reaſon the Athenians made peace with the people of Ægina, with whom they were actually at war.

(z) Their next care was to appoint a general: for there never was any occaſion wherein it was more neceſſary to chooſe one, capable of ſo important a truſt, than in the preſent conjuncture, when Greece was upon the point of being attacked by the whole forces of Aſia. The moſt able and experienced captains, terrify'd at the greatneſs of the danger, had taken the reſolution of not preſenting themſelves as candidates. There was a certain citizen at Athens, whoſe name was Epicydes, that had ſome eloquence, but in other reſpects was a perſon of no merit, was in diſreputation for his want of courage, and notorious for his avarice. Notwithſtanding all which it was apprehended, that in the aſſembly of the people the votes would run in his favour. Themiſtocles, who was ſenſible, * that in calm weather almoſt any mariner may be capable of conducting a veſſel, but that in ſtorms and tempeſts the moſt able pilots are at a loſs, was convinced, that the commonwealth was ruined, if Epicydes was choſen general, whoſe venal and mercenary ſoul gave them the juſteſt reaſon to fear, that he was not proof againſt the Perſian gold. There are occaſions, when, in order to act wiſely, (I had almoſt ſaid regularly) it is neceſſary to diſpenſe with and riſe above all rule. Themiſtocles, who knew very well that in the pre-

(x) Ibid. c. 132. (y) Ibid. c. 145. (z) Plut. in Themiſt. p. 114.

* Quilibet nautarum vectorumque tranquillo mari gubernare poteſt: ubi orta ſæva tempeſtas eſt, ac turbato mari rapitur vento navis, tum viro & gubernatore opus eſt. *Liv.* l. 24. n. 8.

ſent

ſent ſtate of affairs he was the only perſon capable of commanding, did for that reaſon make no ſcruple of employing bribes and preſents to remove his competitor: * and having found means to make the ambition of Epicydes amends, by gratifying his avarice, he got himſelf elected general in his ſtead. We may here, I think, very juſtly apply to Themiſtocles what Titus Livius ſays of Fabius on a like occaſion. This great commander finding, when Hannibal was in the heart of Italy, that the people were going to make a man of no merit conſul, employed all his own credit, as well as that of his friends, to be continued in the conſulſhip, without being concerned at the clamour that might be raiſed againſt him; and he ſucceeded in the attempt. The hiſtorian adds, "† The con-
" juncture of affairs, and the extreme danger the
" commonwealth was expoſed to, were arguments of
" ſuch weight, that they prevented any one from
" being offended at a conduct, which might appear
" to be contrary to rules, and removed all ſuſpicion
" of Fabius's having acted upon any motive of inte-
" reſt or ambition. On the contrary, the public ad-
" mired his generoſity and greatneſs of ſoul, in that,
" as he knew the commonwealth had occaſion for an
" accompliſhed general, and could not be ignorant or
" doubtful of his own ſingular merit in that reſpect,
" he had choſen rather in ſome ſort to hazard his own
" reputation, and perhaps expoſe his character to the
" reproaches of envious tongues, than to be wanting
" in any ſervice he could render his country."

(*a*) The Athenians alſo paſſed a decree to recal home all their people that were in baniſhment. They were

(*a*) Plut. in Ariſt. p. 322, 323.

* Χρήμασι τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐξωνήσατο παρὰ τοῦ Ἐπιχύδου.

† Tempus ac neceſſitas belli, ac diſcrimen ſummæ rerum, faciebant ne quis aut in exemplum exquireret, aut ſuſpectum cupiditatis imperii conſulem haberet. Quin laudabant potiùs magnitudinem animi, quòd, cùm ſummo imperatore eſſe opus reip. ſciret, ſeque eum haud dubiè eſſe, minoris invidiam ſuam, ſi qua ex re oriretur, quàm utilitatem reip. feciſſet. *Liv.* l. 24. n. 9.

afraid,

afraid, leſt Ariſtides ſhould join their enemies, and leſt his credit ſhould carry over a great many others to the ſide of the Barbarians. But they had a very falſe notion of their citizen, who was infinitely remote from ſuch ſentiments. Be that as it would, on this extraordinary juncture they thought fit to recal him: and Themiſtocles was ſo far from oppoſing the decree for that purpoſe, that he promoted it with all his credit and authority. The hatred and diviſion of theſe great men had nothing in them of that implacable, bitter, and outragious ſpirit, which prevailed among the Romans in the later times of the republic. The danger of the ſtate was the means of their reconciliation, and when their ſervice was neceſſary to the preſervation of the public, they laid aſide all their jealouſy and rancour: and we ſhall ſee by the ſequel, that Ariſtides was ſo far from ſecretly thwarting his antient rival, that he zealouſly contributed to the ſucceſs of his enterprizes, and to the advancement of his glory.

The alarm increaſed in Greece, in proportion as they received advice that the Perſian army advanced. If the Athenians and Lacedæmonians had been able to make no other reſiſtance than with their land-forces, Greece had been utterly ruined and reduced to ſlavery. This exigence taught them how to ſet a right value upon the prudent foreſight of Themiſtocles, who upon ſome other pretext had cauſed an hundred galleys to be built. Inſtead of judging like the reſt of the Athenians, who looked upon the victory of Marathon as the end of the war, he on the contrary conſidered it rather as the beginning, or as the ſignal of ſtill greater battles, for which it was neceſſary to prepare the Athenian people: and from that very time he began to think of raiſing Athens to a ſuperiority over Sparta, which for a long time had been the miſtreſs of all Greece. With this view he judged it expedient to make the Athenian power entirely maritime, perceiving very plainly that as ſhe was ſo weak by land, ſhe had no other way to render

render herſelf neceſſary to her allies, or formidable to her enemies. His opinion herein prevailed among the people in ſpite of the oppoſition of Miltiades, whoſe difference of opinion undoubtedly aroſe from the little probability there was, that a people entirely unacquainted with fighting at ſea, and that were only capable of fitting out and arming very ſmall veſſels, ſhould be able to withſtand ſo formidable a power, as that of the Perſians, who had both a numerous land-army, and a fleet of above a thouſand ſhips.

(*b*) The Athenians had ſome ſilver mines in a part of Attica, called Laurium, the whole revenues and products of which uſed to be diſtributed amongſt them. Themiſtocles had the courage to propoſe to the people, that they ſhould aboliſh theſe diſtributions, and employ that money in building veſſels with three benches of oars, in order to make war upon the people of *Æ*gina, againſt whom he endeavoured to enflame their antient jealouſy. No people are ever willing to ſacrifice their private intereſts to the general utility of the public: for they ſeldom have ſo much generoſity or public ſpirit, as to purchaſe the welfare or preſervation of the ſtate at their own expence. The Athenian people however did it upon this occaſion: moved by the lively remonſtrances of Themiſtocles, they conſented, that the money which aroſe from the product of the mines ſhould be employed in the building of an hundred galleys. Againſt the arrival of Xerxes they doubled the number, and to that fleet Greece owed its preſervation.

(*c*) When they came to the point of naming a general for the command of the navy, the Athenians, who alone had furniſhed the two thirds of it, laid claim to that honour, as appertaining to them, and their pretenſions were certainly juſt and well grounded. It happened, however, that the ſuffrages of the allies all concurred in favour of Eurybiades a Lacedæmonian. Themiſtocles, though very aſpiring after glory, thought it

(*b*) Plut. in Themiſt. p. 113. (*c*) Her. l. 8. c. 213.

incumbent

incumbent upon him on this occaſion to neglect his own intereſts for the common good of the nation: and giving the Athenians to underſtand, that, provided they behaved themſelves with courage and conduct, all the Grecians would quickly deſire to confer the command upon them of their own accord, he perſuaded them to conſent, as he would do himſelf, to give up that point at preſent to the Spartans. It may juſtly be ſaid, that this prudent moderation in Themiſtocles was another means of ſaving the ſtate. For the allies threatened to ſeparate themſelves from them, if they refuſed to comply; and if that had happened, Greece muſt have been inevitably ruined.

SECT. V. *The battle of Thermopylæ. The death of Leonidas.*

(*d*) THE only thing that now remained to be diſcuſſed, was to know in what place they ſhould reſolve to meet the Perſians, in order to diſpute their entrance into Greece. The people of Theſſaly repreſented, that as they were the moſt expoſed, and likely to be firſt attacked by the enemy, it was but reaſonable, that their defence and ſecurity, on which the ſafety of all Greece ſo much depended, ſhould firſt be provided for; without which they ſhould be obliged to take other meaſures, that would be contrary to their inclinations, but yet abſolutely neceſſary, in caſe their country was left unprotected and defenceleſs. It was hereupon reſolved, that ten thouſand men ſhould be ſent to guard the paſſage which ſeparates Macedonia from Theſſaly, near the river Peneus, between the mountains of Olympus and Oſſa. But Alexander, the ſon of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, having given them to underſtand, that if they waited for the Perſians in that place, they muſt inevitably be overpowered by their numbers, they retired to Thermopylæ. The Theſſalians finding themſelves thus abandoned, without any farther deliberation ſubmitted to the Perſians.

(*d*) A. M. 3524. Ant. J. C. 480. Her. l. 7. c. 172, 173.

Ther-

(*e*) Thermopylæ is a ſtrait or narrow paſs of mount Œta, between Theſſaly and Phocis, but twenty-five foot broad, which therefore might be defended by a ſmall number of forces, and which was the only way through which the Perſian land-army could enter Achaia, and advance to beſiege Athens. This was the place where the Grecian army thought fit to wait for the enemy: the perſon who commanded it was Leonidas, one of the two kings of Sparta.

(*f*) Xerxes in the mean time was upon his march: he had given orders for his fleet to follow him along the coaſt, and to regulate their motions according to thoſe of the land-army. Wherever he came, he found proviſions and refreſhments prepared beforehand purſuant to the orders he had ſent: and every city he arrived at gave him a magnificent entertainment, which coſt immenſe ſums of money. The vaſt expence of theſe treats gave occaſion to a witty ſaying of a certain citizen of Abdera in Thrace, who, when the king was gone, ſaid, they ought to thank the gods, that he ate but one meal a day.

(*g*) In the ſame country of Thrace, there was a prince who ſhewed an extraordinary greatneſs of ſoul on this occaſion: it was the king of the Biſaltes. Whilſt all the other princes ran into ſervitude, and baſely ſubmitted to Xerxes, he bravely refuſed to receive his yoke, or to obey him. Not being in a condition to reſiſt him with open force, he retired to the top of the mountain Rhodope, into an inacceſſible place, and forbad all his ſons, who were ſix in number, to carry arms againſt Greece. But they, either out of fear of Xerxes, or out of curioſity to ſee ſo important a war, followed the Perſians in contradiction to their father's injunction. On their return home, their father to puniſh ſo direct a diſobedience, condemned all his ſons to have their eyes put out. Xerxes continued his march through Thrace, Macedonia and Theſſaly,

(*e*) Her. l. 7. c. 175, 177. (*f*) Ibid. c. 108, 132.
(*g*) Her. l. 8. c. 116.

every

every thing giving way before him till he came to the ſtreight of Thermopylæ.

(*b*) One cannot ſee without the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, with what an handful of troops the Grecians oppoſed the innumerable army of Xerxes. We find a particular account of their number in Pauſanias. All their forces joined together, amounted only to eleven thouſand two hundred men. Of which number four thouſand only were employed at Thermopylæ to defend the paſs. But theſe ſoldiers, adds the hiſtorian, were all determined to a man either to conquer or die. And what is it, that an army of ſuch reſolution is not able to effect?

(*i*) When Xerxes advanced near the ſtreights of Thermopylæ, he was ſtrangely ſurprized to find, that they were prepared to diſpute his paſſage. He had always flattered himſelf, that on the firſt hearing of his arrival, the Grecians would betake themſelves to flight; nor could he ever be perſuaded to believe, what Demaratus had told him from the beginning of his project, that at the firſt paſs he came to, he would find his whole army ſtopped by an handful of men. He ſent out a ſpy before him to take a view of the enemy. The ſpy brought him word, that he found the Lacedæmonians out of their intrenchments, and that they were diverting themſelves with military exerciſes, and combing their hair: this was the Spartan manner of preparing themſelves for battle.

Xerxes, ſtill entertaining ſome hopes of their flight, waited four days on purpoſe to give them time to retreat. (*k*) And in this interval of time he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to gain Leonidas, by making him magnificent promiſes, and aſſuring him, that he would make him maſter of all Greece, if he would come over to his party. Leonidas rejected his propoſal with ſcorn and indignation. Xerxes having afterwards wrote to him to deliver up his arms, Leonidas,

(*b*) Pauſ. l. 10. p. 645. Dicd. l. 11. p. 5, 10.

(*i*) Her. l. 7. c. 207—231.

(*k*) Plut. in Lacon. Apoph. p. 225.

in a ſtile and ſpirit truly Laconical, anſwered him in two words: * *Come and take them.* Nothing remained, but to prepare themſelves to engage the Lacedæmonians. Xerxes firſt commanded his Median forces to march againſt them, with orders to take them all alive and bring them to him. Theſe Medes were not able to ſtand the charge of the Grecians; and being ſhamefully put to flight, they ſhewed, ſays Herodotus †, that Xerxes had a great many men, and but few ſoldiers. The next that were ſent to face the Spartans, were thoſe Perſians called the immortal band, which conſiſted of ten thouſand men, and were the beſt troops in the whole army. But theſe had no better ſucceſs than the former.

Xerxes, out of all hopes of being able to force his way through troops ſo determined to conquer or die, was extremely perplexed, and could not tell what reſolution to take, when an inhabitant of the country came to him, and diſcovered a ſecret ‖ path to the top of an eminence, which overlooked and commanded the Spartan forces. He quickly diſpatched a detachment thither, which marching all night, arrived there at the break of day, and poſſeſſed themſelves of that advantagious poſt.

The Greeks were ſoon apprized of this misfortune: and Leonidas ſeeing, that it was now impoſſible to repulſe the enemy, obliged the reſt of the allies to retire, but ſtayed himſelf with his three hundred Lacedæmonians, all reſolved to die with their leader, who being told by the oracle, that either Lacedæmon or her king muſt neceſſarily periſh, determined without the leaſt difficulty or heſitation to ſacrifice himſelf for his country. The Spartans loſt all hopes either of con-

* Ἀντέγραψε, Μολὼν λάβε.

† Ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι εἶεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες.

Quod multi homines eſſent, pauci autem viri.

‖ *When the Gauls, two hundred years after this, came to invade Greece, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſtreights of Thermopylæ by means of the ſame by-path, which the Grecians had ſtill neglected to ſecure.* Pauſan. l. 1. p. 7 & 8.

quering

quering or escaping, and looked upon Thermopylæ as their burying-place. The king, exhorting his men to take some nourishment, and telling them at the same time, that they should sup together with Pluto, they set up a shout of joy, as if they had been invited to a banquet, and full of ardour advanced with their king to battle. The shock was exceeding violent and bloody. Leonidas himself was one of the first that fell. The endeavours of the Lacedæmonians to defend his dead body, were incredible. At length, not vanquished, but oppressed by numbers, they all fell, except one man, who escaped to Sparta, where he was treated as a coward and traytor to his country, and no body would keep company or converse with him. But soon afterwards he made a glorious amends for his fault at the battle of Platæa, where he distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner. (*l*) Xerxes enraged to the last degree against Leonidas for daring to make head against him, caused his dead body to be hung up on a gallows, and made his intended dishonour of his enemy his own immortal shame.

Some time after these transactions, by order of the Amphictyons, a magnificent monument was erected at Thermopylæ to the honour of these brave defenders of Greece, and upon the monument were two inscriptions, one of which was general, and related to all those that died at Thermopylæ, importing, that the Greeks of Peloponnesus, to the number only of four thousand, had made head against the Persian army, which consisted of three millions of men: the other related to the Spartans in particular. It was composed by the poet Simonides, and is very remarkable for its simplicity. It is as follows:

* Ὦ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τῇ δὲ
Κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων πειθόμενοι νομίμοις.

(*l*) Her. l. 7. c. 238.

* Pari animo Lacedæmonii in Thermopylis occiderunt, in quos Simonides:

Dic, hospes, Spartæ nos te hic vidisse jacentes,
Dum sanctis patriæ legibus obsequimur.
Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. 1. n. 101.

that

that is to say; *Go, passenger, and tell at Lacedæmon, that we died here in obedience to her sacred laws.* Forty years afterwards, Pausanias, who obtained the victory of Platæa, caused the bones of Leonidas to be carried from Thermopylæ to Sparta, and erected a magnificent monument to his memory: near which was likewise another erected for Pausanias. Every year at these tombs was a funeral oration pronounced to the honour of these heroes, and a public game, wherein none but Lacedæmonians had a right to partake, in order to shew, that they alone were concerned in the glory obtained at Thermopylæ.

(*m*) Xerxes in that affair lost above twenty thousand men, among which were two of the king's own brothers. He was very sensible, that so great a loss, which was a manifest proof of the courage of their enemies, was capable of alarming and discouraging his soldiers. In order therefore to conceal the knowledge of it from them, he caused all his men that were killed in that action, except a thousand, whose bodies he ordered to be left upon the field, to be thrown together into large holes, which were secretly made, and covered over afterwards with earth and herbs. This stratagem succeeded very ill: for when the soldiers in his fleet, being curious to see the field of battle, obtained leave to come thither for that purpose, it served rather to discover his own littleness of soul, than to conceal the number of the slain.

(*n*) Dismayed with a victory that had cost him so dear, he asked Demaratus, if the Lacedæmonians had many such soldiers. That prince told him, that the Spartan republic had a great many cities belonging to it, of which all the inhabitants were exceeding brave; but that the inhabitants of Lacedæmon, who were properly called Spartans, and who were about eight thousand in number, surpassed all the rest in valour, and were all of them such as those who had fought under Leonidas.

(*m*) Her. l. 8. c. 24, 25.

(*n*) Her. l. 7. c. 134, 137.

I return a little to the battle of Thermopylæ, the iſſue of which, fatal in appearance, might make an impreſſion upon the minds of the readers to the diſadvantage of the Lacedæmonians, and occaſion their courage to be looked upon as the effect of a preſumptuous temerity, or a deſperate reſolution.

That action of Leonidas, with his three hundred Spartans, was not the effect of raſhneſs or deſpair, but was a wiſe and noble conduct, as (*o*) Diodorus Siculus has taken care to obſerve, in the magnificent encomium upon that famous engagement, to which he aſcribes the ſucceſs of all the enſuing victories and campaigns. Leonidas knowing that Xerxes marched at the head of all the forces of the eaſt, in order to overwhelm and cruſh a little country by the dint of his numbers, rightly conceived from the ſuperiority of his genius and underſtanding, that if they pretended to make the ſucceſs of that war conſiſt in oppoſing force to force, and numbers to numbers, all the Grecian nations together would never be able to equal the Perſians, or to diſpute the victory with them; that it was therefore neceſſary to point out to Greece another means of ſafety and preſervation whilſt ſhe was under theſe alarms; and that they ought to ſhew the whole univerſe, who had all their eyes upon them, what glorious things may be done, when greatneſs of mind is oppoſed to force of body, true courage and bravery againſt blind impetuoſity, the love of liberty againſt tyrannical oppreſſion, and a few diſciplined veteran troops, againſt a confuſed multitude, though never ſo numerous. Theſe brave Lacedæmonians thought it became them, who were the choiceſt ſoldiers of the chief people of Greece, to devote themſelves to certain death, in order to make the Perſians ſenſible how difficult it is to reduce free men to ſlavery, and to teach the reſt of Greece, by their example, either to vanquiſh or to periſh.

I do not copy theſe ſentiments from my own inven-

(*o*) Diod. l. 11. p. 9.

tion,

tion, or aſcribe them to Leonidas without foundation: they are plainly comprized in that ſhort anſwer, which that worthy king of Sparta made a certain Lacedæmonian; who, being aſtoniſhed at the generous reſolution the king had taken, ſpoke to him in this manner: "(p) Is it poſſible then, Sir, that you can "think of marching with an handful of men againſt "ſuch a mighty and innumerable army?" If we are "to reckon upon numbers," replied Leonidas, "all "the people of Greece together would not be ſufficient, ſince a ſmall part of the Perſian army is equal "to all her inhabitants: but if we are to reckon upon valour, my little troop is more than ſufficient."

The event ſhewed the juſtneſs of this prince's ſentiments. That illuſtrious example of courage aſtoniſhed the Perſians, and gave new ſpirit and vigour to the Greeks. The lives then of this heroic leader and his brave troop were not thrown away, but uſefully employed; and their death was attended with a double effect, more great and laſting than they themſelves had imagined. On one hand, it was in a manner the ſeed of their enſuing victories, which made the Perſians for ever after lay aſide all thoughts of attacking Greece; ſo that during the ſeven or eight ſucceeding reigns, there was neither any prince, who durſt entertain ſuch a deſign, nor any flatterer in his court, who durſt propoſe the thing to him. On the other hand, ſuch a ſignal and exemplary inſtance of intrepidity made an indelible impreſſion upon all the reſt of the Grecians, and left a perſauſion deeply rooted in their hearts, that they were able to ſubdue the Perſians, and ſubvert their vaſt empire. Cimon was the man, who made the firſt attempt of that kind with ſucceſs. Ageſilaus afterwards puſhed that deſign ſo far, that he made the great monarch tremble in his palace at Suſa. Alexander at laſt accompliſhed it with incredible facility. He never had the leaſt doubt, no more than the Macedonians who followed him, or the whole

(p) Plut. in Lac. Apoph. p. 225.

country of Greece that chose him general in that expedition, but that with thirty thousand men he could reduce the Persian empire, as three hundred Spartans had been sufficient to check the united forces of the whole East.

SECT. VI. *Naval battle near Artemisa.*

(q) THE very same day on which passed the glorious action at Thermopylæ, there was also an engagement at sea between the two fleets. That of the Grecians, exclusive of the little galleys and small boats, consisted of two hundred and seventy one vessels. This fleet had lain by near Artemisa, a promontory of Eubœa upon the northern coast towards the streights. That of the enemy, which was much more numerous, was near the same place, but had lately suffered in a violent tempest, that had destroyed above four hundred of their vessels. Notwithstanding this loss, as it was still vastly superior in number to that of the Grecians, which they were preparing to fall upon, they detached two hundred of their vessels with orders to wait about Eubœa, to the end that none of the enemies vessels might be able to escape them. The Grecians having got intelligence of that separation, immediately set sail in the night, in order to attack that detachment at day-break the next morning. But not meeting with it, they went towards the evening and fell upon the bulk of the enemy's fleet, which they treated very roughly. Night coming on, they were obliged to separate, and both parties retired to their post. But the very night that parted them, proved more pernicious to the Persians, than the engagement which had preceded, from a violent storm of wind, accompanied with rain and thunder, which distressed and harrassed their vessels till break of day: and the two hundred ships also, that had been detached from their fleet, as we mentioned before, were almost all cast away upon the coasts of Eubœa; it being the

(q) Her. l. 8. c. 1—18. Diod. l. 11. p. 10 & 11.

will of the gods, ſays Herodotus, that the two fleets ſhould become very near equal.

The Athenians having the ſame day received a reinforcement of fifty-three veſſels, the Grecians, who were apprized of the wrack that had befaln part of the enemies fleet, fell upon the ſhips of the Cilicians at the ſame hour they had attacked the fleet the day before, and ſunk a great number of them. The Perſians, being aſhamed to ſee themſelves thus inſulted by an enemy, that was ſo much inferior in number, thought fit the next day to appear firſt in a diſpoſition to engage. The battle was very obſtinate this time, and the ſucceſs pretty near equal on both ſides, excepting that the Perſians, who were incommoded by the largeneſs and number of their veſſels, ſuſtained much the greater loſs. Both parties however retired in good order.

(*r*) All theſe actions, which paſſed near Artemiſa, did not bring matters to an abſolute deciſion, but contributed very much to animate the Athenians, as they were convinced by their own experience, that there is nothing really formidable, either in the number and magnificent ornaments of veſſels, or in the Barbarians inſolent ſhouts and ſongs of victory, to men that know how to come to cloſe engagement, and that have the courage to fight with ſteadineſs and reſolution; and that the beſt way of dealing with ſuch an enemy, is to deſpiſe all that vain appearance, to advance boldly up to them, and to charge them briſkly and vigorouſly without ever giving ground.

The Grecian fleet having at this time had intelligence of what had paſſed at Thermopylæ, reſolved upon the courſe they were to take without any farther deliberation. They immediately ſailed away from Artemiſa, and advancing toward the heart of Greece, they ſtopped at Salamin, a little iſle very near and over againſt Attica. Whilſt the fleet was retreating, Themiſtocles paſſed through all the places where it was

(*r*) Plut. in Themiſt. p. 115, 117. Her, l. 8. c. 21, 22.

neceſſary for the enemies to come to land, in order to take in freſh water or other proviſions, and in large characters engraved upon the rocks and the ſtones the following words, which he addreſſed to the Ionians: *Be of our ſide, ye people of Ionia: come over to the party of your fathers, who expoſe their own lives for no other end than to maintain your liberty: or, if you cannot poſſibly do that, at leaſt do the Perſians all the miſchief you can, when we are engaged with them, and put their army into diſorder and confuſion.* (s) By this means Themiſtocles hoped either to bring the Ionians really over to their party, or at leaſt to render them ſuſpected to the Barbarians. We ſee, this general had his thoughts always intent upon his buſineſs, and neglected nothing that could contribute to the ſucceſs of his deſigns.

SECT. VII. *The Athenians abandon their city, which is taken and burnt by Xerxes.*

XERXES in the mean time was entered into the country of Phocis by the upper part of Doris, and was burning and plundering the cities of the Phocians. The inhabitants of Peloponneſus having no thoughts but to ſave their own country, reſolved to abandon all the reſt, and to bring all the Grecian forces together within the Iſthmus, over which they intended to build a ſtrong wall from one ſea to the other, a ſpace of near five miles Engliſh. The Athenians were highly provoked at ſo baſe a deſertion, ſeeing themſelves ready to fall into the hands of the Perſians, and likely to bear the whole weight of their fury and vengeance. Some time before they had conſulted the oracle of Delphos, which had given them for anſwer, (t) *that there would be no way of ſaving the city but by walls of wood.* The ſentiments of the people were much divided about this ambiguous expreſſion: ſome thought it was to be underſtood to mean the citadel, becauſe heretofore it had been ſurrounded with wooden paliſades. But Themiſtocles gave another ſenſe to the words, which was

(s) Her. l. 8. c. 40, 41. (t) Her. l. 7. c. 139—143.

much

much more natural, understanding it to intend shipping; and demonstrated, that the only measures they had to take were to leave the city empty, and to embark all the inhabitants. But this was a resolution the people would not at all give ear to, as thinking themselves inevitably lost, and not even caring to conquer, when once they had abandoned the temples of their gods and the tombs of their ancestors. Here Themistocles had occasion for all his address and all his eloquence to work upon the people. After he had represented to them, that Athens did not consist either of its walls, or its houses, but of its citizens, and that the saving of these was the preservation of the city, he endeavoured to persuade them by the argument most capable of making an impression upon them in the unhappy, afflicted, and dangerous condition they were then in, I mean the argument and motive of divine authority; giving them to understand by the very words of the oracle, and by the prodigies which had happened, that their removing for a time from Athens was manifestly the will of the gods.

(*u*) A decree was therefore passed, by which, in order to soften what appeared so hard in the resolution of deserting the city, it was ordained, "that Athens "should be given up in trust into the hands, and com-"mitted to the keeping and protection of Minerva, "patroness of the Athenian people; that all such in-"habitants as were able to bear arms, should go on "ship-board; and that every citizen should provide, "as well as he could, for the safety and security of "his wife, children and slaves."

(*x*) The extraordinary behaviour of Cimon, who was at this time very young, was of great weight on this singular occasion. Followed by his companions, with a gay and chearful countenance, he went publickly along the street of the Ceramicus to the citadel, in order to consecrate a bitt of a bridle, which he car-

(*u*) Her. l. 8. c. 51—54. Plut. in Themist. p. 117. (*x*) Plut in Cim. p. 481.

ried in his hand, in the temple of Minerva, designing to make the people understand by this religious and affecting ceremony, that they had no farther business with land-forces, and that it behoved them now to betake themselves entirely to the sea. After he had made an offering of this bitt, he took one of the shields that hung up on the wall of the temple, paid his devotions to the goddess, went down to the water-side, and was the first, who by his example inspired the greatest part of the people with confidence and resolution, and encouraged them to imbark.

The major part of them sent their fathers and mothers, that were old, together with their wives and children to the city of * Trezene, the inhabitants of which received them with great humanity and generosity. For they made an ordinance that they should be maintained at the expence of the public, and assigned for each person's subsistence two oboli a day, which were worth about two-pence English money. Besides this, they permitted the children to gather fruit wherever they pleased, or wherever they came, and settled a fund for the payment of the masters, who had the care of their education. What a beautiful thing it is to see a city, exposed as this was, to the greatest dangers and calamities, extend her care and generosity in the very midst of such alarms, even to the education of other people's children.

When the whole city came to embark, so moving and melancholy a spectacle drew tears from the eyes of all that were present, and at the same time occasioned great admiration with regard to the steadiness and courage of those men, who sent their fathers and mothers another way and to other places, and who, without being moved either at their grief and lamentations, or at the tender embraces of their wives and children, passed over with so much firmness and resolution to Salamin. But that which extremely raised and augmented the gene-

* *This was a small city situate upon the sea-side, in that part of the Peloponnesus called Argolis.*

ral

ral compaſſion, was the great number of old men that they were forced to leave in the city on account of their age and infirmities, and of which many voluntarily remained there, on a motive of religion, believing the citadel to be the thing meant by the oracle in the forementioned ambiguous expreſſion of wooden walls. There was no creature, (for hiſtory has judged this circumſtance worthy of being remembred) there was no creature, I ſay, even to the very domeſtic animals, but what took part in this public mourning; nor was it poſſible for a man to ſee thoſe poor creatures run howling and crying after their maſters, who were going a ſhip-board, without being touched and affected. Among all the reſt of theſe animals, particular notice is taken of a dog belonging to Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, which not being able to endure to ſee himſelf abandoned by his maſter, jumped into the ſea after him, and continued ſwimming as near as he could to the veſſel his maſter was on board of, till he landed quite ſpent at Salamin, and died the moment after upon the ſhore. In the ſame place, even in Plutarch's time, they uſed to ſhew the ſpot wherein this faithful animal was ſaid to be buried, which was called *the dog's burying-place.*

(y) Whilſt Xerxes was continuing his march, ſome deſerters from Arcadia came and joined his army. The king having aſked them what the Grecians were then doing, was extremely ſurprized when he was told, that they were employed in ſeeing the games and combats then celebrating at Olympia: and his ſurpriſe was ſtill increaſed, when he underſtood that the victor's reward in thoſe engagements was only a crown of olive. What men muſt they be, cried one of the Perſian nobles with great wonder and aſtoniſhment, that are affected only with honour, and not with money!

(z) Xerxes had ſent off a conſiderable detachment of his army to plunder the temple at Delphos, in

(y) Her. l. 8. c. 16. (z) Ibid. c. 35—39. Diod. l. 11. p. 11.

which he knew there was immenſe treaſures, being reſolved to treat Apollo with no more favour than the other gods, whoſe temples he had pillaged. If we may believe what Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus ſay of this matter, aſſoon as ever this detachment advanced near the temple of Minerva, ſurnamed the Provident, the air grew dark on a ſudden, and a violent tempeſt aroſe, accompanied with impetuous winds, thunder and lightning: and two huge rocks having ſevered themſelves from the mountain, fell upon the Perſian troops, and cruſhed the greateſt part of them.

(*a*) The other part of the army marched towards the city of Athens, which was deſerted by all its inhabitants, except a ſmall number of citizens who had retired into the citadel, where they defended themſelves with incredible bravery, till they were all killed, and would hearken to no terms of accommodation whatſoever. Xerxes having ſtormed the citadel, reduced it to aſhes. He immediately diſpatched a courier to Suſa to carry the agreeable news of his ſucceſs to Artabanes his uncle: and at the ſame time ſent him a great number of pictures and ſtatues. (*b*) Thoſe of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, the antient deliverers of Athens, were ſent with the reſt. One of the Antiochus's, king of Syria, (I do not know which of them, nor at what time it was) returned them to the Athenians, being perſuaded he could not poſſibly make them a more acceptable preſent.

SECT. VIII. *The battle of Salamin. Precipitate return of Xerxes into Aſia. The characters of Themiſtocles and Ariſtides. The defeat of the Carthaginians in Sicily.*

(*c*) AT this time a diviſion aroſe among the commanders of the Grecian fleet; and the confederates, in a council of war which was held for that purpoſe, were of very different ſentiments concerning the place for engaging the enemy. Some of them,

(*a*) Her. l. 2. c. 50—54. (*b*) Pauſan. l. 1. p. 14
(*c*) Her. l. 8. c. 56 & 65. Plut. in Themiſt. p. 117.

and

and indeed the major part, at the head of whom was Eurybiades, the generaliſſimo of the fleet, were for having them advance near the Iſthmus of Corinth, that they might be nearer the land-army, which was poſted there to guard that paſs under the command of Cleombrotus, Leonidas's brother, and more ready for the defence of Peloponneſus. Others, at the head of whom was Themiſtocles, alledged, that it would be betraying of their country to abandon ſo advantagious a poſt as that of Salamin. And as he ſupported his opinion with abundance of warmth, Eurybiades lifted up his cane over him in a menacing manner. *Strike*, ſays the Athenian, unmoved at the inſult, *but hear me:* and continuing his diſcourſe proceeded to ſhew of what importance it was for the fleet of the Grecians, whoſe veſſels were lighter, and much fewer in number than thoſe of the Perſians, to engage in ſuch a ſtreight as that of Salamin, which would render the enemy incapable of uſing a great part of their forces. Eurybiades, who could not help being ſurprized at the moderation in Themiſtocles, ſubmitted to his reaſons, or at leaſt complied with his opinion, for fear the Athenians, whoſe ſhips made up above one half of the fleet, ſhould ſeparate themſelves from the allies, as their general had taken occaſion to inſinuate.

(*c*) A council of war was alſo held on the ſide of the Perſians, in order to determine whether they ſhould hazard a naval engagement; Xerxes himſelf was come to the fleet to take the advice of his captains and officers, who were all unanimous for a battle, becauſe they knew it was agreeable to the king's inclination. Queen Artemiſa was the only perſon who oppoſed that reſolution. She repreſented the dangerous conſequences of coming to blows with people much more converſant and more expert in maritime affairs than the Perſians; alledging, that the loſs of a battle at ſea would be attended with the ruin of their land-army; whereas by protracting the war, and ap-

(*c*) Her. l. 8. c. 67—70.

proaching

proaching Peloponneſus, they ſhould create jealouſies and diviſions among their enemies, or rather augment the diviſion already very great amongſt them; that the confederates in that caſe would not fail to ſeparate from one another, to return and defend their reſpective countries; and that then the king without difficulty, and almoſt without ſtriking a ſtroke, might make himſelf maſter of all Greece. This wiſe advice was not followed, and a battle was reſolved upon.

Xerxes, imputing the ill ſucceſs of all his former engagements at ſea to his own abſence, was reſolved to be witneſs of this from the top of an eminence, where he cauſed a throne to be erected for that purpoſe. This might have contributed in ſome meaſure to animate his forces: but there is another much more ſure and effectual means of doing it, I mean, by the prince's real preſence and example, when he himſelf ſhares in the danger, and thereby ſhews himſelf worthy of being the ſoul and head of a brave and numerous body of men ready to die for his ſervice. A prince, that has not this ſort of fortitude which nothing can ſhake, and which even takes new vigour from danger, may nevertheleſs be endued with other excellent qualities, but then he is by no means proper to command an army. No qualification whatſoever can ſupply the want of courage in a general: and the * more he labours to ſhew the appearance of it, when he has not the reality, the more he diſcovers his cowardiſe and fear. There is, it muſt be owned, a vaſt difference between a general officer, and a ſimple ſoldier. Xerxes ought not to have expoſed his perſon otherwiſe than became a prince; that is to ſay, as the head, not as the hand: as he, whoſe buſineſs it is to direct and give orders, not as thoſe who are to put them in execution. But to keep himſelf entirely at a diſtance from danger, and to act no other part than that of a ſpectator, was really renouncing the quality and office of a general.

* Quanto magis occultare ac abdere pavorem nitebantur, manifeſtiùs pavidi. *Tacit. Hiſt.*

The-

(*d*) Themiſtocles knowing, that ſome of the commanders in the Grecian fleet ſtill entertained thoughts of ſailing towards the Iſthmus, contrived to have notice given under-hand to Xerxes, that, as the Grecian allies were now aſſembled together in one place, it would be an eaſy matter for him to ſubdue and deſtroy them all together; whereas, if they once ſeparated from one another, as they were going to do, he might never meet with another opportunity ſo favourable. The king gave into this opinion; and immediately commanded a great number of his veſſels to ſurround Salamin by night, in order to make it impracticable for the Greeks to quit their poſt.

(*e*) No body among the Grecians perceived that their army was ſurrounded in this manner. Ariſtides came by night-time from Ægina, where he had ſome forces under his command, and with very great danger paſſed through the whole fleet of the enemies. When he came up to Themiſtocles's tent, he took him aſide, and ſpoke to him in the following manner: "If we "are wiſe, Themiſtocles, we ſhall from hence-for- "ward lay aſide that vain and childiſh diſſenſion, that "has hitherto divided us, and ſtrive with a more no- "ble and uſeful emulation, which of us ſhall render "the beſt ſervice to his country, you by commanding "and doing the duty of a wiſe and able captain, "and I by obeying your orders, and by aſſiſting you "with my perſon and advice." He then informed him of the army's being ſurrounded with the ſhips of the Perſians, and warmly exhorted him to give them battle without delay. Themiſtocles, extremely aſtoniſhed at ſuch a greatneſs of ſoul, and ſuch a noble and generous frankneſs, was ſomewhat aſhamed, that he had ſuffered himſelf to be ſo much excelled by his rival; but without being aſhamed to own it, he promiſed Ariſtides, that he would henceforward imitate his generoſity, and even exceed it, if it were poſſible,

(*d*) Her. l. 8. c. 74—78. (*e*) Plut. in Ariſt. p. 323. Her. l. 8. c. 78—82.

in

in the whole of his future conduct. Then, after having imparted to him the ſtratagem he had contrived to deceive the Barbarian, he deſired him to go in perſon to Eurybiades, in order to convince him that there was no other means of ſafety for them, than to engage the enemy by ſea at Salamin; which commiſſion Ariſtides executed with pleaſure and ſucceſs: for he was in great credit and eſteem with that general.

(*f*) Both ſides therefore prepared themſelves for the battle. The Grecian fleet conſiſted of three hundred and eighty ſail of ſhips, which in every thing followed the direction and orders of Themiſtocles. As nothing eſcaped his vigilance, and as, like an able commander, he knew how to improve every circumſtance and incident to advantage, before he would begin the engagement he waited till a certain wind, which roſe regularly every day at a certain hour, and which was entirely contrary to the enemy, began to blow. As ſoon as this wind roſe, the ſignal was given for battle. The Perſians, who knew that their king had his eyes upon them, advanced with ſuch a courage and impetuoſity, as were capable of ſtriking an enemy with terror. But the heat of the firſt attack quickly abated, when they came to be engaged. Every thing was contrary to, and diſadvantagious for them: the wind, which blew directly in their faces; the height, and the heavineſs of their veſſels, which could not move and turn without great difficulty, and even the number of their ſhips, which was ſo far from being of uſe to them, that it only ſerved to embarraſs them in a place ſo ſtrait and narrow, as that they fought in: whereas on the ſide of the Grecians every thing was done with good order, and without hurry and confuſion; becauſe every thing was directed by one commander. The Ionians, whom Themiſtocles had adviſed by characters engraven upon ſtones along the coaſts of Eubœa to remember from whom they derived their original, were the firſt that betook them-

(*f*) Her. l. 8. c. 84—96.

ſelves

ſelves to flight, and were quickly followed by the reſt of the fleet. But queen Artemiſa diſtinguiſhed herſelf by incredible efforts of reſolution and courage, ſo that Xerxes, who ſaw in what manner ſhe had behaved herſelf, cried out, * that the men had behaved like women in this engagement, and that the women had ſhewed the courage of men. The Athenians, being enraged that a woman had dared to appear in arms againſt them, had promiſed a reward of ten thouſand drachma's to any one, that ſhould be able to take her alive: but ſhe had the good fortune to eſcape their purſuits. If they had taken her, ſhe could have deſerved nothing from them but the higheſt commendations, and the moſt honourable and generous treatment.

(*g*) The manner in which that † queen eſcaped ought not to be omitted. Seeing herſelf warmly purſued by an Athenian ſhip, from which it ſeemed impoſſible for her to eſcape, ſhe hung out Grecian colours, and attacked one of the Perſian veſſels, on board of which was Damaſithymus, king of (*b*) Calynda, with whom ſhe had ſome difference, and ſunk it: this made her purſuers believe, that her ſhip was one of the Grecian fleet, and give over the chace.

Such was the ſucceſs of the battle of Salamin, one

(*g*) Herod. l. 8. c. 87, 88. Polyæn. l. 8. c. 53.
(*b*) A city of Lycia.

* Οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασί μοι γυναῖκες, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἄνδρες.

Artemiſia inter primos duces bellum acerrimè ciebat. Quippe, ut in viro muliebrem timorem, ita in muliere virilem audaciam cerneres. *Juſtin.* l. 2. c. 12.

† *It appears, that Artemiſa valued herſelf no leſs upon ſtratagem than courage, and at the ſame time was not very delicate in the choice of the meaſures ſhe uſed. It is ſaid that being deſirous of ſeizing Latmus, a ſmall city of Caria, that lay very commodiouſly for her, ſhe laid her troops in ambuſh, and under pretence of celebrating the feaſt of the mother of the gods, in a wood conſecrated to her near that city, that ſhe repaired thither with a great train of eunuchs, women, drums and trumpets. The inhabitants ran in throngs to ſee that religious ceremony; and in the mean time Artemiſa's troops took poſſeſſion of the place.* Polyæn. Stratag. l. 8. c. 53.

of

of the moſt memorable actions related in antient hiſtory, and which has, and will render the name and courage of the Grecians famous for ever. A great number of the Perſian ſhips were taken, and a much greater ſunk upon this occaſion. Many of their allies, who dreaded the king's cruelty no leſs than the enemy, made the beſt of their way into their own country.

Themiſtocles, in a ſecret converſation with Ariſtides, propoſed to his conſideration, in order to ſound him and to learn his true ſentiments, whether it would not be proper for them to ſend ſome veſſels to break down the bridge, which Xerxes had cauſed to be built, to the end, ſays he, that we may take Aſia into Europe: but though he made this propoſal, he was far from approving it. Ariſtides believing him to be in earneſt, argued very warmly and ſtrenuouſly againſt any ſuch project, and repreſented to him how dangerous it was to reduce ſo powerful an enemy to deſpair, from whom it was their buſineſs to deliver themſelves as ſoon as poſſible. Themiſtocles ſeemed to acquieſce in his reaſons; and in order to haſten the king's departure, contrived to have him ſecretly informed, that the Grecians deſigned to break down the bridge. The point Themiſtocles ſeems to have had in view by this falſe confidence, was to ſtrengthen himſelf with Ariſtides's opinion, which was of great weight againſt that of the other generals, in caſe they inclined to go and break down the bridge. Perhaps too he might aim at guarding himſelf by this means againſt the ill-will of his enemies, who might one day accuſe him of treaſon before the people, if ever they came to know that he had been the author of that ſecret advice to Xerxes.

(*i*) This prince, being frightned on ſuch news, made the beſt uſe he could of his time, and ſet out by night, leaving Mardonius behind him with an army of three hundred thouſand men, in order to reduce

(*i*) Her. l. 8. c. 115—120.

Greece,

Greece, if he was able. The Grecians, who expected that Xerxes would have come to another engagement the next day, having learnt that he was fled, purſued him as faſt as they could, but to no purpoſe. (*k*) They had deſtroyed two hundred of the enemies ſhips, beſides thoſe which they had taken. The remainder of the Perſian fleet, after having ſuffered extremely by the winds in their paſſage, retired towards the coaſt of Aſia, and entered into the port of Cuma, a city in Æolia, where they paſſed the winter, without daring afterwards to return into Greece.

Xerxes took the reſt of his army along with him, and marched by the way of the Helleſpont. As no proviſions had been prepared for them before-hand, they underwent great hardſhips during their whole march, which laſted five and forty days. After having conſumed all the fruits they could find, the ſoldiers were obliged to live upon herbs, and even upon the bark and leaves of trees. This occaſioned a great ſickneſs in the army: and great numbers died of fluxes and the plague.

The king, through eagerneſs and impatience to make his eſcape, left his army behind him, and travelled on before with a ſmall retinue, in order to reach the bridge with the greater expedition: but when he arrived at the place, he found the bridge broken down by the violence of the waves, in a great tempeſt that had happened, and was reduced to the neceſſity of paſſing the ſtreight in a cock-boat. * This was a ſpectacle very proper to ſhew mankind the mutability of all earthly things, and the inſtability of human greatneſs; a prince, whoſe armies and fleets the land and ſea were ſcarce able to contain a little while

(*k*) Her. l. 8. c. 130.

* Erat res ſpectaculo digna, et æſtimatione ſortis humanæ, rerum varietate miranda, in exiguo latentem videre navigio, quem paulo antè vix æquor omne capiebat; carentem etiam omni ſervorum miniſterio, cujus exercitus, propter multitudinem, terris graves erant. *Juſtin.* l. 2. c. 13.

before,

before, now ſtealing away in a little boat almoſt without any ſervants or attendants! Such was the event and ſucceſs of Xerxes's expedition againſt Greece.

If we compare Xerxes with himſelf at different times and on different occaſions, we ſhall hardly know him for the ſame man. When affairs were under conſideration and debate, no perſon could ſhew more courage and intrepidity than this prince: he is ſurprized and even offended, if any one foreſees the leaſt difficulty in the execution of his projects, or ſhews any apprehenſion concerning events. But when he comes to the point of execution, and to the hour of danger, he flies like a coward, and thinks of nothing but ſaving his own life and perſon. Here we have a ſenſible and evident proof of the difference, between true courage, which is never deſtitute of prudence; and temerity, always blind and preſumptuous. A wiſe and great prince weighs every thing, and examines all circumſtances, before he enters into a * war, of which he is not afraid, but at the ſame time does not deſire; and when the time of action is come, the ſight of danger ſerves only to animate his courage. Preſumption inverts this order. † When ſhe has introduced aſſurance and boldneſs, where wiſdom and circumſpection ought to preſide, ſhe admits fear and deſpair, where courage and intrepidity ought to be exerted.

(*l*) The firſt thing the Grecians took care of after the battle of Salamin, was to ſend the firſt fruits of the rich ſpoil they had taken to Delphos. Cimon, who was then very young, ſignalized himſelf in a particular manner in that engagement, and performed actions of ſuch diſtinguiſhed valour, as acquired him a great reputation, and made him be conſidered from henceforth as a citizen, that would be capable of rendering

(*l*) Her. l. 8. c. 122, 125.

* Non times bella, non provocas. *Plin. de Traj.* Fortiſſimus in ipſo diſcrimine, qui ante diſcrimen quietiſſimus. *Tac. hiſt.* l. 1. c. 14.

† Ante diſcrimen feroces, in periculo pavidi. *Ibid.* c. 68.

the

the moſt important ſervices to his country on future occaſions.

(*m*) But Themiſtocles carried off almoſt all the honour of this victory, which was the moſt ſignal that ever the Grecians obtained over the Perſians. The force of truth obliged even thoſe, who envied his glory moſt, to render him this teſtimony. It was a cuſtom in Greece, that after a battle, the commanding officers ſhould declare, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt, by writing in a paper the names of the man who had merited the firſt prize, and of him who had merited the ſecond. On this occaſion, by a judgment which ſhews the good opinion natural for every man to have of himſelf, each officer concerned, adjudged the firſt rank to himſelf, and allowed the ſecond to Themiſtocles; which was indeed giving him the preference to them all.

The Lacedæmonians, having carried him to Sparta, in order to pay him the honours due to his merit, decreed to their general Eurybiades the prize of valour, and to Themiſtocles that of wiſdom, which was a crown of olive for both of them. They alſo made a preſent to Themiſtocles of the fineſt chariot in the city; and on his departure ſent three hundred young men of the moſt conſiderable families to wait upon him to the frontiers: an honour they had never ſhewn to any perſon whatſoever before.

But that which gave him a ſtill more ſenſible pleaſure, were the public acclamations he received at the firſt Olympic games, that were celebrated after the battle of Salamin, where all the people of Greece were met together. As ſoon as he appeared, the whole aſſembly roſe up to do him honour: no body regarded either the games or the combats; Themiſtocles was the only ſpectacle. The eyes of all the company were fixed upon him, and every body was eager to ſhew him and point him out with the hand to the ſtrangers, that did not know him. He acknowledged

(*m*) Plut. in Themiſt. p. 120.

after-

afterwards to his friends, that he looked upon that day as the happieſt of his life; that he had never taſted any joy ſo ſenſible and ſo tranſporting; and that this reward, the genuine fruit of his labours, exceeded all his deſires.

The reader has undoubtedly obſerved in Themiſtocles two or three principal ſtrokes of his character, which entitle him to be ranked amongſt the greateſt men. The deſign which he formed and executed, of making the whole force of Athens maritime, ſhewed him to have a ſuperior genius, capable of the higheſt view, penetrating into futurity, and judicious to ſeize the deciſive point in great affairs. As the territory belonging to Athens was of a barren nature and ſmall extent, he rightly conceived, that the only way that city had to enrich and aggrandize herſelf was by ſea. And indeed that ſcheme may juſtly be looked upon as the ſource and cauſe of all thoſe great events, which raiſed the republic of Athens in the ſequel to ſo flouriſhing a condition.

But, in my opinion, though this wiſdom and foreſight is a moſt excellent and valuable talent, yet is it infinitely leſs meritorious than that uncommon temper and moderation, which Themiſtocles ſhewed on two critical occaſions, when Greece had been utterly undone, if he had liſtened to the dictates of an ill-judged ambition, and had piqued himſelf upon a falſe point of honour, as is uſual among perſons of his age and profeſſion. The firſt of theſe occaſions was, when, notwithſtanding the crying injuſtice that was committed, both in reference to the republic, of which he was a member, and to his own perſon, in appointing a Lacedæmonian generaliſſimo of the fleet, he exhorted and prevailed with the Athenians to deſiſt from their pretenſion, though never ſo juſtly founded, in order to prevent the fatal effects with which a diviſion among the confederates muſt have been neceſſarily attended. And what an admirable inſtance did he give of his preſence of mind and coolneſs of temper, when the ſame Eu-

rybiades

rybiades not only affronted him with harſh and offenſive language, but lifted up his cane at him in a menacing poſture! Let it be remembered at the ſame time, that Themiſtocles was then but young; that he was full of an ardent ambition for glory; that he was commander of a numerous fleet; and that he had right and reaſon on his ſide. How would our young officers behave on the like occaſion? Themiſtocles took all patiently, and the victory of Salamin was the fruits of his patience.

As to Ariſtides, I ſhall have occaſion in the ſequel to ſpeak more extenſively upon his character and merit. He was, properly ſpeaking, the man of the commonwealth: provided that was well and faithfully ſerved, he was very little concerned by whom it was done. The merit of others was far from offending him; and inſtead of that, became his own by the approbation and encouragement he gave it. We have ſeen him make his way through the enemies fleet, at the peril of his life, in order to give Themiſtocles ſome good intelligence and advice: and * Plutarch takes notice, that during all the time the latter had the command, Ariſtides aſſiſted him on all occaſions with his counſel and credit, notwithſtanding he had reaſon to look upon him not only as his rival, but his enemy. Let us compare this nobleneſs and greatneſs of ſoul with the little-ſpiritedneſs and meanneſs of thoſe men, who are ſo nice, punctilious, and jealous in point of command; who are incompatible with their collegues, uſing all their attention and induſtry to engroſs the glory of every thing to themſelves; always ready to ſacrifice the public to their private intereſts, or to ſuffer their rivals to commit blunders, that they themſelves may reap advantage from them.

(*m*) On the very ſame day the action of Thermopylæ happened, the formidable army of Carthagini-

(*m*) Her. l. 7. c. 165, 167.

* Πάντα συνέπραττε καὶ συνεβούλευεν, ἐνδοξότατον ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς κοινῆς ποιῶν τὸν ἔχθιστον. In vit. Arift. p. 323.

ans,

ans, which consisted of three hundred thousand men, was entirely defeated by Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse. Herodotus places this battle on the same day with that of Salamin. The circumstances of that victory in Sicily I have related in the history of the Carthaginians.

(*n*) After the battle of Salamin, the Grecians being returned from pursuing the Persians, Themistocles sailed to all the islands that had declared for them, to levy contributions and exact money from them. The first he began with was that of Andros, from whose inhabitants he required a considerable sum, speaking to them in this manner: *I come to you accompanied with two powerful divinities, Persuasion and Force.* The answer they made him was: *We also have two other divinities on our side, no less powerful than yours, and which do not permit us to give the money you demand of us, Poverty and Impotence.* Upon this refusal he made a feint of besieging them, and threatened that he would entirely ruin their city. He dealt in the same manner with several other islands, which durst not resist him as Andros had done, and drew great sums of money from them without the privity of the other commanders; for he was esteemed a lover of money, and to be desirous of enriching himself.

SECT. IX. *The battle of Platæa.*

(*o*) MARDONIUS, who staid in Greece with a body of three hundred thousand men, let his troops pass the winter in Thessaly, and in the spring following led them into Bœotia. There was a very famous oracle in this country, the oracle I mean of Lebadia, which he thought proper to consult, in order to know what would be the success of the war. The priest in his enthusiastic fit answered in a language

(*n*) Her. l. 8. c. 111, 112. Plut in Themist. p. 122. (*o*) A. M. 3525. Ant. J. C. 497. Her. l. 8. c. 113—131, 136—140, 144. Plut. in Arist. p. 524. Died. l. 11. p. 22, 23. Plut. de orac. defec. p. 412.

which no body that was preſent underſtood, as much as to inſinuate, that the oracle would not deign to ſpeak intelligibly to a Barbarian. At the ſame time Mardonius ſent Alexander king of Macedonia, with ſeveral Perſian noblemen to Athens, and by them, in the name of his maſter, made very advantagious propoſals to the Athenian people, to divide them from the reſt of their allies. The offers he made them were, to rebuild their city which had been burnt down, to give them a conſiderable ſum of money, to ſuffer them to live according to their own laws and cuſtoms, and to give them the government and command of all Greece. Alexander, as their antient friend, exhorted them in his own name to lay hold on ſo favourable an opportunity for re-eſtabliſhing their affairs, alledging, that they were not in a condition to withſtand a power ſo formidable as that of the Perſians, and ſo much ſuperior to that of Greece. On the firſt intelligence of this embaſſy, the Spartans alſo on their ſide ſent deputies to Athens, in order to hinder it from taking effect. Theſe were preſent when the others had their audience: where, aſſoon as Alexander had finiſhed his ſpeech, they began in their turn to addreſs themſelves to the Athenians, and ſtrongly exhorted them not to ſeparate themſelves from their allies, nor to deſert the common intereſt of their country, repreſenting to them at the ſame time, that their union in the preſent ſituation of their affairs was their whole ſtrength, and would render Greece invincible. They added farther, that the Spartan commonwealth was very ſenſibly moved with the melancholy ſtate which the Athenians were in, who were deſtitute both of houſes and retreat, and who for two years together had loſt all their harveſts; that in conſideration of that calamity, ſhe would engage herſelf, during the continuance of the war, to maintain and ſupport their wives, their children, and their old men, and to furniſh a plentiful ſupply for all their wants. They concluded by obſerving on the conduct Alexander, whoſe diſcourſe, they ſaid, was ſuch, as might be

be expected from one tyrant, who ſpoke in favour of another; but that he ſeemed to have forgot, that the people to whom he addreſſed himſelf, had ſhewed themſelves on all occaſions the moſt zealous defenders of the common liberty of their country.

Ariſtides was at this time in office, that is to ſay, the principal of the Archons. As it was therefore his buſineſs to anſwer, he ſaid, that as to the Barbarians, who made ſilver and gold the chief objects of their eſteem, he forgave them for thinking they could corrupt the fidelity of a nation by large bounties and promiſes: but that he could not help being ſurprized and affected with ſome ſort of indignation, to ſee that the Lacedæmonians, regarding only the preſent diſtreſs and neceſſity of the Athenians, and forgetting their courage and magnanimity, ſhould come to perſuade them to perſiſt ſtedfaſtly in the defence of the common liberty of Greece by arguments and motives of gain, and by propoſing to give them victuals and proviſion: He deſired them to acquaint their republic, that all the gold in the world was not capable of tempting the Athenians, or of making them deſert the defence of the common liberty: that they had the grateful ſenſe they ought to have, of the kind offers which Lacedæmon had made them; but that they would endeavour to manage their affairs ſo, as not to be a burden to any of their allies. Then turning himſelf towards the ambaſſadors of Mardonius, and pointing with his hand to the ſun: *Be aſſured*, ſays he to them, *that as long as that planet ſhall continue his courſe, the Athenians will be mortal enemies to the Perſians, and will not ceaſe to take vengeance of them for ravaging their lands aud burning their houſes and temples.* After which, he deſired the king of Macedonia, if he was inclined to be truly their friend, that he would not make himſelf any more the bearer of ſuch propoſals to them, which would only ſerve to reflect diſhonour upon him, without ever producing any other effect.

Ariſtides, notwithſtanding his having made this plain

plain and peremptory declaration, did not ſtop there. But that he might ſtill imprint the greater horror for ſuch propoſals, and for ever to prohibit all manner of commerce with the Barbarians by a principle of religion, he ordained, that the Athenian prieſts ſhould denounce anathemas and execrations upon any perſon whatſoever, that ſhould preſume to propoſe the making of an alliance with the Perſians, or the breaking of their alliance with the reſt of the Grecians.

(*p*) When Mardonius had learnt by the anſwer, which the Athenians had ſent him, * that they were to be prevailed upon by no propoſals or advantages whatſoever to ſell their liberty, he marched with his whole army towards Attica, waſting and deſtroying whatever he found in his way. The Athenians, not being in a condition to withſtand ſuch a torrent, retired to Salamin, and for a ſecond time abandoned their city. Mardonius, ſtill entertaining hopes of bringing them to ſome terms of accommodation, ſent another deputy to them to make the ſame propoſals as before. A certain Athenian, called Lycidas, being of opinion, that they ſhould hearken to what he had to offer, was immediately ſtoned, and the Athenian women running at the ſame time to his houſe, did the ſame execution upon his wife and children: ſo deteſtable a crime did they think it to propoſe any peace with the Perſians. But notwithſtanding this, they had a reſpect to the character wherewith the deputy was inveſted, and ſent him back without offering him any indignity or ill treatment. Mardonius now found that there was no peace to be expected with them. He therefore entered Athens, burnt and demoliſhed every thing that had eſcaped their fury the preceding year, and left nothing ſtanding.

The Spartans, inſtead of conducting their troops into Attica, according to their engagements, thought

(*p*) Her. l. 9. c. 1—11. Plut. in Ariſt.

* Poſteaquam nullo pretio libertatem his videt venalem, &c. *Juſtin.* l. 2. c. 14.

only of keeping themſelves ſhut up within the Peloponneſus for their own ſecurity, and with that view had begun to build a wall over the Iſthmus, in order to hinder the enemy from entering that way, by which means they reckoned they ſhould be ſafe themſelves, and ſhould have no farther occaſion for the aſſiſtance of the Athenians. The latter hereupon ſent deputies to Sparta, in order to complain of the flowneſs and neglect of their allies. But the Ephori did not ſeem to be much moved at their remonſtrances: and as that day was the feaſt of * Hyacinthus, they ſpent it in feaſts and rejoicing, and deferred giving the deputies their anſwer till the next day. And ſtill procraſtinating the affair as much as they could on various pretexts, they gained ten days time, during which the building of the wall was compleated. They were on the point of diſmiſſing the Athenian envoys in a ſcandalous manner, when a private citizen expoſtulated with them, and repreſented to them, how baſe it would be to treat the Athenians in ſuch a manner, after all the calamities and voluntary loſſes they had ſo generouſly ſuffered for the common defence of liberty, and all the important ſervices they had rendered Greece in general. This opened their eyes and made them aſhamed of their perfidious deſign. The very next night following they ſent off, unknown to the Athenian deputies, five thouſand Spartans, who had each of them ſeven Helotæ, or ſlaves to attend him. In the morning afterwards the deputies renewed their complaints with great warmth and reſentment, and were extremely ſurprized when they were told that the Spartan ſuccours were on their march, and by this time were not far from Attica.

* *Amongſt the Lacedæmonians the feaſt of Hyacinthus continued three days: the firſt and laſt of which were days of ſorrow and mourning for the death of Hyacinthus; but the ſecond was a day of rejoicing, which was ſpent in feaſting, ſports and ſpectacles, and all kinds of diverſions. This feſtival was celebrated every year in the month of Auguſt, in honour of Apollo and Hyacinthus.*

(q) Mardonius had left Attica at this time, and was on his return into the country of Bœotia. As the latter was an open and flat country, he thought it would be more convenient for him to fight there, than in Attica, which was uneven and rugged, full of hills and narrow paſſes, and which for that reaſon would not allow him ſpace enough for drawing up his numerous army in battle-array, nor leave room for his cavalry to act. When he came back into Bœotia, he encamped by the river Aſopus. The Grecians followed him thither under the command of Pauſanias, king of Sparta, and of Ariſtides general of the Athenians. The Perſian army, according to the account of Herodotus, conſiſted of three hundred thouſand, or according to that of Diodorus, of five hundred thouſand men. That of the Grecians did not amount to ſeventy thouſand: of which there were but five thouſand Spartans; but, as theſe were accompanied with thirty-five thouſand of the Helotæ, (*viz.*) ſeven for each Spartan, they made up together forty thouſand: the latter of theſe were light-armed troops: the Athenian forces conſiſted but of eight thouſand, and the troops of the allies made up the remainder. The right wing of the army was commanded by the Spartans, and the left by the Athenians; an honour which the people of Tegæa pretended to, and diſputed with them, but in vain.

(r) Whilſt all Greece was in ſuſpenſe, expecting a battle, that ſhould determine their fate, a ſecret conſpiracy, formed in the midſt of the Athenian camp by ſome diſcontented citizens, who intended the ſubverſion of their popular government, or to deliver up Greece into the hands of the Perſians, gave Ariſtides a great deal of perplexity and trouble. On this emergency he had occaſion for all his prudence: not knowing exactly how many people might be concerned in this conſpiracy, he contented himſelf with having eight

(q) Her. l. 9, c. 12—76. Plut. in Ariſt. p. 325—330. Diod. l. 11. p. 24, 26. (r) Plut. in Ariſt. p. 326.

of them taken up: and of thoſe eight, the only two, whom he cauſed to be accuſed, becauſe they had the moſt laid to their charge, made their eſcape out of the camp, whilſt their tryal was preparing. There is no doubt but Ariſtides favoured their eſcape, leſt he ſhould be obliged to puniſh them, and their puniſhment might occaſion ſome tumult and diſorder. The others, that were in cuſtody, he releaſed, leaving them room to believe, that he had found nothing againſt them, and telling them, that the battle with the enemy ſhould be the tribunal, where they might fully juſtify their characters, and ſhew the world, how unlikely it was, that they had ever entertained a thought of betraying their country. This well-timed and wiſe diſſimulation, which opened a door for repentance, and avoided driving the offenders to deſpair, appeaſed all the commotion and quaſhed the whole affair.

Mardonius, in order to try the Grecians, ſent out his cavalry, in which he was ſtrongeſt, to ſkirmiſh with them. The Megarians, who were encamped upon a plain, ſuffered extremely by them; and in ſpite of all the vigour and reſolution, with which they defended themſelves, they were upon the point of giving way, when a detachment of three hundred Athenians, with ſome troops armed with miſſive weapons, advanced to their ſuccour. Maſiſtius, the general of the Perſian horſe, and one of the moſt conſiderable noblemen of his country, ſeeing them advance towards him in good order, made his cavalry face about and attack them. The Athenians ſtood their ground, and waited to receive them. The ſhock was very fierce and violent, both ſides endeavouring equally to ſhew by the iſſue of this encounter, what would be the ſucceſs of the general engagement. The victory was a long time diſputed: but at laſt Maſiſtius's horſe being wounded threw his maſter, who was quickly after killed; upon which the Perſians immediately fled. As ſoon as the news of his death reached the Barbarians, their grief was exceſſive. They cut off the hair

of

of their heads, as alſo the manes of their horſes and mules, filling the camp with their cries and lamentations, having loſt in their opinion the braveſt man of their army.

After this encounter with the Perſian cavalry, the two armies were a long time without coming to any action; becauſe the ſoothſayers and diviners, upon their inſpecting the entrails of their victims, equally foretold both parties, that they ſhould be victorious, provided they acted only upon the defenſive, whereas on the other hand they threatened them equally with a total overthrow, if they acted offenſively, or made the firſt attack.

They paſſed ten days in this manner in view of each other. But Mardonius, who was of a fiery, impatient nature, grew very uneaſy at ſo long a delay. Beſides, he had only a few days proviſions left for his army; and the Grecians grew ſtronger every day by the addition of new troops, that were continually coming to join them. He therefore called a council of war, in order to deliberate, whether they ſhould give battle. Artabazus, a nobleman of ſingular merit and great experience, was of opinion, that they ſhould not hazard a battle, but that they ſhould retire under the walls of Thebes, where they would be in a condition to ſupply the army with proviſions and forage. He alledged, that delays alone would be capable of diminiſhing the ardor of the allies; that they would thereby have time to tamper with them, and might be able to draw ſome of them off by gold and ſilver, which they would take care to diſtribute among the leaders, and among ſuch as had the greateſt ſway and authority in their ſeveral cities; and that in ſhort this would be both the eaſieſt and ſureſt method of ſubjecting Greece. This opinion was very wiſe, but was overruled by Mardonius, whom the reſt had not courage to contradict. The reſult therefore of their deliberations was that they ſhould give battle the next day. Alexander, king of Macedonia, who was on

the ſide of the Grecians in his heart, came ſecretly about midnight to their camp, and informed Ariſtides of all that had paſſed.

Pauſanias forthwith gave orders to the officers to prepare themſelves for battle, and imparted to Ariſtides the deſign he had formed of changing his order of battle, by placing the Athenians in the right wing, inſtead of the left, in order to their oppoſing the Perſians, with whom they had been accuſtomed to engage. Whether it was fear or prudence, that induced Pauſanias to propoſe this new diſpoſition, the Athenians accepted it with pleaſure. Nothing was heard among them but mutual exhortations, to acquit themſelves bravely, bidding each other remember, that neither they, nor their enemies, were changed ſince the battle of Marathon, unleſs it were, that victory had increaſed the courage of the Athenians, and had diſpirited the Perſians. We do not fight, (ſaid they) as they do, for a country only or a city, but for the trophies erected at Marathon and at Salamin, that they may not appear to be the work only of Miltiades and of fortune, but the work of the Athenians. Encouraging one another in this manner they went with all the alacrity imaginable to change their poſt. But Mardonius, upon the intelligence he received of this movement, having made the like change in his order of battle, both ſides rang'd their troops again according to their former diſpoſition. The whole day paſs'd in this manner without their coming to action.

In the evening the Grecians held a council of war, in which it was reſolv'd, that they ſhould decamp from the place they were in, and march to another, more conveniently ſituated for water. Night being come on, and the officers endeavouring at the head of their corps to make more haſte than ordinary to the camp marked out for them, great confuſion happen'd among the troops, ſome going one way and ſome another, without obſerving any order or regularity in their march.

march. At laſt they halted near the little city of Platæa.

On the firſt news of the Grecians being decamped, Mardonius drew his whole army into order of battle, and purſued them with the hideous ſhouting and howling of his Barbarian forces, who thought they were marching, not ſo much in order to fight, as to ſtrip and plunder a flying enemy: and their general likewiſe, making himſelf ſure of victory, proudly inſulted Artabazus, reproaching him with his fearful and cowardly prudence, and with the falſe notion he had conceived of the Lacedæmonians, who never fled, as he pretended, before an enemy; whereas here was an inſtance of the contrary. But the general quickly found, this was no falſe or ill-grounded notion. He happened to fall in with the Lacedæmonians, who were alone and ſeparated from the body of the Grecian army, to the number of fifty thouſand men, together with three thouſand of the Tegeatæ. The encounter was exceeding fierce and reſolute: on both ſides the men fought with the courage of lions; and the Barbarians perceived that they had to do with ſoldiers, who were determined to conquer or die in the field. The Athenian troops, to whom Pauſanias ſent an officer, were already upon their march to their aid: but the Greeks, who had taken party with the Perſians, to to the number of fifty thouſand men, went out to meet them on their way, and hindered them from proceeding any farther. Ariſtides with his little body of men bore up firmly againſt them and withſtood their attack, letting them ſee, how inſignificant a ſuperiority of numbers is againſt true courage and bravery.

The battle being thus divided into two, and fought in two different places, the Spartans were the firſt who broke in upon the Perſian forces and put them into diſorder. Mardonius, their general, falling dead of a wound he had received in the engagement, all his army betook themſelves to flight; and thoſe Greeks, who were engaged againſt Ariſtides, did the

ſame thing, as ſoon as they underſtood the Barbarians were defeated. The latter ran away to their former camp, which they had quitted, where they were ſheltered and fortified with an incloſure of wood. The Lacedæmonians purſued them thither, and attacked them in their intrenchment; but this they did poorly and weakly, like people that were not much accuſtomed to ſieges, and to attack walls. The Athenian troops, having advice of this, left off purſuing their Grecian adverſaries, and marched to the camp of the Perſians, which after ſeveral aſſaults they carried, and made an horrible ſlaughter of the enemy.

Artabazus, who from Mardonius's imprudent management had but too well foreſeen the misfortune that befel them, after having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the engagement, and given all poſſible proofs of his courage and intrepidity, made a timely retreat with the forty thouſand men he commanded; and preventing his flight from being known by the expedition of his march, he arrived ſafe at Byzantium, and from thence returned into Aſia. Of all the reſt of the Perſian army not four thouſand men eſcaped after that day's ſlaughter: all were killed and cut to pieces by the Grecians, who by that means delivered themſelves at once from all further invaſions from that nation, no Perſian army having ever appeared after that time on this ſide of the Helleſpont.

(s) This battle was fought on the fourth day of the month * Boedromion, according to the Athenian manner of reckoning. Soon after, the allies, as a teſtimony of their gratitude to heaven, cauſed a ſtatue of Jupiter to be made at their joint and common expences, which they placed in his temple at Olympia. The names of all the ſeveral nations of Greece, that were preſent in the engagement, were engraven on the right ſide of the pedeſtal of the ſtatue, the Lace-

(s) A. M. 3525. Ant. J. C. 479. Pauſan. l. 5. p. 532.

* *This day anſwers to the eighth of our September.*

dæmonians

dæmonians firſt, the Athenians next, and all the reſt in order.

(*t*) One of the principal citizens of *Æ*gina came and addreſſed himſelf to Pauſanias, deſiring him to avenge the indignity that Mardonius and Xerxes had ſhewn to Leonidas, whoſe dead body was hung up on a gallows by their order, and urging him to uſe Mardonius's body after the ſame manner. As a farther motive for doing ſo, he added, that by thus ſatisfying the manes of thoſe that were killed at Thermopylæ, he would be ſure to immortalize his own name throughout all Greece, and make his memory precious to the lateſt poſterity. "Carry thy baſe "counſel elſewhere," replied Pauſanias. "Thou "muſt have a very wrong notion of true glory, to "imagine, that the way for me to acquire it is to "reſemble the Barbarians. If the eſteem of the peo-"ple of *Æ*gina is not to be purchaſed but by ſuch a "proceeding, I ſhall be content with preſerving that "of the Lacedæmonians only, amongſt whom the "baſe and ungenerous pleaſure of revenge is never put "in competition with that of ſhewing clemency and "moderation to their enemies, and eſpecially after "their death. As for the ſouls of my departed "countrymen, they are ſufficiently avenged by the "death of the many thouſand Perſians ſlain upon the "ſpot in the laſt engagement."

(*u*) A diſpute, which aroſe between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, about determining which of the two people ſhould have the prize of valour adjudged to them, as alſo which of them ſhould have the privilege of erecting a trophy, had like to have ſullied all the glory, and imbittered the joy of their late victory. They were juſt on the point of carrying things to the laſt extremity, and would certainly have decided the difference with their ſwords, had not Ariſtides prevailed upon them, by the wiſdom of his counſel and reaſonings, to refer the determination of the matter to the

(*t*) Her. l. 9. c. 77, 78. (*u*) Plut. in Ariſt. p. 321.

udg ment of the Grecians in general. This propoſition being accepted by both parties, and the Greeks being aſſembled upon the ſpot to decide the conteſt, Theogiton of Megara ſpeaking upon the queſtion, gave it as his opinion, that the prize of valour ought to be adjudged neither to Athens nor to Sparta, but to ſome other city; unleſs they deſired to kindle a civil war, of more fatal conſequences than that they had juſt put an end to. After he had finiſhed his ſpeech, Cleocritus of Corinth roſe up to ſpeak his ſentiments of the matter: and when he began, no body doubted but he was going to claim that honour for the city of which he was a member and a native; for Corinth was the chief city of Greece in power and dignity after thoſe of Athens and Sparta. But every body was agreeably deceived, when they found, that all his diſcourſe tended to the praiſe of the Platæans, and that the concluſion he made from the whole was, that in order to extinguiſh ſo dangerous a contention, they ought to adjudge the prize to them only, againſt whom neither of the contending parties could have any grounds of anger or jealouſy. This diſcourſe and propoſal was received with a general applauſe by the whole aſſembly. Ariſtides immediately aſſented to it on the part of the Athenians, and Pauſanias on the part of the Lacedæmonians.

(*x*) All parties being thus agreed, before they began to divide the ſpoil of the enemy, they put fourſcore talents * aſide for the Platæans, who laid them out in building a temple to Minerva, in erecting a ſtatue to her honour, and in adorning the temple with curious and valuable paintings, which were ſtill in being in Plutarch's time, that is to ſay, above ſix hundred years afterwards, and which were then as freſh as if they had lately come out of the hands of the painters. As for the trophy, which had been another article of the

(*x*) Her. l. 9. c. 79—80.

* 80000 *crowns French, about* 18000 l. *ſterling.*

diſpute,

diſpute, the Lacedæmonians erected one for themſelves in particular, and the Athenians another.

The ſpoil was immenſe: in Mardonius's camp they found prodigious ſums of money in gold and ſilver, beſides cups, veſſels, beds, tables, necklaces, and bracelets of gold and ſilver, not to be valued or numbered. It is obſerved by a certain † hiſtorian, that theſe ſpoils proved fatal to Greece, by becoming the inſtruments of introducing avarice and luxury among her inhabitants. According to the religious cuſtom of the Grecians, before they divided the treaſure, they appropriated the tithe or tenth part of the whole to the uſe of the gods: the reſt was diſtributed equally among the cities and nations that had furniſhed troops: and the chief officers who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the field of battle, were likewiſe diſtinguiſhed in this diſtribution. They ſent a preſent of a golden tripod to Delphos, in the inſcription upon which Pauſanias cauſed theſe words to be inſerted; (y) *That he had defeated the Barbarians at Platæa, and that in acknowledgment of that victory he had made this preſent to Apollo.*

This arrogant inſcription, wherein he aſcribed the honour both of victory and the offering to himſelf only, offended the Lacedæmonian people, who, in order to puniſh his pride in the very point and place where he thought to exalt himſelf, as alſo to do juſtice to their confederates, cauſed his name to be raz'd out, and that of the cities which had contributed to the victory to be put in the ſtead of it. Too ardent a thirſt after glory on this occaſion did not give him leave to conſider, that a man loſes nothing by a diſcreet modeſty, which forbears the ſetting too high a value upon one's own ſervices, and which by ſcreening a man from envy * ſerves really to enhance his reputation.

(y) Cor. Nep. in Pauſan. c. 1.

† Victo Mardonio caſtra referta regalis opulentiæ capta, unde primùm Græcos, diviſo inter ſe auro Perſico, divitiarum luxuria cepit. *Juſtin.* l. 2. c. 14.

* Ipſa diſſimulatione famæ famam auxit. *Tacit.*

Pauſanias

Pauſanias gave ſtill a farther ſpecimen of his Spartan ſpirit and humour in two entertainments which he ordered to be prepared a few days after the engagement, one of which was coſtly and magnificent, in which was ſerved all the variety of delicacies and dainties that uſed to be ſerved at Mardonius's table; the other was plain and frugal, after the manner of the Spartans. Then comparing the two entertainments together, and obſerving the difference of them to his officers, whom he had invited on purpoſe; "What "a madneſs," ſays he, "was it in Mardonius, who "was accuſtomed to ſuch a luxurious diet, to come "and attack a people like us, that know how to live "without all dainties and ſuperfluities, and want no-"thing of that kind."

(z) All the Grecians ſent to Delphos to conſult the oracle, concerning the ſacrifice it was proper to offer. The anſwer they received from the gods was, that they ſhould erect an altar to *Jupiter Liberator*; but that they ſhould take care not to offer any ſacrifice upon it, before they had extinguiſhed all the fire in the country, becauſe it had been polluted and profaned by the Barbarians; and that they ſhould come as far as Delphos to fetch pure fire, which they were to take from the altar, call'd the common altar.

This anſwer being brought to the Grecians from the oracle, the generals immediately diſperſed themſelves throughout the whole country, and cauſed all the fires to be extinguiſhed: and Euchidas, a citizen of Platæa, having taken upon himſelf to go and fetch the ſacred fire with all poſſible expedition, made the beſt of his way to Delphos. On his arrival he purified himſelf, ſprinkled his body with conſecrated water, put on a crown of laurel, and then approached the altar, from whence, with great reverence, he took the holy fire, and carried it with him to Platæa, where he arrived before the ſetting of the ſun, having travelled a thouſand ſtadia (which make an hundred and twenty-five

(z) Plut. in Ariſt. p. 331, 332.

miles

miles Engliſh) in one day. Aſſoon as he came back, he ſaluted his fellow-citizens, delivered the fire to them, fell down at their feet, and died in a moment afterwards. His countrymen carried away his body and buried it in the temple of Diana, ſurnamed Eucleia, which ſignifies, of good renown; and put the following epitaph upon his tomb in the compaſs of one verſe: *Here lies Euchidas, who went from hence to Delphos, and returned back the ſame day.*

In the next general aſſembly of Greece, which was held not long after this occurrence, Ariſtides propoſed the following decree: That all the cities of Greece ſhould every year ſend their reſpective deputies to Platæa, in order to offer ſacrifices to *Jupiter Liberator*, and to the gods of the city; (this aſſembly was ſtill regularly held in the time of Plutarch) that every five years there ſhould be games celebrated there, which ſhould be called the games of liberty; that the ſeveral ſtates of Greece together ſhould raiſe a body of troops, conſiſting of ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, and ſhould equip a fleet of an hundred ſhips, which ſhould be conſtantly maintained for making war againſt the Barbarians; and that the inhabitants of Platæa, entirely devoted to the ſervice of God, ſhould be looked upon as ſacred and inviolable, and be concerned in no other function than that of offering prayers and ſacrifices for the general preſervation and proſperity of Greece.

All theſe articles being approved of and paſſed into a law, the citizens of Platæa took upon them to ſolemnize every year the anniverſary feſtival in honour of thoſe perſons that were ſlain in this battle: the order and manner of performing this ſacrifice was as follows. * The ſixteenth day of the month Maimacterion, which anſwers to our month of December, at the firſt appearance of day-break they walked in a ſolemn

* *Three months after the battle of Platæa was fought. Probably theſe funeral rites were not at firſt performed, till after the enemies were entirely gone, and the country was free.*

pro-

proceſſion, which was preceded by a trumpet that ſounded to battle. Next to the trumpet marched ſeveral chariots, filled with crowns and branches of myrtle. After theſe chariots was led a black bull, behind which marched a company of young perſons, carrying pitchers in their hands full of wine and milk, the ordinary effuſions offered to the dead, and vials of oil and eſſence. All theſe young perſons were freemen; for no ſlave was allowed to have any part in this ceremony, which was inſtituted for men who had loſt their lives for liberty. In the rear of this pomp followed the Archon, or chief magiſtrate of the Platæans, for whom it was unlawful at any other time even ſo much as to touch iron, or to wear any other garment than a white one. But upon this occaſion being clad in purple raiment, having a ſword by his ſide, and holding an urn in his hands, which he took from the place where they kept their public records, he marched quite through the city to the place where the tombs of his memorable countrymen were erected. As ſoon as he came there, he drew out water with his urn from the fountain, waſhed with his own hands the little columns that ſtood by the tombs, rubbed them afterwards with eſſence, and then killed the bull upon a pile of wood prepared for that purpoſe. After having offered up certain prayers to the terreſtrial * Jupiter and Mercury, he invited thoſe valiant ſouls deceaſed to come to their feaſt, and to partake of their funeral effuſions; then taking a cup in his hand, and having filled it with wine, he poured it out on the ground, and ſaid with a loud voice: *I preſent this cup to thoſe valiant men, who died for the liberty of the Grecians.* Theſe ceremonies were annually performed even in the time of Plutarch.

(*a*) Diodorus adds, that the Athenians in particular

(*a*) Lib. 11. p. 26.

* *The terreſtrial Jupiter is no other than Pluto; and the ſame epithet of terreſtrial was alſo given to Mercury, becauſe it was believed to be his office to conduct departed ſouls to the infernal regions.*

embellished the monuments of their citizens, who died in the war with the Persians, with magnificent ornaments, instituted funeral games to their honour, and appointed a solemn panegyric to be pronounced to the same intent, which in all probability was repeated every year.

The reader will be sensible, without my observing it, how much these solemn testimonies and perpetual demonstrations of honour, esteem and gratitude for soldiers, who had sacrificed their lives in the defence of liberty, conduced to enhance the merit of valour, and of the services they rendered their country, and to inspire the spectators with emulation and courage: and how exceeding proper all this was for cultivating and perpetuating a spirit of bravery in the people, and for making their troops victorious and invincible.

The reader, no doubt, will be as much surprized on the other hand, to see how wonderfully careful and exact these people were in acquitting themselves on all occasions of the duties of religion. The great event, which I have just been relating, (*viz.*) the battle of Platæa, affords us very remarkable proofs of this particular, in the annual and perpetual sacrifice they instituted to *Jupiter Liberator*, which was still continued in the time of Plutarch; in the care they took to consecrate the tenth part of all their spoil to the gods; and in the decree proposed by Aristides to establish a solemn festival for ever, as an anniversary commemoration of that success. It is a delightful thing, methinks, to see pagan and idolatrous nations thus publickly confessing and declaring, that all their expectations center in the supreme Being; that they think themselves obliged to ascribe the success of all their undertakings to him; that they look upon him as the author of all their victories and prosperities, as the sovereign ruler and disposer of states and empires, as the source from whence all salutary counsels, wisdom and courage are derived, and as entitled on all these accounts to the first and best part of their spoils, and to their

their perpetual acknowledgments and thankſgivings for ſuch diſtinguiſhed favours and benefits.

SECT. X. *The battle near Mycale. The defeat of the Perſians.*

(*b*) ON the ſame day, the Greeks fought the battle of Platæa, their naval forces obtained a memorable victory in Aſia over the remainder of the Perſian fleet. For whilſt that of the Greeks lay at Ægina under the command of Leotychides, one of the kings of Sparta, and of Xanthippus the Athenian, ambaſſadors came to thoſe generals from the Ionians to invite them into Aſia to deliver the Grecian cities from their ſubjection to the Barbarians. On this invitation they immediately ſet ſail for Aſia, and ſteered their courſe by Delos: where when they arrived, other ambaſſadors arrived from Samos, and brought them intelligence, that the Perſian fleet, which had paſſed the winter at Cumæ, was then at Samos, where it would be an eaſy matter to defeat and deſtroy it, earneſtly preſſing them at the ſame time not to neglect ſo favourable an opportunity. The Greeks hereupon ſailed away directly for Samos. But the Perſians receiving intelligence of their approach, retired to Mycale, a promontory of the continent of Aſia, where their land-army, conſiſting of an hundred thouſand men, who were the remainder of thoſe that Xerxes had carried back from Greece the year before, was encamped. Here they drew their veſſels aſhore, which was a common practice among the antients, and encompaſſed them round with a ſtrong rampart. The Grecians followed them to the very place, and with the help of the Ionians defeated their land army, forced their rampart, and burnt all their veſſels.

The battle of Platæa was fought in the morning, and that of Mycale in the afternoon on the ſame day: and yet all the Greek writers pretend that the victory of Platæa was known at Mycale, before the latter

(*b*) Her. l. 9. c. 89—105. Diod. l. 11. p. 26--28.

engagement

engagement was begun, though the whole Ægæan ſea, which requires ſeveral days ſailing to croſs it, was between thoſe two places. But Diodorus, the Sicilian, explains us this myſtery. He tells us, that Leotychides, obſerving his ſoldiers to be much dejected for fear their countrymen at Platæa ſhould ſink under the numbers of Mardonius's army, contrived a ſtratagem to reanimate them; and that therefore, when he was juſt upon the point of making the firſt attack, he cauſed a rumour to be * ſpread among his troops, that the Perſians were defeated at Platæa, though at that time he had no manner of knowledge of the matter.

(*c*) Xerxes, hearing the news of theſe two overthrows, left Sardis with as much haſte and hurry, as he had done Athens before, after the battle of Salamin, and retired with great precipitation into Perſia, in order to put himſelf as far as he poſſibly could out of the reach of his victorious enemies. (*d*) But before he ſet out, he gave orders, that his people ſhould burn and demoliſh all the temples belonging to the Grecian cities in Aſia: which order was ſo far executed, that not one eſcaped, except the temple of Diana at Epheſus. (*e*) He acted in this manner at the inſtigation of the Magi, who were profeſt enemies to temples and images. The ſecond Zoroaſter had thoroughly inſtructed him in their religion, and made him a zealous defender of it. (*f*) Pliny informs us, that Oſtanes the head of the Magi, and the patriarch of that ſect, who maintained its maxims and intereſts with the greateſt violence, attended Xerxes upon this expedition againſt Greece. (*g*) This prince, as he paſſed through Babylon on his return to Suſa, deſtroy'd alſo all the temples in that city, as he had done thoſe of Greece and Aſia minor; doubtleſs through

(*c*) Diod. l. 11. p. 28. (*d*) Strab. l. 1. p. 634. (*e*) Cic. l. 2. de leg. n. 29. (*f*) Plin. l. 30. cap. 1. (g) Arrian. l. 7.

* *What we are told alſo of Paulus Æmilius's victory over the Macedonians, which was known at Rome the very day it was obtained, without doubt happened in the ſame manner.*

the

the ſame principle, and out of hatred to the ſect of the Sabæans, who made uſe of images in their divine worſhip, which was a thing extremely deteſted by the Magi. Perhaps alſo, the deſire of making himſelf amends for the charges of his Grecian expedition by the ſpoil and plunder of thoſe temples might be another motive, that induced him to deſtroy them: for it is certain he found immenſe riches and treaſure in them, which had been amaſſed together through the ſuperſtition of princes and people during a long ſeries of ages.

The Grecian fleet, after the battle of Mycale, ſet ſail towards the Helleſpont, in order to poſſeſs themſelves of the bridges, which Xerxes had cauſed to be laid over that narrow paſſage, and which they ſuppoſed were ſtill entire. But finding them broken by tempeſtuous weather, Leotychides and his Peloponneſian forces returned towards their own country. As for Xanthippus, he ſtayed with the Athenians and their Ionian confederates, and they made themſelves maſters of Seſtus and the Thracian Cherſoneſus, in which places they found great booty and took a vaſt number of priſoners. After which, before winter came on, they returned to their own cities.

From this time all the cities of Ionia revolted from the Perſians, and having entered into confederacy with the Grecians, moſt of them preſerved their liberty, during the time that empire ſubſiſted.

SECT. XI. *The barbarous and inhuman revenge of Ameſtris, the wife of Xerxes.*

(b) DURING the reſidence of Xerxes at Sardis, he conceived a violent paſſion for the wife of his brother Maſiſtus, who was a prince of extraordinary merit, had always ſerved the king with great zeal and fidelity, and had never done any thing to diſoblige him. The virtue of this lady, her great af-

(b) A. M. 3525. Ant. J. C. 479. Her. l. 9. c. 107--112.

fection

fection and fidelity to her husband, made her inexorable to all the king's ſollicitations. However, he ſtill flattered himſelf, that by a profuſion of favours and liberalities he might poſſibly gain upon her; and among other kind things he did to oblige her, he married his eldeſt ſon Darius, whom he intended for his ſucceſſor, to Artainta, this princeſs's daughter, and ordered that the marriage ſhould be conſummated as ſoon as he arrived at Suſa. But Xerxes finding the lady ſtill no leſs impregnable, in ſpite of all his temptations and attacks, immediately changed his object, and fell paſſionately in love with her daughter, who did not imitate the glorious example of her mother's conſtancy and virtue. Whilſt this intrigue was carrying on, Ameſtris, wife to Xerxes, made him a preſent of a rich and magnificent robe of her own making. Xerxes, being extremely pleaſed with this robe, thought fit to put it on upon the firſt viſit he afterwards made to Artainta; and in the converſation he had with her, he mightily preſſed her to let him know what ſhe deſired he ſhould do for her, aſſuring her, at the ſame time, with an oath, that he would grant her whatever ſhe asked of him. Artainta, upon this, deſired him to give her the robe he had on. Xerxes, foreſeeing the ill conſequences that would neceſſarily enſue his making her this preſent, did all that he could to diſſuade her from inſiſting upon it, and offered her any thing in the world in lieu of it. But, not being able to prevail upon her, and thinking himſelf bound by the imprudent promiſe and oath he had made to her, he gave her the robe. The lady no ſooner received it, but ſhe put it on, and wore it publickly by way of trophy.

Ameſtris being confirmed in the ſuſpicions ſhe had entertained, by this action, was enraged to the laſt degree. But inſtead of letting her vengeance fall upon the daughter, who was the only offender, ſhe reſolved to wreak it upon the mother, whom ſhe looked upon as the author of the whole intrigue, though ſhe was entirely

entirely innocent of the matter. For the better executing of her purpoſe, ſhe waited till the grand feaſt, which was every year celebrated on the king's birth-day, and which was not far off; on which occaſion the king, according to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the country, granted her whatever ſhe demanded. This day then being come, the thing ſhe deſired of his majeſty was, that the wife of Maſiſtus ſhould be delivered into her hands. Xerxes, who apprehended the queen's deſign, and who was ſtruck with horror at the thoughts of it, as well out of regard to his brother, as on account of the innocence of the lady, againſt whom he perceived his wife was ſo violently exaſperated, at firſt refuſed her requeſt, and endeavoured all he could to diſſuade her from it. But not being able either to prevail upon her, or to act with ſteadineſs and reſolution himſelf, he at laſt yielded, and was guilty of the weakeſt and moſt cruel piece of complaiſance, that ever was acted, making the inviolable obligations of juſtice and humanity give way to the arbitrary laws of a cuſtom, that had only been eſtabliſhed to give occaſion for the doing of good, and for acts of beneficence and generoſity. In conſequence then of this compliance, the lady was apprehended by the king's guards, and delivered to Ameſtris, who cauſed her breaſts, tongue, noſe, ears, and lips to be cut off, ordered them to be caſt to the dogs in her own preſence, and then ſent her home to her husband's houſe in that mutilated and miſerable condition. In the mean time, Xerxes had ſent for his brother, in order to prepare him for this melancholy and tragical adventure. He firſt gave him to underſtand, that he ſhould be glad he would put away his wife; and to induce him thereto, offered to give him one of his daughters in her ſtead. But Maſiſtus, who was paſſionately fond of his wife, could not prevail upon himſelf to divorce her: whereupon Xerxes in great wrath told him, that ſince he refuſed his daughter, he ſhould neither have her nor his wife, and that he would teach him not to reject

the offers his maſter had made him; and with this inhuman reply diſmiſſed him.

This ſtrange proceeding threw Maſiſtus into the greateſt anxiety; who, thinking he had reaſon to apprehend the worſt of accidents, made all the haſte he could home to ſee what had paſſed there during his abſence. On his arrival he found his wife in that deplorable condition we have juſt been deſcribing. Being enraged thereat to the degree we may naturally imagine, he aſſembled all his family, his ſervants and dependants, and ſet out with all poſſible expedition for Bactriana, whereof he was governor, determined, aſſoon as he arrived there, to raiſe an army and make war againſt the king, in order to avenge himſelf for his barbarous treatment. But Xerxes being informed of his haſty departure, and from thence ſuſpecting the deſign he had conceived againſt him, ſent a party of horſe after him to purſue him; which having overtaken him cut him in pieces, together with his children and all his retinue. I do not know, whether a more tragical example of revenge than I have now related, is to be found in hiſtory.

(*i*) There is ſtill another action no leſs cruel or impious than the former, related of Ameſtris. She cauſed fourteen children of the beſt families in Perſia to be burnt alive, as a ſacrifice to the infernal gods, out of compliance with a ſuperſtitious cuſtom practiſed by the Perſians.

(*k*) Maſiſtus being dead, Xerxes gave the governmen of Bactriana to his ſecond ſon Hyſtaſpes, who being by that means obliged to live at a diſtance from the court, gave his younger brother Artaxerxes the opportunity of aſcending the throne to his diſadvantage after the death of their father, as will be ſeen in the ſequel.

Here ends Herodotus's hiſtory (*viz.*) at the battle of Mycale, and the ſiege of the city of S. ſt is by the Athenians.

(*i*) Her. l. 7. c. 114. (*k*) Diod. l. 11. p. 53.

SECT.

SECT. XII. *The Athenians rebuild the walls of their city, notwithstanding the opposition of the Lacedæmonians.*

(*l*) THE war, commonly called the war of Media, which had lasted but two years, being terminated in the manner we have mentioned, the Athenians returned to their own country, sent for their wives and children, whom they had committed to the care of their friends during the war, and began to think of rebuilding their city, which was almost entirely destroyed by the Persians, and to surround it with strong walls, in order to secure it from farther violence. The Lacedæmonians having intelligence of this conceived a jealousy, and began to apprehend, that Athens, which was already very powerful by sea, if it should go on to increase its strength by land also, might take upon her in time to give laws to Sparta, and to deprive her of that authority and pre-eminence, which she had hitherto exercised over the rest of Greece. They therefore sent an embassy to the Athenians, the purport of which was to represent to them, that the common interest and safety required, that there should be no fortified city out of the Peloponnesus, lest, in case of a second irruption, it should serve for a place of arms for the Persians, who would be sure to settle themselves in it, as they had done before at Thebes, and who from thence would be able to infest the whole country, and to make themselves masters of it very speedily. Themistocles, who since the battle of Salamin was greatly considered and respected at Athens, easily penetrated into the true design of the Lacedæmonians, though it was gilded over with the specious pretext of public good: but, as the latter were able, with the assistance of their allies, to hinder the Athenians by force from carrying on the work, in case they should positively and absolutely refuse to comply

(*l*) A. M. 3526. Ant. J. C. 478. Thucyd. l. 8. p. 59—62. Diod. l. 11. p. 30, 31. Justin. l. 2. c. 15.

with

with their demands, he adviſed the ſenate to make uſe of cunning and diſſimulation as well as they. The anſwer therefore they made their envoys was, that they would ſend an embaſſy to Sparta, to ſatisfy the commonwealth concerning their jealouſies and apprehenſions. Themiſtocles got himſelf to be nominated one of the ambaſſadors, and perſuaded the ſenate not to let his collegues ſet out along with him, but to ſend them one after another, in order to gain time for carrying on the work. The matter was executed purſuant to his advice; and he accordingly went alone to Lacedæmon, where he let a great many days paſs without waiting upon the magiſtrates, or applying to the ſenate. And, upon their preſſing him to do it, and aſking him the reaſon why he deferred it ſo long, he made anſwer, that he waited for the arrival of his collegues, that they might all have their audience of the ſenate together, and ſeemed to be very much ſurprized that they were ſo long in coming. At length they arrived: but all came ſingly, and at a good diſtance of time from one another. During all this while, the work was carried on at Athens with the utmoſt induſtry and vigour. The women, children, ſtrangers and ſlaves were all employed in it: nor was it interrupted night or day. The Spartans were not ignorant of the matter, but made great complaints of it to Themiſtocles, who poſitively denied the fact, and preſſed them to ſend other deputies to Athens, in order to inform themſelves better of the fact, deſiring them not to give credit to looſe and flying reports, without foundation. At the ſame time he ſecretly adviſed the Athenians to detain the Spartan envoys as ſo many hoſtages, till he and his collegues were returned from their embaſſy, fearing not without good reaſon that they themſelves might be ſerved in the ſame manner at Sparta. At laſt, when all his fellow-ambaſſadors were arrived, he deſired an audience, and declared in full ſenate, that it was really true the Athenians had reſolved to fortify their city with ſtrong walls; that the work

was almoſt compleated; that they had judged it to be abſolutely neceſſary for their own ſecurity, and for the public good of the allies; telling them at the ſame time, that, after the great experience they had had of the Athenian people's behaviour, they could not well ſuſpect them of being wanting in their zeal for the common intereſt of their country; that, as the condition and privileges of all the allies ought to be equal, it was juſt the Athenians ſhould provide for their own ſafety by all the methods they judged neceſſary, as well as the other confederates; that they had thought this expedient, and were in a condition to defend their city againſt whomſoever ſhould preſume to attack it; and * that as for the Lacedæmonians, it was not much for their honour, that they ſhould deſire to eſtabliſh their power and ſuperiority rather upon the weak and defenceleſs condition of their allies, than upon their own ſtrength and valour. The Lacedæmonians were extremely diſpleaſed with this diſcourſe: but, either out of a ſenſe of gratitude and eſteem for their country, or out of a conviction that they were not able to oppoſe their enterprize, they diſſembled their reſentment; and the ambaſſadors on both ſides, having all ſuitable honours paid them, returned to their reſpective cities.

(*m*) Themiſtocles, who had always his thoughts fixed upon raiſing and augmenting the power and glory of the Athenian commonwealth, did not confine his views to the walls of the city. He went on with the ſame vigorous application to finiſh the building and fortifications of the Piræus: for from the time he entered into office he had begun that great work. Before his time they had no other port at Athens but that of Phalerus, which was neither very large nor commodious, and conſequently not capable of anſwering the great deſigns of Themiſtocles. For this reaſon he

(*m*) Thucyd. p. 62, 65. Diod. l. 11. v. 32, 33.

* Graviter caſtigat eos, quod non virtute, ſed imbecillitate ſociorum potentiam quærerent. *Juſtin.* l. 2. c. 15.

had caſt his eye upon the Piræus, which ſeemed to invite him by its advantagious ſituation, and by the conveniency of its three ſpacious havens, that were capable of containing above four hundred veſſels. This undertaking was proſecuted with ſo much diligence and vivacity, that the work was conſiderably advanced in a very little time. Themiſtocles likewiſe obtained a decree, that every year they ſhould build twenty veſſels for the augmentation of their fleet: and in order to engage the greater number of workmen and ſailors to reſort to Athens, he cauſed particular privileges and immunities to be granted in their favour. His deſign was, as I have already obſerved, to make the whole force of Athens maritime; in which he followed a very different ſcheme of politics from what had been purſued by their antient kings, who endeavouring all they could to alienate the minds of the citizens from ſeafaring buſineſs and from war, and to make them apply themſelves wholly to agriculture and to peaceable employments, publiſhed this fable: That Minerva diſputing with Neptune to know which of them ſhould be declared patron of Attica, and give their name to the city newly built, ſhe gained her cauſe by ſhewing her judges the branch of an olive-tree, the happy ſymbol of peace and plenty, which ſhe had planted; whereas Neptune had made a fiery-horſe, the ſymbol of war and confuſion, riſe out of the earth before them.

SECT. XIII. *The black deſign of Themiſtocles rejected unanimouſly by the people of Athens. Ariſtides's condeſcenſion to the people.*

(n) THEMISTOCLES, who conceived the deſign of ſupplanting the Lacedæmonians, and of taking the government of Greece out of their hands, in order to put it into thoſe of the Athenians, kept his eye and his thoughts continually fixed upon that great project. And as he was not very nice or ſcrupulous in the choice of his meaſures, whatever tended towards

(n) Plut. in Themiſt. p. 121, 122. in Ariſt. p. 332.

the accompliſhing of the end he had in view, he looked upon as juſt and lawful. On a certain day then he declared in a full aſſembly of the people, that he had a very important deſign to propoſe, but that he could not communicate it to the people; becauſe its ſucceſs required it ſhould be carried on with the greateſt ſecreſy: he therefore deſired they would appoint a perſon, to whom he might explain himſelf upon the matter in queſtion. Ariſtides was unanimouſly pitched upon by the whole aſſembly, that referred themſelves entirely to his opinion of the affair; ſo great a confidence had they both in his probity and prudence. Themiſtocles therefore having taken him aſide, told him, that the deſign he had conceived was to burn the fleet belonging to the reſt of the Grecian ſtates, which then lay in a neighbouring port, and that by this means Athens would certainly become miſtreſs of all Greece. Ariſtides hereupon returned to the aſſembly, and only declared to them, that indeed nothing could be more advantagious to the commonwealth than Themiſtocles's project, but that at the ſame time nothing in the world could be more unjuſt. All the people unanimouſly ordain'd, that Themiſtocles ſhould entirely deſiſt from his project. We ſee in this inſtance, that the title of *Juſt* was not given to Ariſtides even in his life-time without ſome foundation: a title, ſays Plutarch, infinitely ſuperior to all thoſe which conquerors purſue with ſo much ardour, and which in ſome meaſure approaches a man to the divinity.

I do not know whether all hiſtory can afford us a fact more worthy of admiration than this. It is not a company of philoſophers (to whom it coſts nothing to eſtabliſh fine maxims and ſublime notions of morality in the ſchools) who determine on this occaſion, that the conſideration of profit and advantage ought never to prevail in preference to what is honeſt and juſt. It is an intire people, who are highly intereſted in the propoſal made to them, who are convinced that it is of the greateſt importance to the welfare of the ſtate,

and

and who however reject it with unanimous conſent and without a moment's heſitation, and that for this only reaſon, that it is contrary to juſtice. How black and perfidious on the other hand was the deſign, which Themiſtocles propoſed to them, of burning the fleet of their Grecian confederates, at a time of entire peace, ſolely to aggrandize the power of the Athenians! Had he an hundred times the merit aſcribed to him, this ſingle action would be ſufficient to fully all his glory. For it is the heart, that is to ſay, integrity and probity, that conſtitutes and diſtinguiſhes true merit.

I am ſorry that Plutarch, who generally judges of things with great juſtneſs, does not ſeem, on this occaſion, to condemn Themiſtocles. After having ſpoken of the works he had effected in the Piræus, he goes on to the fact in queſtion, of which he ſays: (*a*) *Themiſtocles projected ſomething* STILL GREATER, *for the augmentation of their maritime power.*

(*b*) The Lacedæmonians having propoſed in the council of the Amphictyons, that all the cities, which had not taken arms againſt Xerxes, ſhould be excluded from that aſſembly, Themiſtocles, who apprehended, that if the Theſſalians, the Argives, and the Thebans, were excluded that council, the Spartans would by that means become maſters of the ſuffrages, and conſequently determine all affairs according to their pleaſure; Themiſtocles, I ſay, made a ſpeech in behalf of the cities they were for excluding, and brought the deputies, that compoſed the aſſembly, over to his ſentiments. He repreſented to them, that the greateſt part of the cities, that had entered into the confederacy, which were but one and thirty in the whole, were very ſmall and inconſiderable; that it would therefore be a very ſtrange, as well as a very dangerous proceeding, to deprive all the other cities of Greece of their votes and places in the grand aſſembly of the nation,

(*a*) Μεῖζόν τι διενοήθη.
(*b*) Plut. in Themiſt. p. 122.

and by that means ſuffer the auguſt council of the Amphictyons to fall under the direction and influence of two or three of the moſt powerful cities, which for the future would give law to all the reſt, and would ſubvert and aboliſh that equality of power, which was juſtly regarded as the baſis and ſoul of all republicks. Themiſtocles, by this plain and open declaration of his opinion, drew upon himſelf the hatred of the Lacedæmonians, who from that time became his profeſt enemies. He had alſo incurred the diſpleaſure of the reſt of the allies by his having exacted contributions from them in too rigorous and rapacious a manner.

(*c*) When the city of Athens was entirely rebuilt, the people finding themſelves in a ſtate of peace and tranquillity, endeavoured by all ſorts of methods to get the government into their hands, and to make the Athenian ſtate entirely popular. This deſign of theirs, though kept as ſecret as poſſible, did not eſcape the vigilance and penetration of Ariſtides, who ſaw all the conſequences, with which ſuch an innovation would be attended. But, as he conſidered on one hand, that the people were entitled to ſome regard, on account of the valour they had ſhewn in all the late battles they had gained, and on the other, that it would be no eaſy matter to curb and reſtrain a people, who ſtill in a manner had their arms in their hands, and who were grown more inſolent than ever from their victories; on theſe conſiderations, I ſay, he thought it proper to obſerve meaſures with them, and to find out ſome medium to ſatisfy and appeaſe them. He therefore paſſed a decree, by which it was ordained that the government ſhould be common to all the citizens, and that the Archons, who were the chief magiſtrates of the commonwealth, and who uſed to be choſen only out of the richeſt of its members, (*viz.*) from among thoſe only, who received at leaſt five hundred medim-

(*c*) Plut. in Arist. p. 332.

ni's

ni's of grain out of the product of their lands, ſhould for the future be elected indifferently out of all the Athenians without diſtinction. By thus giving up ſomething to the people, he prevented all diſſenſions and commotions, which might have proved fatal, not only to the Athenian ſtate, but to all Greece.

SECT. XIV. *The Lacedæmonians loſe the chief command through the pride and arrogance of Pauſanias.*

(*d*) THE Grecians, encouraged by the happy ſucceſs, which had every were attended their victorious arms, determined to ſend a fleet to ſea, in order to deliver ſuch of their allies, as were ſtill under the yoke of the Perſians, out of their hands. Pauſanias was the commander of the fleet for the Lacedæmonians; and Ariſtides, and Cimon the ſon of Miltiades, commanded for the Athenians. They firſt directed their courſe to the iſle of Cyprus, where they reſtored all the cities to their liberty: then ſteering towards the Helleſpont they attacked the city of Byzantium, of which they made themſelves maſters, and took a vaſt number of priſoners, a great part of whom were of the richeſt and moſt conſiderable families of Perſia.

Pauſanias, who from this time conceived thoughts of betraying his country, judged it proper to make uſe of this opportunity to gain the favour of Xerxes. To this end he cauſed a report to be ſpread among his troops, that the Perſian noblemen, whom he had committed to the guard and care of one of his officers, had made their eſcape by night, and were fled: whereas he had ſet them at liberty himſelf, and ſent a letter by them to Xerxes, wherein he offered to deliver the city of Sparta and all Greece into his hands, on condition he would give him his daughter in marriage. The king did not fail to give him a favourable anſwer, and to ſend him very large ſums of money alſo,

(*d*) A. M. 3523. Ant. J. C. 476. Thucyd. l. 1. p. 63, 84, 86.

in order to win over as many of the Grecians, as he ſhould find diſpoſed to enter into his deſigns. The perſon he appointed to manage this intrigue with him was Artabazus; and to the end that he might have it in his power to tranſact the matter with the greater eaſe and ſecurity, he made him governor of all the ſea-coaſts of Aſia Minor.

(*e*) Pauſanias, who was already dazzled with the proſpect of his future greatneſs, began from this moment to change his whole conduct and behaviour. The poor, modeſt and frugal way of living at Sparta; their ſubjection to rigid and auſtere laws, which neither ſpared nor reſpected any man's perſon, but were altogether as inexorable and inflexible to the greateſt, as to thoſe of the meaneſt condition; all this, I ſay, became inſupportable to Pauſanias. He could not bear the thoughts of going back to Sparta, after his having been poſſeſſed of ſuch high commands and employments, to return to a ſtate of equality, that confounded him with the meaneſt of the citizens; and this was the cauſe of his entering into a treaty with the Barbarians. Having done this, he entirely laid aſide the manners and behaviour of his country; aſſumed both the dreſs and ſtate of the Perſians, and imitated them in all their expenſive luxury and magnificence. He treated the allies with an inſufferable rudeneſs and inſolence; never ſpoke to the officers but with menaces and arrogance; required extraordinary and unuſual honours to be paid to him, and by his whole behaviour rendered the Spartan dominion odious to all the confederates. On the other hand, the courteous, affable and obliging department of Ariſtides and Cimon; an infinite remoteneſs from all imperious and haughty airs, which only tend to alienate people and multiply enemies; a gentle, kind and beneficent diſpoſition, which ſhewed itſelf in all their actions, and which ſerved to temper the authority of

(*e*) Plut. in Ariſt. p. 332, 333.

their

their commands, and to render it both eaſy and amiable; the juſtice and humanity, conſpicuous in every thing they did; the great care they took to offend no perſon whatſoever, and to do kind offices and ſervices to all about them: all this, I ſay, hurt Pauſanias exceedingly, by the contraſt of their oppoſite characters, and exceedingly increaſed the general diſcontent. At laſt this diſſatisfaction publickly broke out; and all the allies deſerted him, and put themſelves under the command and protection of the Athenians. Thus did Ariſtides, ſays Plutarch, by the prevalence of that humanity and gentleneſs, which he oppoſed to the arrogance and roughneſs of Pauſanias, and by inſpiring Cimon his collegue with the ſame ſentiments, inſenſibly draw off the minds of the allies from the Lacedæmonians without their perceiving it, and at length deprived them of the command; not by open force, or by ſending out armies and fleets againſt them, and ſtill leſs by making uſe of any arts or perfidious practices; but by the wiſdom and moderation of his conduct, and by rendering the government of the Athenians amiable.

It muſt be confeſſed at the ſame time, that the Spartan people on this occaſion ſhewed a greatneſs of ſoul and a ſpirit of moderation, that can never be ſufficiently admired. For when they were convinced, that their commanders grew haughty and inſolent from their two great authority, they willingly renounced the ſuperiority, which they had hitherto exerciſed over the reſt of the Grecians, and forbore ſending any more of their generals to command the Grecian armies; chooſing rather, adds the hiſtorian, to have their citizens wiſe, modeſt and ſubmiſſive to the diſcipline and laws of the commonwealth, than to maintain their preeminence and ſuperiority over all the Grecian ſtates.

SECT. XV. *Pausanias's secret conspiracy with the Persians. His death.*

(*f*) UPON the repeated complaints the Spartan commonwealth received on all hands against Pausanias, they recalled him home to give an account of his conduct. But not having sufficient evidence to convict him of his having carried on a correspondence with Xerxes, they were obliged to acquit him on this first tryal; after which he returned of his own private authority and without the consent and approbation of the republic, to the city of Byzantium, from whence he continued to carry on his secret practices with Artabazus. But, as he was still guilty of many violent and unjust proceedings, whilst he resided there, the Athenians obliged him to leave the place; from whence he retired to Colonæ a small city of Troas. There he received an order from the Ephori to return to Sparta, on pain of being declared, in case of disobedience, a public enemy and traitor to his country. He complied with the summons and went home, hoping he should still be able to bring himself off by dint of money. On his arrival he was committed to prison, and was soon afterwards brought again upon his tryal before the judges. The charge brought against him was supported by many suspicious circumstances and strong presumptions. Several of his own slaves confessed that he had promised to give them their liberty, in case they would enter into his designs, and serve him with fidelity and zeal in the execution of his projects. But, as it was the custom for the Ephori never to pronounce sentence of death against a Spartan without a full and direct proof of the crime laid to his charge, they looked upon the evidence against him as insufficient; and the more so, as he was of the royal family, and was actually invested with the administration of the regal office; for Pausanias exercised the

(*f*) A. M. 5529. Ant. J. C. 475. Thucyd. l. 1. p. 86, & 89. Diod. l. 11. p. 34--36. Cor. Nep. in Pausan.

function

function of king, as being the guardian and nearest relation to Pliſtarchus, the ſon of Leonidas, who was then in his minority. He was therefore acquitted a ſecond time, and ſet at liberty.

Whilſt the Ephori were thus perplexed for want of clear and plain evidence againſt the offender, a certain ſlave, who was called the Argilian, came to them, and brought them a letter, writ by Pauſanias himſelf to the king of Perſia, which the ſlave was to have carried and delivered to Artabazus. It muſt be obſerv'd by the way, that this Perſian governor and Pauſanias had agreed together, immediately to put to death all the couriers they mutually ſent to one another, as ſoon as their packets or meſſages were delivered, that there might be no poſſibility left of tracing out or diſcovering their correſpondence. The Argilian, who ſaw none of his fellow-ſervants, that were ſent expreſſes, return back again, had ſome ſuſpicion; and when it came to his turn to go, he opened the letter he was entruſted with, in which Artabazus was really deſired to kill him purſuant to their agreement. This was the letter the ſlave put into the hands of the Ephori; who ſtill thought even this proof inſufficient in the eye of the law, and therefore endeavoured to corroborate it, by the teſtimony of Pauſanias himſelf. The ſlave, in concert with them, withdrew to the temple of Neptune in Tenaros, as to a ſecure aſylum. Two ſmall cloſets were purpoſely made there, in which the Ephori and ſome Spartans hid themſelves. The inſtant Pauſanias was informed that the Argilian had fled to this temple, he haſted thither, to enquire the reaſon. The ſlave confeſſed that he had opened the letter; and that finding by the contents of it he was to be put to death, he had fled to that temple to ſave his life. As Pauſanias could not deny the fact, he made the beſt excuſe he could; promiſed the ſlave a great reward; obliged him to promiſe, not to mention what had paſſed between them to any perſon whatſoever. Pauſanias then left him.

Pauſanias's guilt was now but too evident. The moment he was returned to the city, the Ephori were reſolved to ſeize him. From the aſpect of one of thoſe magiſtrates, he plainly perceived that ſome evil deſign was hatching againſt him, and therefore he ran with the utmoſt ſpeed to the temple of Pallas, called Chalcioecos, near that place, and got into it before the purſuers could overtake him. The entrance was immediately ſtopt up with great ſtones: and hiſtory informs us, that the criminal's mother ſet the firſt example on that occaſion. They now tore off the roof of the chapel: but as the Ephori did not dare to take him out of it by force, becauſe this would have been a violation of that ſacred aſylum, they reſolved to leave him expoſed to the inclemencies of the weather, and accordingly he was ſtarved to death. His corps was buried not far from that place: but the oracle of Delphi, whom they conſulted ſoon after, declared, that to appeaſe the anger of the goddeſs, who was juſtly offended on account of the violation of her temple, two ſtatues muſt be ſet up there in honour of Pauſanias, which was done accordingly.

Such was the end of Pauſanias, whoſe wild and inconſiderate ambition had ſtifled in him all ſentiments of probity, honour, love of his country, zeal for liberty, and of hatred and averſion for the Barbarians: ſentiments which, in ſome meaſure, were inherent in all the Greeks, and particularly in the Lacedæmonians.

SECT. XVI. *Themiſtocles, being purſued by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, as an accomplice in Pauſanias's conſpiracy, flies for ſhelter to king Admetus.*

(g) THEMISTOCLES was alſo charged with being an accomplice of Pauſanias. He was then in exile. A paſſionate thirſt of glory, and a ſtrong deſire to command arbitrarily over the citizens,

(g) Thucyd. l. 1. p. 89, 90. Plut. in Themiſt. c. 123, 124. Cornel. Nep. in Themiſt. c. 8.

had

had made him very odious to them. He had built, very near his houſe, a temple in honour of Diana, under this title, *To Diana goddeſs of good counſel*; as hinting to the Athenians, that he had given good counſel to their city and to all Greece; and he alſo had placed his ſtatue in it, which was ſtanding in Plutarch's time. It appeared, ſays he, from this ſtatue, that his phyſiognomy was as heroic as his valour. Finding that men liſtned with pleaſure to all the calumnies his enemies ſpread againſt him, to ſilence them, he was for ever expatiating, in all public aſſemblies, on the ſervices he had done his country. As they were at laſt tired with hearing him repeat this ſo often, *How!* ſays he to them, *are you weary of having good offices frequently done you by the ſame perſons?* He did not conſider, that putting them ſo often in mind * of his ſervices, was in a manner reproaching them with their having forgot them, which was not very obliging; and he ſeemed not to know, that the ſureſt way to acquire applauſe, is to leave the beſtowing of it to others, and to reſolve to do ſuch things only as are praiſe-worthy; and that a frequent repetition of one's own virtue and exalted actions, is ſo far from appeaſing envy, that it only enflames it.

(*b*) Themiſtocles, after having been baniſhed from Athens by the oſtraciſm, withdrew to Argos. He was there, when Pauſanias was proſecuted as a traytor, who had conſpired againſt his country. He had at firſt concealed his machinations from Themiſtocles, though he was one of his beſt friends; but as ſoon as he was expelled his country, and highly reſented that injury, he diſcloſed his projects to him, and preſſed him to join in them. To induce his compliance, he ſhowed him the letters which the king of Perſia wrote to him; and endeavoured to animate him againſt the Athenians, by painting their injuſtice and ingratitude

(*b*) Plut. in Themiſt. p. 112.

* Hoc moleſtum eſt. Nam iſthæc commemoratio quaſi exprobratio eſt immemoris beneficii. *Terent. in Andr.*

in

in the ſtrongeſt colours. However, Themiſtocles rejected with indignation the propoſals of Pauſanias, and refuſed peremptorily to engage in any manner in his ſchemes: but then he concealed what had paſſed between them, and did not diſcover the enterprize he had formed; whether it was that he imagined Pauſanias would renounce it of himſelf, or was perſuaded that it would be diſcovered ſome other way; it not being poſſible for ſo dangerous and ill-concerted an enterprize to take effect.

After Pauſanias's death, ſeveral letters and other things were found among his papers, which raiſed a violent ſuſpicion of Themiſtocles. The Lacedæmonians ſent deputies to Athens to accuſe and have ſentence of death paſſed upon him: and ſuch of the citizens who envied him, joined theſe accuſers. Ariſtides had now a fair opportunity of revenging himſelf on his rival, for the injurious treatment he had received from him, had his ſoul been capable of ſo cruel a ſatisfaction. But he refuſed abſolutely to join in ſo horrid a combination; as little inclined to delight in the misfortunes of his adverſary, as he had before been to regret his ſucceſſes. Themiſtocles anſwered by letters all the calumnies with which he was charged; and preſented to the Athenians, that as he had ever been fond of ruling, and his temper being ſuch as would not ſuffer him to be lorded over by others, it was highly improbable that he ſhould have a deſign to deliver up himſelf, and all Greece, to enemies and Barbarians.

In the mean time the people, too ſtrongly wrought upon by his accuſers, ſent ſome perſons to ſeize him, that he might be tried by the council of Greece. Themiſtocles, having timely notice of it, went into the iſland of Corcyra, to whoſe inhabitants he formerly had done ſome ſervice: however, not thinking himſelf ſafe there, he fled to Epirus; and finding himſelf ſtill purſued by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, out of deſpair, he made a very dangerous choice, which was, to fly to Admetus king of Moloſſus for refuge. This

prince,

prince, having formerly desired the aid of the Athenians, and being refused with ignominy by Themistocles, who at that time presided in the government, had retained the deepest resentment on that account, and declared, that he would take the first opportunity to revenge himself. But Themistocles, imagining that in the unhappy situation of his affairs, the recent envy of his fellow-citizens was more to be feared than the antient grudge of that king, was resolved to run the hazard of it. Being come into the palace of that monarch, upon being informed that he was absent, he addressed himself to the queen, who received him very graciously, and instructed him in the manner it was proper to make his request. Admetus being returned, Themistocles takes the king's son in his arms, seats himself on his hearth amidst his houshold gods, and there telling him who he was, and the cause why he fled to him for refuge, he implores his clemency, owns that his life is in his hand, intreats him to forget the past; and represents to him, that no action can be more worthy a great king than to exercise clemency. Admetus, surprized and moved with compassion in seeing at his feet, in so humble a posture, the greatest man of all Greece, and the conqueror of all Asia, raised him immediately from the ground, and promised to protect him against all his enemies. Accordingly, when the Athenians and Lacedæmonians came to demand him, he refused absolutely to deliver up a person who had made his palace his asylum, in the firm persuasion that it would be sacred and inviolable.

Whilst he was at the court of this prince, one of his friends found an opportunity to carry off his wife and children from Athens, and to send them to him; for which that person was some time after seized and condemned to die. With regard to Themistocles's effects, his friends secured the greatest part of them for him, which they afterwards found opportunity to remit him; but all that could be discovered, which amounted

mounted to an hundred † talents, was carried to the public treaſury. When he entered upon the adminiſtration, he was not worth three talents. I ſhall leave this illuſtrious exile for ſome time in the court of king Admetus, to reſume the ſequel of this hiſtory.

SECT. XVII. *Ariſtides's diſintereſted adminiſtration of the public treaſure. His death and elogium.*

(*b*) I Have before obſerved, that the command of Greece had paſſed from Sparta to the Athenians. Hitherto the cities and nations of Greece had indeed contributed ſome ſums of money towards carrying on the expence of the war againſt the Barbarians; but this repartition or diviſion had always occaſioned great feuds, becauſe it was not made in a juſt or equal proportion. It was thought proper, under this new government, to lodge in the iſland of Delos, the common treaſure of Greece; to fix new regulations with regard to the public monies; and to lay ſuch a tax as might be regulated according to the revenue of each city and ſtate; in order that the expences being equally borne by the ſeveral individuals who compoſed the body of the allies, no one might have reaſon to murmur. The buſineſs was, to find a perſon of ſo honeſt and incorrupt a mind, as to diſcharge faithfully an employment of ſo delicate and dangerous a kind, the due adminiſtration of which ſo nearly concerned the public welfare. All the allies caſt their eyes on Ariſtides; accordingly they inveſted him with full powers, and appointed him to levy a tax on each of them, relying entirely on his wiſdom and juſtice.

The citizens had no cauſe to repent their choice. * He preſided over the treaſury with the fidelity and

(*b*) Plut. in Ariſt. p. 333, 334. Dicd. l. 11. p. 36.

† *An hundred thouſand crowns French, about* 22500 l. *ſterling.*

* Tu quidem orbis terrarum rationes adminiſtras; tam abſtinenter quàm alienas, tam diligenter quàm tuas, tam religiosè quàm publicas. In officio amorem conſequeris, in quo odium vitare difficile eſt. *Senec. lib. de brevit. vit. cap.* 18.

diſinte-

diſintereſtedneſs of a man, who looks upon it as a capital crime to embezzle the ſmalleſt portion of another's poſſeſſions; with the care and activity of a father of a family, in the management of his own eſtate; and with the caution and integrity of a perſon, who conſiders the public monies as ſacred. In fine, he ſucceeded in what is equally difficult and extraordinary, *viz.* to acquire the love of all in an office, in which he that eſcapes the public odium gains a great point. Such is the glorious character which Seneca gives of a perſon charged with an employment of almoſt the ſame kind, and the nobleſt elogium that can be given ſuch as adminiſter public revenues. It is the exact picture of Ariſtides. He diſcovered ſo much probity and wiſdom in the exerciſe of this office, that no man complained; and thoſe times were conſidered ever after as the golden age, that is, the period in which Greece had attained its higheſt pitch of virtue and happineſs. And indeed, the tax which he had fixed, in the whole, to four hundred and ſixty * talents, was raiſed by Pericles to ſix hundred, and ſoon after to thirteen hundred talents: it was not that the expences of the war were increaſed, but the treaſure was employed to very uſeleſs purpoſes, in manual diſtributions to the Athenians, in ſolemnizing of games and feſtivals, in building of temples and public edifices; not to mention, that the hands of thoſe who ſuperintended the treaſury, were not always clean and uncorrupt as thoſe of Ariſtides. This wiſe and equitable conduct ſecured him, to lateſt poſterity, the glorious ſurname of *the Juſt*.

Nevertheleſs, Plutarch relates an action of Ariſtides, which ſhows that the Greeks, (the ſame may be ſaid of the Romans) had a very narrow and imperfect idea of juſtice. They confined the exerciſe of it to the interior, as it were, of civil ſociety; and acknowledged that the individuals were bound to obſerve ſtrictly

* *The talent is worth a thouſand French crowns; or, about* 225 *l. ſterling.*

its

its ſeveral maxims: But with regard to their country, to the republic, (their great idol to which they reduced every thing) they thought in a quite different manner; and imagined themſelves eſſentially obliged to ſacrifice to it, not only their lives and poſſeſſions, but even their religion and the moſt ſacred engagements, in oppoſition to and contempt of the moſt ſolemn oaths. This will appear evidently in what follows.

(*i*) After the regulation had been made in reſpect to the tributes of which I have juſt ſpoke, Ariſtides having ſettled the ſeveral articles of the alliance, made the confederates take an oath to obſerve them punctually, and he himſelf ſwore in the name of the Athenians; and in denouncing the curſes which always accompanied the oaths, he threw into the ſeas, purſuant to the uſual cuſtom, large bars of red-hot iron. But the ill ſtate of the Athenian affairs forcing them afterwards to infringe ſome of thoſe articles, and to govern a little more arbitrarily, he intreated them to vent thoſe curſes on him, and diſcharge themſelves thereby of the puniſhment due to ſuch as had forſworn themſelves, and who had been reduced to it by the unhappy ſituation of their affairs. Theophraſtus tells us, that in general (theſe words are borrowed from Plutarch) Ariſtides, who executed all matters relating to himſelf or the public with the moſt impartial and rigorous juſtice, uſed to act, in his adminiſtration, ſeveral things, according as the exigency of affairs, and the welfare of his country might require; it being his opinion, that a government, in order to ſupport itſelf, is, on ſome occaſions, obliged to have recourſe to injuſtice, of which he gives the following example. One day, as the Athenians were debating in their council, about bringing to their city, in oppoſition to the articles of the treaty, the common treaſures of Greece which were depoſited in Delos: the Samians having opened the debate; when it was Ariſtides's turn to ſpeak, he ſaid, that the diſlodging of the treaſure was

(*i*) Ibid. p. 333, 334.

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an unjuſt action, but uſeful, and made this opinion take place. This incident ſhows, that the pretended wiſdom of the heathens was overſpread with great obſcurity and error.

It was ſcarce poſſible to have a greater contempt for riches than Ariſtides had. Themiſtocles, who was not pleaſed with the encomiums beſtowed on other men, hearing Ariſtides applauded for the noble diſintereſtedneſs with which he adminiſtred the public treaſures, did but laugh at it; and ſaid, that the praiſes beſtowed upon him for it, ſhowed no greater merit or virtue than that of a ſtrong cheſt, which faithfully preſerves all the monies that are ſhut up in it, without retaining any. This low ſneer was by way of revenge for a ſtroke of raillery that had ſtung him to the quick. Themiſtocles ſaying, that, in his opinion, the greateſt talent a general could poſſeſs, was to be able to foreſee the deſigns of an enemy: "This talent," replied Ariſtides, "is neceſſary; but there is another "no leſs noble and worthy a general, that is, to have "clean hands, and a ſoul ſuperior to venality and "views of intereſt." Ariſtides might very juſtly anſwer Themiſtocles in this manner, ſince he was really very poor, though he had poſſeſſed the higheſt employments in the ſtate. He ſeemed to have an innate love for poverty; and ſo far from being aſhamed of it, he thought it reflected as much glory on him, as all the trophies and victories he had won. Hiſtory gives us a ſhining inſtance of this.

Callias, who was a near relation of Ariſtides, and the moſt wealthy citizen in Athens, was cited to appear before the judges. The accuſer, laying very little ſtreſs on the cauſe itſelf, reproached him eſpecially with permitting Ariſtides, his wife and children, to live in poverty, at a time when he himſelf wallowed in riches. Callias perceiving that theſe reproaches made a ſtrong impreſſion on the judges, he ſummoned Ariſtides to declare before them, whether he had not often preſſed him to accept of large ſums of money; and

and whether he had not obſtinately refuſed to accept of his offer, with ſaying, That he had more reaſon to boaſt of his poverty, than Callias of his riches: That many perſons were to be found who had made a good uſe of their wealth, but that there were few who bore their poverty with magnanimity and even joy; and that none had cauſe to bluſh at their abject condition, but ſuch as had reduced themſelves to it by their idleneſs, their intemperance, their profuſion, or diſſolute conduct. (*k*) Ariſtides declared, that his kinſman had told nothing but the truth; and added, that a man whoſe frame of mind is ſuch, as to ſuppreſs a deſire of ſuperfluous things, and who confines the wants of life within the narroweſt limits; beſides its freeing him from a thouſand importunate cares, and leaving him ſo much maſter of his time, as to devote it entirely to the public; it alſo approaches him, in ſome meaſure, to the deity, who is wholly void of cares or wants. There was no man in the aſſembly, but, at his leaving it, would have choſe to be Ariſtides, tho' ſo poor, rather than Callias with all his riches.

Plutarch gives us, in few words, Plato's glorious teſtimony of Ariſtides's virtue, for which he looks upon him as infinitely ſuperior to all the illuſtrious men his cotemporaries. Themiſtocles, Cimon, and Pericles, (ſays he) filled indeed their city with ſplendid edifices, with porticos, ſtatues, rich ornaments, and other vain ſuperfluities of that kind; but Ariſtides did all that lay in his power to enrich every part of it with virtue: Now, to raiſe a city to true happineſs, it muſt be made virtuous, not rich.

Plutarch takes notice of another circumſtance in Ariſtides's life, which, though of the ſimpleſt kind, reflects the greateſt honour on him, and may ſerve as an excellent leſſon. It is in the beautiful (*l*) treatiſe, in which he enquires, whether it is proper for old men to concern themſelves with affairs of government; and where he points out admirably well, the various ſervices

(*k*) Plut. in compar. Ariſt. & Cato. p. 355. (*l*) P. 795, 797.

they

they may do the ſtate, even in an advanced age. We are not to fancy, ſays he, that all public ſervices require great motion and hurry, ſuch as, to harangue the people, to preſide in the government, or to head armies: An old man, whoſe mind is informed with wiſdom, may, without going abroad, exerciſe a kind of magiſtracy in it, which though ſecret and obſcure, is not therefore the leſs important; and that is, in training up youth by good counſel, teaching them the various ſprings of policy, and how to act in public affairs. Ariſtides, adds Plutarch, was not always in office, but was always uſeful to it. His houſe was a public ſchool of virtue, wiſdom, and policy. It was open to all young Athenians, who were lovers of virtue, and theſe uſed to conſult him as an oracle. He gave them the kindeſt reception, heard them with patience, inſtructed them with familiarity; and endeavoured, above all things, to animate their courage, and inſpire them with confidence. It is obſerved particularly that Cimon, afterwards ſo famous, was obliged to him for this important ſervice.

Plutarch * divided the life of ſtateſmen into three ages. In the firſt, he would have them learn the principles of government; in the ſecond, reduce them to practice; and in the third, inſtruct others.

(*m*) Hiſtory does not mention the exact time when, nor place where, Ariſtides died; but then it pays a glorious teſtimony to his memory, when it aſſures us, that this great man, who had poſſeſſed the higheſt employments in the republic, and had the abſolute diſpoſal of its treaſures, died poor, and did not leave money enough to defray the expences of his funeral; ſo that the government was obliged to bear the charge of it, and to maintain his family. His

(*m*) Plut. in Ariſt. p. 334, 335.

* *He applies on this occaſion the cuſtom uſed in Rome, where the Veſtals ſpent the firſt ten years in learning their office, and this was a kind of* noviciate; *the next ten years they employed in the exerciſe of their functions, and the laſt ten in inſtructing the young novices in them.*

daughters

daughters were married, and Lyſimachus his ſon was ſubſiſted at the expence of the Prytaneum; which alſo gave the daughter of the latter, after his death, the penſion with which thoſe were honoured who had been victorious at the Olympic games. (*n*) Plutarch relates on this occaſion, the liberality of the Athenians in favour of the poſterity of Ariſtogiton their deliverer, who was fallen to decay; and he adds, that even in his time, (almoſt ſix hundred years after) the ſame goodneſs and liberality ſtill ſubſiſted: It was glorious for a city, to have preſerved for ſo many centuries its generoſity and gratitude; and a ſtrong motive to animate individuals, who were aſſured that their children would enjoy the rewards which death might prevent them from receiving! It was delightful to ſee the remote poſterity of the defenders and deliverers of the commonwealth, who had inherited nothing from their anceſtors but the glory of their actions, maintained for ſo many ages at the expence of the public, in conſideration of the ſervices their families had rendered. They lived in this manner with much more honour, and called up the remembrance of their anceſtors with much greater ſplendor, than a multitude of citizens, whoſe fathers had been ſtudious only of leaving them great eſtates, which generally do not long ſurvive thoſe who raiſed them, and often leave their poſterity nothing but the odious remembrance of the injuſtice and oppreſſion by which they were acquired.

The greateſt honour which the antients have done Ariſtides, is in beſtowing on him the glorious title of *the Juſt*. He gained it, not by one particular action, but by the whole tenor of his conduct and actions. Plutarch makes a reflexion on this occaſion, which being very remarkable, I think it incumbent on me not to omit.

(*o*) Among the ſeveral virtues of Ariſtides, ſays this judicious author, that for which he was moſt renown-

(*n*) Vide Vol. II. *of antient Hiſt.* p. 361. (*o*) Plut. in vit. Ariſt. p. 321, 322.

ed,

ed, was his juſtice; becauſe this virtue is of moſt general uſe; its benefits extending to a greater number of perſons; as it is the foundation, and in a manner the ſoul of every public office and employment. Hence it was that Ariſtides, though in low circumſtances, and of mean extraction, merited the title of *Juſt*; a title, ſays Plutarch, truly royal, or rather truly divine; but one of which princes are ſeldom ambitious, becauſe generally ignorant of its beauty and excellency. They chuſe rather to be called (*p*) the conquerors of cities, and the thunderbolts of war; and ſometimes even eagles and lions: preferring the vain honour of pompous titles, which convey no other idea but violence and ſlaughter, to the ſolid glory of thoſe expreſſive of goodneſs and virtue. They don't know, continues Plutarch, that of the three chief attributes of the deity, of whom kings boaſt themſelves the image, I mean, immortality, power, and juſtice; that of theſe three attributes, I ſay, the firſt of which excites our admiration and deſire, the ſecond fills us with dread and terror, and the third inſpires us with love and reſpect, this laſt only, is truly and perſonally communicated to man, and is the only one that can conduct him to the other two; it being impoſſible for man to become truly immortal and powerful, but by being juſt.

(*q*) Before I reſume the ſequel of this hiſtory, it may not be improper to obſerve, that it was about this period the fame of the Greeks, ſtill more renowned for the wiſdom of their polity than the glory of their victories, induced the Romans to have recourſe to their lights and knowledge. Rome, formed under kings, was in want of ſuch laws, as were neceſſary for the good government of a commonwealth. * For this purpoſe

(*p*) Polierceteſ, Cerauni, Nicanores. (*q*) A. M. 3532. Of Rome, 302.

* Miſſi legati Athenas, juſſique inclitas leges Solonis deſcribere, & aliarum Græciæ civitatum inſtituta, mores, *juraque noſcere*. Decem tabularum leges perlatæ ſunt (quibus adjectæ poſtea duæ) qui nunc

purpoſe the Romans ſent deputies to copy the laws of the cities of Greece, and particularly of Athens, which were ſtill better adapted to the popular government that had been eſtabliſhed after the expulſion of the kings. On this model, the ten magiſtrates called *Decemviri*, and who were inveſted with abſolute authority, were created: 'Theſe digeſted the laws of the twelve tables, which are the baſis of the Roman law.

SECT. XVIII. *Death of Xerxes killed by Artabanus. His character.*

(*r*) THE ill ſucceſs of Xerxes in his expedition againſt the Greeks, and which continued afterwards, at length diſcouraged him. Renouncing all thoughts of war and conqueſt, he abandoned himſelf entirely to luxury and eaſe, and was ſtudious of nothing but his pleaſures. * Artabanus, a native of Hyrcania, captain of his guards, and who had long been one of his chief favourites, found that this diſſolute conduct had drawn upon him the contempt of his ſubjects. He therefore imagined that this would be a favourable opportunity to conſpire againſt his ſovereign; and his ambition was ſo vaſt, that he flattered himſelf with the hopes of ſucceeding him in the throne (*s*). It is very likely, that he was excited to the commiſſion of this crime, from another motive. Xerxes had commanded him to murder Darius, his eldeſt ſon, but for what cauſe hiſtory is ſilent. As this order had been given at a banquet, and when the company was heated with wine, he did not doubt but that Xerxes would forget it, and therefore was not in haſte to obey it: However, he was miſtaken, for the king complained upon that account, which made Artabanus

(*r*) A. M. 3531. Ant. J. C. 473. Cteſ. c. 2. Diod. l. 11. p. 52. Juſtin. l. 3. c. 1.

(*s*) Ariſt. Politic. l. 5. c. 10. p. 404.

nunc quoque in hoc immenſo aliarum ſuper alias privatarum legum cumulo, fons omnis publici privatique eſt juris. *Liv. l.* 3. *n.* 31. & 34.

* *This was not the Artabanus uncle to Xerxes.*

dread

dread his resentment, and therefore he resolved to prevent him. Accordingly he prevailed upon Mithridates, one of the eunuchs of the palace, and great chamberlain, to engage in his conspiracy; and by his means entered the chamber where the king lay, and murdered him in his sleep. He then went immediately to Artaxerxes the third son of Xerxes. He informed him of the murder, charging Darius his eldest brother with it; as if impatience to ascend the throne had prompted him to that execrable deed. He added, that to secure the crown to himself, he was resolved to murder him also, for which reason it would be absolutely necessary for him to keep upon his guard. These words having made such an impression on Artaxerxes (a youth) as Artabanus desired, he went immediately into his brother's apartment, where, being assisted by Artabanus and his guards, he murdered him. Hystaspes, Xerxes's second son, was next heir to the crown after Darius; but as he was then in Bactriana, of which he was governor, Artabanus seated Artaxerxes on the throne, but did not design to suffer him to enjoy it, longer than he had formed a faction strong enough to drive him from it, and ascend it himself. His great authority had gained him a multitude of creatures; besides this, he had seven sons, who were of a very tall stature, handsome, strong, courageous, and raised to the highest employments in the empire. The aid he hoped to receive from them, was the chief motive of his raising his views so high. But, whilst he was attempting to compleat his design, Artaxerxes being informed of this plot by Megabyzus, who had married one of his sisters, he endeavoured to anticipate him, and killed him before he had an opportunity of putting his treason in execution. His death established this prince in the possession of the kingdom.

Thus we have seen the end of Xerxes, who was one of the most powerful princes that ever lived. It would

would be needleſs for me to anticipate the reader, with reſpect to the judgment he ought to form of him. We ſee him ſurrounded with whatever is greateſt and moſt auguſt in the opinion of mankind: the moſt extenſive empire at that time in the world; immenſe treaſures, and an incredible number of land as well as ſea forces. But all theſe things are round him, not in him, and add no luſtre to his natural qualities: for, by a blindneſs too common to princes and great men; born in the midſt of all terreſtrial bleſſings, heir to boundleſs power, and a luſtre that had coſt him nothing, he had accuſtomed himſelf to judge of his own talents and perſonal merit, from the exterior of his exalted ſtation and rank. He diſregards the wiſe counſels of Artabanus his uncle, and of Demaratus, who alone had courage enough to ſpeak truth to him; and he abandons himſelf to courtiers, the adorers of his fortune, whoſe whole ſtudy it was to ſooth his paſſions. He proportions, and pretends to regulate the ſucceſs of his enterprizes, by the extent of his power. The ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion of ſo many nations no longer ſooths his ambition; and little affected with too eaſy an obedience, he takes pleaſure in exerciſing his power over the elements, in cutting his way through mountains, and making them navigable; in chaſtiſing the ſea for having broke down his bridge, and in fooliſhly attempting to ſhackle the waves, by throwing chains into them. Big-ſwoln with a childiſh vanity and a ridiculous pride, he looks upon himſelf as the arbiter of nature: He imagines, that not a nation in the world will dare to wait his arrival; and fondly and preſumptuouſly relies on the millions of men and ſhips which he drags after him. But when, after the battle of Salamin, he beholds the ſad ruins, the ſhameful remains of his numberleſs troops ſcattered over all Greece *; he then is ſenſible of the wide

* Stratuſque per totam paſſim Græciam Xerxes intellexit, quantum ab exercitu turba diſtaret. *Senec. de benef.* l. 6. c. 32.

difference

difference between an army and a crowd of men. In a word, to form a right judgment of Xerxes, we need but contraſt him with a citizen of Athens, a Miltiades, Themiſtocles, or Ariſtides. In the latter we find all the good ſenſe, prudence, ability in war, valour and greatneſs of ſoul; in the former we ſee nothing but vanity, pride, obſtinacy; the meaneſt and moſt groveling ſentiments, and ſometimes the moſt horrid barbarity.

BOOK THE SEVENTH.

THE ANTIENT HISTORY OF THE Perſians *and* Grecians.

The firſt and third chapters of this book include the hiſtory of the Perſians and Greeks, during forty-eight years and ſome months, which contain the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus; the laſt ſix years of which anſwer to the ſix firſt of the Peloponneſian war. This ſpace of time begins at the year of the world 3531, and ends at 3579.

The ſecond chapter comprehends the other tranſactions of the Greeks, which happened both in Sicily and Italy, during the interval above-mentioned.

CHAPTER I.

THIS chapter includes the hiſtory of the Perſians and Greeks, from the beginning of Artaxerxes's reign, to the Peloponneſian war, which began in the 42d year of that king's reign.

SECT.

SECT. I. *Artaxerxes ruins the faction of Artabanus, and that of Hyſtaſpes his elder brother.*

(*a*) THE Greek hiſtorians give this prince the ſirname of Longimanus. Strabo (*b*) ſays, it was becauſe his hands were ſo long, that when he ſtood upright he could touch his knees with them; but according to (*c*) Plutarch, it was becauſe his right hand was longer than his left. Had it not been for this blemiſh, he would have been the moſt graceful man of his age. He was ſtill more remarkable for his goodneſs and generoſity. He reigned about forty-nine years.

(*d*) Although Artaxerxes, by the death of Artabanus, was delivered from a dangerous competitor, there ſtill were two obſtacles in his way, before he could eſtabliſh himſelf in the quiet poſſeſſion of his throne; one of which was, his brother Hyſtaſpes, governor of Bactriana; and the other, the faction of Artabanus. He began by the latter.

Artabanus had left ſeven ſons, and a great number of partiſans, who ſoon aſſembled to revenge his death. Theſe, and the adherents of Artaxerxes fought a bloody battle, in which a great number of Perſian nobles loſt their lives. Artaxerxes having at laſt entirely defeated his enemies, put to death all who had engaged in this conſpiracy. He took an exemplary vengeance of thoſe who were concerned in his father's murder, and particularly of Mithridates the eunuch, who had betrayed him, and who was executed in the following manner. (*e*) He was laid on his back in a kind of horſe-trough, and ſtrongly faſtened to the four corners of it. Every part of him, except his head, his hands and feet, which came out at holes made for that purpoſe, was covered with another trough. In this horrid ſituation victuals were given him from time to time; and in caſe of his refuſal to eat it, they were

(*a*) A. M. 3531. Ant. J. C. 473. (*b*) Lib. 15. p. 735. (*c*) In Artax. p. 1011. (*d*) Ctef. c. 30. (*e*) Plut. in Artax. p. 1019.

forced down his throat: honey mixed with milk was given him to drink, and all his face was ſmeared with it, which by that means attracted a numberleſs multitude of flies, eſpecially as he was perpetually expoſed to the ſcorching rays of the ſun. The worms which bred in his excrements prey'd upon his bowels. The criminal generally lived fifteen or twenty days in inexpreſſible torments.

(*d*) Artaxerxes having cruſhed the faction of Artabanus, was powerful enough to ſend an army into Bactriana, which had declared in favour of his brother, but he was not ſucceſsful on this occaſion. The two armies engaging, Hyſtaſpes ſtood his ground ſo well, that, if he did not gain the victory, he at leaſt ſuſtained no loſs; ſo that both armies ſeparated with equal ſucceſs; and each retired to prepare for a ſecond battle. Artaxerxes having raiſed a greater army than his brother, (not to mention that the whole empire declared in his favour) defeated him in a ſecond engagement, and entirely ruined his party. By this victory he ſecured to himſelf the quiet poſſeſſion of the empire.

(*e*) To maintain himſelf in the throne, he removed all ſuch governors of cities and provinces from their employments, as he ſuſpected to hold a correſpondence with either of the factions he had overcome, and ſubſtituted others on whom he could rely. He afterwards applied himſelf to reforming the abuſes and diſorders which had crept into the government. By his wiſe conduct and zeal for the public good, he ſoon acquired great reputation and authority, with the love of his ſubjects, the ſtrongeſt ſupport of ſovereign power.

SECT. II. *Themiſtocles flies to Artaxerxes.*

(*f*) ACcording to Thucydides, Themiſtocles fled to this prince in the beginning of his reign; but other authors, as Strabo, Plutarch, Diodorus, fix this incident under Xerxes his predeceſſor. Dr. Prideaux is

(*d*) Cteſ. c. 31. (*e*) Diod. l. 11. p. 54. (*f*) A. M. 3531.

of

of the latter opinion; he likewiſe thinks, that the Artaxerxes in queſtion, is the ſame with him who is called Ahaſuerus in ſcripture, and who married Eſther: but we ſuppoſe with the learned archbiſhop Uſher, that it was Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes who eſpouſed this illuſtrious Jeweſs. I have already declared more than once, that I would not engage in controverſies of this kind; and therefore, with regard to this flight of Themiſtocles into Perſia, and the hiſtory of Eſther, I ſhall follow the opinion of the learned Uſher, my uſual guide on theſe occaſions.

(g) We have ſeen that Themiſtocles had fled to Admetus king of the Moloſſi, and had met with a gracious reception from him: But the Athenians and Lacedæmonians would not ſuffer him to live in peace, and required that prince to deliver him up; threatning, in caſe of his refuſal, to carry their arms into his country. Admetus, who was unwilling to draw ſuch formidable enemies upon himſelf, and much more to deliver up the man who had fled to him for refuge, informed him of the great danger to which he was expoſed, and favoured his flight. Themiſtocles went as far by land as Pydna, a city of Macedonia, and there embarked on board a merchant ſhip which was ſailing to Ionia. None of the paſſengers knew him. A ſtorm having carried this veſſel near the iſland of Naxos, then beſieged by the Athenians; the immiment danger to which Themiſtocles was expoſed, obliged him to diſcover himſelf to the pilot and maſter of the ſhip; after which, by intreaties and menaces, he forced them to ſail towards Aſia.

(*h*) Themiſtocles might on this occaſion call to mind the advice which his father had given him when an infant, *viz.* to lay very little ſtreſs on the favour of the common people. They were then walking together in the harbour. His father, pointing to ſome rotten

(g) Thucyd. l. 1. p. 90, 91. Plut. in Themiſt. p. 125, 127. Diod. l. 11. p. 42, 44. Corn. Nep. in Themiſt. c. 8, 10. (*h*) Plut. in Themiſt. p. 112.

gallies that lay neglected on the ſtrand, *Behold there*, ſays he, *ſon*, (pointing to them) *thus do the people treat their governors, when they can do them no farther ſervice.*

He was now arrived in Cumæ, a city of Æolia in Aſia minor. The king of Perſia had ſet a price upon his head, and promiſed two hundred * talents to any man who ſhould deliver him up. The whole coaſt was covered with people, who were watching for him. He fled to Ægæ, a little city of Æolia, where no one knew him except Nicogenes, at whoſe houſe he lodged. He was the moſt wealthy man in that country, and very intimate with all the lords of the Perſian court. Themiſtocles was concealed ſome days in his houſe, till Nicogenes ſent him, under a ſtrong guard, to Suſa, in one of thoſe covered chariots in which the Perſians, who were extremely jealous, uſe to carry their wives; thoſe who carried him telling every body, that they were carrying a young Greek lady to a courtier of great diſtinction.

Being come to the Perſian court, he waited upon the captain of the guards, and told him, that he was a Grecian by birth, and begged the king would admit him to audience, having matters of great importance to communicate to him. The officer informed him of a ceremony, which he knew was inſupportable to ſome Greeks, but without which none were allowed to ſpeak to the king; and this was, to fall proſtrate before him. "Our laws, ſays he, com-
"mand us to honour the king in that manner, and
"to worſhip him as the living image of the immortal
"God, who maintains and preſerves all thing." Themiſtocles promiſed to comply. Being admitted to audience, he fell on his face before the king, after the Perſian manner; and afterwards riſing up, "Great
"king †," ſays he by an interpreter, "I am The-

* *Two hundred thouſand crowns, or about* 45000 l. *ſterling.*

† *Thucydides makes him ſay very near the ſame words; but informs us, that Themiſtocles did not ſpeak them to the king, but ſent them by way of letter before he was introduced to him.*

"miſtocles

" miſtocles the Athenian, who having been baniſhed
" by the Greeks, am come to your court in hopes of
" finding an aſylum in it. I have indeed brought
" many calamities on the Perſians; but, on the other
" ſide, I have done them no leſs ſervices, by the ſa-
" lutary advices I have given them more than once;
" and I now am able to do them more important ſer-
" vices than ever. My life is in your hands. You
" may now exert your clemency, or diſplay your
" vengeance: By the former you will preſerve your
" ſuppliant; by the latter you will deſtroy the great-
" eſt enemy of Greece."

The king made him no anſwer at this audience, though he was ſtruck with admiration at his great ſenſe and boldneſs; but hiſtory informs us, he told his friends, that he conſidered Themiſtocles's arrival as a very great happineſs; that he implored his god Arimanius always to inſpire his enemies with ſuch thoughts, and to prompt them to baniſh and make away with their moſt illuſtrious perſonages. It is added, that when this king was aſleep, he ſtarted up three times in exceſs of joy, and cried thrice, *I have got Themiſtocles the Athenian!*

The next morning, at day-break, he ſent for the greateſt lords of his court, and commanded Themiſtocles to be brought before him, who expected nothing but deſtruction; eſpecially after what one of his guards, upon hearing his name, had ſaid to him the night before, even in the preſence chamber, juſt as he had left the king, *Thou ſerpent of Greece, thou compound of fraud and malice, the good genius of our prince brings thee hither!* However, the ſerenity which appeared in the king's face ſeemed to promiſe him a favourable reception. Themiſtocles was not miſtaken, for the king began by making him a preſent of two hundred * talents, which ſum he had promiſed to any one who ſhould deliver him up, and which conſequently was his due, as Themiſtocles had brought him his

* *Two hundred thouſand French crowns; or, about* 45000 l. *ſterling.*

head, by furrendring himſelf to him. He afterwards deſired him to give an account of the affairs of Greece. But as Themiſtocles could not expreſs his thoughts to the king without the aſſiſtance of an interpreter, he deſired time might be allowed him to learn the Perſian tongue; hoping he then ſhould be able to explain thoſe things he was deſirous of communicating to him, better than he could by the aid of a third perſon. It is the ſame, ſays he, with the ſpeech of a man, as with a piece of tapeſtry, which muſt be ſpread out and unfolded, to ſhow the figures and other beauties wrought in it. Themiſtocles having ſtudied the Perſian tongue twelve months, made ſo great a progreſs, that he ſpoke it with greater elegance than the Perſians themſelves, and conſequently could converſe with the king without the help of an interpreter. This prince treated him with uncommon marks of friendſhip and eſteem; he made him marry a lady deſcended from one of the nobleſt families in Perſia; gave him a palace and an equipage ſuitable to it, and ſettled a noble penſion on him. He uſed to carry him abroad on his parties of hunting, and every banquet and entertainment; and ſometimes converſed privately with him, ſo that the lords of the court grew jealous and uneaſy upon that account. He even preſented him to the princeſſes, who honoured him with their eſteem, and received his viſits. It is obſerved, as a proof of the peculiar favour ſhewed him, that by the king's ſpecial order, Themiſtocles was admitted to hear the lectures and diſcourſes of the Magi, and was inſtructed by them in all the ſecrets of their philoſophy.

Another proof of his great credit is related. Demaratus of Sparta, who was then at court, being commanded by the king to aſk any thing of him, he deſired that he might be ſuffered to make his entry on horſeback, into the city of Sardes, with the royal tiara on his head: a ridiculous vanity! equally unworthy of the Grecian grandeur, and the ſimplicity of a Lacedæmonian! The king, exaſperated at the inſo-

lence

lence of his demand, expreſſed his diſguſt in the ſtrongeſt terms, and ſeemed reſolved not to pardon him: but Themiſtocles having interceded, the king reſtored him to favour.

In fine, Themiſtocles was in ſuch great credit, that under the ſucceeding reigns, in which the affairs of Perſia were ſtill more mixed with thoſe of Greece, whenever the kings were deſirous of drawing over any Greek to their intereſt, they uſed to declare expreſsly in their letters, that he ſhould be in greater favour with them, than Themiſtocles had been with king Artaxerxes.

It is ſaid alſo that Themiſtocles, when in his moſt flouriſhing condition in Perſia, he was honoured and eſteemed by all the world, who were emulous in making their court to him, ſaid one day, when his table was covered magnificently: *Children, we ſhould have been ruined, if we had not been ruined.*

But at laſt, as it was judged neceſſary for the king's intereſt that Themiſtocles ſhould reſide in ſome city of Aſia minor, that he might be ready on any occaſion which ſhould preſent itſelf; accordingly he was ſent to Magneſia, ſituated on the Meander; and for his ſubſiſtence, beſides the whole revenues of that city, (which amounted to fifty * talents every year) had thoſe of Myunte and Lampſacus aſſigned him. One of the cities was to furniſh him with bread, another with wine, and a third with other proviſions. Some authors add two more, *viz.* for his furniture and clothes. Such was the cuſtom of the antient kings of the eaſt: inſtead of ſettling penſions on perſons they rewarded, they gave them cities and ſometimes even provinces, which, under the name of bread, wine, *&c.* were to furniſh them abundantly with all things neceſſary for ſupporting in a magnificent manner their family and equipage. Themiſtocles lived for ſome years in Magneſia in the utmoſt ſplendor, till he came to his end in the manner which will be related hereafter.

* *Fifty thouſand crowns; or, about* 11250 l. *ſterling.*

SECT. III. *Cimon begins to make a figure at Athens. His first atchievement and double victory over the Persians, near the river Eurymedon. Death of Themistocles.*

(*i*) THE Athenians having lost one of their most distinguished citizens, as well as ablest generals, by the banishment of Themistocles, endeavoured to retrieve that loss, by bestowing the command of the armies on Cimon, who was not inferior to him in merit.

He spent his youth in such excesses as did him no honour, and presaged no good with regard to his future conduct. (*k*) The example of this illustrious Athenian, who passed his juvenile years in so dissolute a manner, and afterwards rose to so exalted a pitch of glory, show, that parents must not always despair of the happiness of a son, when wild and irregular in his youth; especially when nature has endued him with genius, goodness of heart, generous inclinations, and an esteem for persons of merit. Such was the character of Cimon. The ill reputation he had drawn upon himself, having prejudiced the people against him, he at first was very ill received by them; when, being discouraged by this repulse, he resolved to lay aside all thoughts of concerning himself with the affairs of the public. But Aristides perceiving that his dissolute turn of mind was united with many fine qualities, he consoled him, inspired him with hope, pointed out the paths he should take, instilled good principles into him, and did not a little contribute, by the excellent instructions he gave him, and the affection he expressed for him on all occasions, to make him the man he afterwards appeared. What more important service could he have done his country?

(*l*) Plutarch observes, that after Cimon had laid aside his juvenile extravagances, his conduct was in all things

(*i*) A. M. 3534. Ant. J. C. 470. Diod. l. 11. p. 45. Plut. in Cim. p. 482, 483. (*k*) Plut. in Cim. p. 480. (*l*) Ibid. p. 481.

great

great and noble; and that he was not inferior to Miltiades either in courage or intrepidity, nor to Themiſtocles in prudence and ſenſe, but that he was more juſt and virtuous than either of them; and that without being at all inferior to them in military virtues, he ſurpaſſed them far in the practice of the moral ones.

It would be of great advantage to a ſtate, if thoſe who excel in profeſſions of every kind, would take pleaſure, and make it their duty to faſhion and inſtruct ſuch youths as are remarkable for the pregnancy of their parts and goodneſs of diſpoſition. They would thereby have an opportunity of ſerving their country even after their death, and of perpetuating in it, in the perſon of their pupils, a taſte and inclination for true merit, and the practice of the wiſeſt maxims.

The Athenians, a little after Themiſtocles had left his country, having put to ſea a fleet under the command of Cimon the ſon of Miltiades, took Eion, on the banks of the Strymon, Amphipolis, and other places of Thrace: and as this was a very fruitful country, Cimon planted a colony in it, and ſent ten thouſand Athenians thither for that purpoſe.

(*m*) The fate of Eion is of too ſingular a kind to be omitted here. Boges * was governor of it under the king of Perſia, and acted with ſuch a zeal and fidelity for his ſovereign, as have few examples. When beſieged by Cimon and the Athenians, it was in his power to have capitulated upon honourable terms, and he might have retired to Aſia with his family and all his effects. However, being perſuaded he could not do this with honour, he reſolved to die rather than ſurrender. The city was aſſaulted with the utmoſt fury, and he defended it with incredible bravery. Being at laſt in the utmoſt want of proviſions, he threw from the walls into the river Strymon, all the gold and

(*m*) Herod. l. 7. c. 107. Plut. p. 482.

* *Plutarch calls him Butis. Herodotus ſeems to place this hiſtory under Xerxes; but it is more probable, that it happened under Artaxerxes his ſucceſſor.*

ſilver

ſilver in the place; and cauſing fire to be ſet to a pile, and having killed his wife, his children, and his whole family, he threw them into the midſt of the flames, and afterwards ruſhed into them himſelf. Xerxes could not but admire, and at the ſame time bewail, ſo ſurprizing an example of generoſity. The heathens, indeed, might give this name to what is rather ſavage ferocity and barbarity.

Cimon made himſelf maſter alſo of the iſland of Scyros, where he found the bones of Theſeus the ſon of Ægeus, who had fled from Athens to that city, and there ended his days. An oracle had commanded that ſearch ſhould be made after his bones. Cimon put them on board his galley, adorned them magnificently, and carried them to his native country, near eight hundred years after Theſeus had left it. The people received them with the higheſt expreſſions of joy; and, to perpetuate the remembrance of this event, they founded a diſputation or prize for tragic writers, which became very famous, and contributed exceedingly to the improvement of the drama, by the wonderful emulation it excited among the tragic poets, whoſe pieces were repreſented in it. For Sophocles having, in his youth, brought his firſt play on the ſtage, the archon, or chief magiſtrate who preſided at theſe games, obſerving there was a ſtrong faction among the ſpectators, prevailed with Cimon, and the reſt of the generals his collegues, (who were ten in number, and choſen out of each tribe) to ſit as judges. The prize was adjudged to Sophocles, which ſo deeply afflicted Æſchylus, who till then had been conſidered as the greateſt dramatic poet, that Athens became inſupportable to him, and he withdrew to Sicily, where he died.

(*n*) The confederates had taken a great number of Barbarian priſoners in Seſtus and Byzantium; and, as a proof of the high regard they had for Cimon, intreated him to diſtribute the booty. Accordingly

Plut. in Cim. p. 484.

Cimon

Cimon placed all the captives, (ſtark naked) on one ſide, and on the other all their riches and ſpoils. The allies complained of this partition as too unequal; but Cimon giving them the choice, they immediately took the riches which had belonged to the Perſians, and left the priſoners for the Athenians. Cimon therefore ſet out with his portion, and was thought a perſon no ways qualified to ſettle the diſtribution of prizes: For the allies carried off a great number of chains, necklaces and bracelets of gold; a large quantity of rich habits, and fine purple cloaks; whilſt the Athenians had only for their ſhare a multitude of human creatures quite naked, and unfit for labour. However, the relations and friends of theſe captives came ſoon after from Phrygia and Lydia, and purchaſed them all at a very high price; ſo that, with the monies ariſing from the ranſom of them, Cimon had enough to maintain his fleet four months; beſides a great ſum of money which was put into the exchequer, not to mention what he himſelf had for his own ſhare. He afterwards uſed to take exceeding pleaſure, in relating this adventure to his friends.

(o) He made the beſt uſe of his riches, as Gorgias the rheter has happily expreſſed it in few, but ſtrong and elegant words. * *Cimon*, ſays he, *amaſſed riches, only to uſe them; and he employed them to no other uſe, but to acquire eſteem and honour.* We may here perceive (*by the way*) what was the ſcope and aim of the moſt exalted actions of the heathens; and with what juſtice Tertullian defined a pagan, how perfect ſoever he might appear, a vain-glorious animal, *animal gloriæ.* The gardens and orchards of Cimon were always open, by his order, to the citizens in general; who were allowed to gather whatever fruits they pleaſed. His table was daily covered in a frugal, but polite manner.

(o) Plut. in Cim. p. 434. Cornel. Nep. in Cim. c. 4. Athen. l. 12. p. 533.

* Φησὶ τὸ Κίμωνα τὰ χρήματα κλᾶσθαι μὲν ὡς χρῶτο, χρῆσθαι δὲ ὡς τιμῷτο.

It was entirely different from thoſe delicate and ſumptuous tables, to which only a few perſons of great diſtinction are admitted; and which are covered meerly to diſplay a vain magnificence or elegance of taſte. Now that of Cimon was plain, but abundant; and all the poor citizens were received at it without diſtinction. In thus baniſhing from his entertainments, whatever had the leaſt air of oſtentation and luxury, he reſerved to himſelf an inexhauſtible fund, not only for the expences of his houſe, but for the wants of his friends, his domeſticks, and a very great number of citizens; demonſtrating, by this conduct, that he knew much better than moſt rich men, the true uſe and value of riches.

He was always followed by ſome ſervants, who were ordered to ſlip privately ſome piece of money into the hands of ſuch poor as they met, and to give clothes to thoſe who were in want of them. He often buried ſuch perſons as had not left money enough behind them to defray the expences of their funeral; and what is admirable, and which Plutarch does not fail to obſerve, he did not act in this manner, to gain credit among the people, nor to purchaſe their voices; ſince we find him, on all occaſions, declaring for the contrary faction, that is, in favour of ſuch citizens as were moſt conſiderable for their wealth or authority.

(*p*) Although he ſaw all the reſt of the governors of his time enrich themſelves by the plunder and oppreſſion of the public, he was always incorruptible, and his hands were never ſtained with extortion or the ſmalleſt preſent; and he continued, during his whole life, not only to ſpeak, but to act, ſpontaneouſly and without the leaſt view of intereſt, whatever he thought might be of advantage to the commonwealth.

Beſides a great number of other excellent qualities, Cimon had the fineſt ſenſe, extraordinary prudence, and a profound knowledge of the genius and charac-

(*p*) Plut. in Cim. p. 485.

ters of men. The allies, beſides the ſums of money in which each of them was taxed, were to furniſh a certain number of men and ſhips. Several among them, who, from the retreat of Xerxes, were ſtudious of nothing but their eaſe, and applied themſelves entirely to tilling and cultivating their lands, to free themſelves from the toils and dangers of war, choſe to furniſh their quota in money rather than in men, and left the Athenians the care of manning with ſoldiers and rowers, the ſhips they were obliged to furniſh. The other generals, who had no forecaſt and penetration for the future, gave ſuch people ſome uneaſineſs at firſt, and were for obliging them to obſerve the treaty literally. But Cimon, when in power, acted in a quite different manner, and ſuffered them to enjoy the tranquillity they choſe; plainly perceiving that the allies, from being warlike in the field, would inſenſibly loſe their martial ſpirit, and be fit for nothing but huſbandry and trade; whilſt the Athenians, by exerciſing the oar perpetually, would be more and more inured to hardſhips, and daily increaſe in power. What Cimon had foreſeen happened; this very people purchaſed themſelves maſters at their own expence; ſo that they who before had been companions and allies, became in ſome meaſure the ſubjects and tributaries of the Athenians.

(q) No Grecian general ever gave ſo great a blow to the pride and haughtineſs of the Perſian monarch as Cimon. After the Barbarians had been driven out of Greece, he did not give them time to take breath; but ſailed immediately after them with a fleet of upwards of two hundred ſhips, took their ſtrongeſt cities, and brought over all their allies; ſo that the king of Perſia had not one ſoldier left in Aſia, from Ionia to Pamphylia. Still purſuing his point he bravely attacked the enemy's fleet, though much ſtronger than his own. It lay near the mouth of the river Eurymedon,

(q) A. M. 3534. Ant. J. C. 470. Plut. in Cim. p. 485—487. Thucyd. l. 1. p. 66. Diod. l. 11. p. 45—47.

medon, and consisted of three hundred and fifty sail of ships, supported by the land-army on the coast. It was soon put to flight; and two hundred sail were taken, besides those that were sunk. A great number of the Persians had left their ships and leapt into the sea, in order to join their land-army, which lay on the shore. It was very hazardous to attempt a descent in sight of the enemy; and to lead on troops, which were already fatigued by their late battle, against fresh forces much superior in number. However Cimon, finding that the whole army was eager to engage the Barbarians, thought proper to take advantage of the ardour of the soldiers, who were greatly animated with their first success. Accordingly he * landed, and marched them directly against the Barbarians, who waited resolutely for their coming up, and sustained the first onset with prodigious valour; however, being at last obliged to give way, they broke and fled. A great slaughter ensued, and an infinite number of prisoners, and immensely-rich spoils were taken. Cimon having, in one day, gained two victories which almost equalled those of Salamin and Platææ; to crown all, sailed out to meet a reinforcement of eighty-four Phœnician ships, which were come from Cyprus, to join the Persian fleet, and knew nothing of what had passed. They were all either taken or sunk, and most of the soldiers were killed or drowned.

Cimon having atchieved such glorious exploits, returned in triumph to Athens; and employed part of the spoils in fortifying the harbour, and in beautifying the city. The riches which a general amasses in the field, are applied to the noblest uses when they are disposed of in this manner; and must reflect infinitely greater honour upon him, than if he expended them in building magnificent palaces for himself, which must

* *We don't find that the antients made use of long-boats in making descents; the reason of which perhaps was, that as their gallies were flat-bottomed, they were brought to shore without any difficulty.*

one

one time or other devolve on ſtrangers; whereas works, built for public uſe, are his property in ſome meaſure for ever, and tranſmit his name to the lateſt poſterity. (r) It is well known that ſuch embelliſhments in a city give infinite pleaſure to the people, who are always ſtruck with works of this kind; and this, as Plutarch obſerves in the life of Cimon, is one of the ſureſt, and at the ſame time the moſt lawful method of acquiring their friendſhip and eſteem.

(s) The year following, this general ſailed towards the Helleſpont; and having drove the Perſians out of the Thracian Cherſoneſus, of which they had poſſeſſed themſelves, he conquered it in the name of the Athenians, though he himſelf had more right to it, as Miltiades his father had been its ſovereign. He afterwards attacked the people of the iſland of Thaſus, who had revolted from the Athenians, and defeated their fleet. Theſe maintained their revolt with an almoſt unparallelled obſtinacy and fury. (t) As if they had been in arms againſt the moſt cruel and barbarous enemies, from whom they had the worſt of evils to fear, they made a law, that the firſt man who ſhould only mention the concluding a treaty with the Athenians, ſhould be put to death. The ſiege was carried on three years, during which the inhabitants ſuffered all the calamities of war with the ſame obſtinacy. (u) The women were no leſs inflexible than the men; for the beſieged wanting ropes for their military engines, all the women cut off their hair in a ſeeming tranſport; and when the city was in the utmoſt diſtreſs by famine, which ſwept away a great number of the inhabitants, Hegetorides the Thaſian, deeply afflicted with ſeeing ſuch multitudes of his fellow-citizens periſh, reſolutely determined to ſacrifice his life for the preſervation of his country. Accordingly he put a halter round his neck, and preſenting him-

(r) Plut. de gerend. rep. p. 818. Thucyd. l. 1. p. 66, 67. Diod. l. 11. p. 53.
(s) Plut. in Cim. p. 487.
(t) Polyæn. Str. l. 2.
(u) Polyæn. l. 8.

ſelf

ſelf to the aſſembly, "Countrymen," ſays he, "do "with me as you pleaſe, and don't ſpare me if you "judge proper: but let my death ſave the reſt of the "people, and prevail with you to aboliſh the cruel "law you have enacted, ſo contrary to your welfare." The Thaſians ſtruck with theſe words, aboliſhed the law, but would not ſuffer it to coſt ſo generous a citizen his life; for they ſurrendred themſelves to the Athenians, who ſpared their lives and only diſmantled their city.

After Cimon had landed his troops on the ſhore oppoſite to Thrace, he ſeized on all the gold mines of thoſe coaſts, and ſubdued every part of that country as far as Macedonia. He might have attempted the conqueſt of that kingdom; and, in all probability, could have eaſily poſſeſſed himſelf of part of it, had he improved the occaſion. And indeed, for his neglect in this point, at his return to Athens, he was proſecuted, as having been bribed by the money of the Macedonians and of Alexander their king. But Cimon had a ſoul ſuperior to all temptations of that kind, and proved his innocence in the cleareſt light.

(x) The conqueſts of Cimon and the power of the Athenians, which increaſed every day, gave Artaxerxes great uneaſineſs. To prevent the conſequences of it, he reſolved to ſend Themiſtocles into Attica, with a great army, and accordingly propoſed it to him.

Themiſtocles was in great perplexity on this occaſion. On one ſide, the remembrance of the favours the king had heaped upon him; the poſitive aſſurances he had given that monarch, to ſerve him with the utmoſt zeal on all occaſions; the inſtances of the king who claimed his promiſe; all theſe conſiderations would not permit him to refuſe the commiſſion. On the other ſide, the love of his country, which the injuſtice and ill treatment of his fellow-citizens could

(x) A. M. 3538. Ant. J. C. 466. Thucyd. l. 1. p. 92. Plut. in Themiſt. p. 127.

not

not baniſh from his mind; his ſtrong reluctance to ſully the glory of his former laurels and mighty atchievements by ſo ignominious a ſtep; perhaps too, the fear of being unſucceſsful in a war, in which he ſhould be oppoſed by excellent generals, and particularly Cimon, who ſeemed to be as ſucceſsful as valiant; theſe different reflections would not ſuffer him to declare againſt his country, in an enterprize, which, whether ſucceſsful or not, would reflect ſhame on himſelf.

To rid himſelf at once of all theſe inward ſtruggles, he reſolved to put * an end to his life, as the only method for him not to be wanting in the duty he owed his country, nor to the promiſes he had made that prince. He therefore prepared a ſolemn ſacrifice, to which he invited all his friends; when, after embracing them all, and taking a laſt farewel of them, he drank bull's blood, or, according to others, ſwallowed a doſe of poiſon, and died in this manner at Magneſia, aged threeſcore and five years, the greateſt part of which he had ſpent either in the government of the republic, or the command of the armies. (y) When the king was told the cauſe and manner of his death, he eſteemed and admired him ſtill more, and continued his favour to his friends and domeſtics. But the unexpected death of Themiſtocles proved an obſtacle to the deſign he meditated of attacking the Greeks. The Magneſians erected a ſplendid monument to the memory of that general in the public ſquare, and granted peculiar privileges and honours to his deſcendants. They continued to enjoy them in Plutarch's time, that is, near ſix hundred years after, and his tomb was ſtill ſtanding.

(z) Atticus, in the beautiful dialogue of Cicero, entitled Brutus, refutes, in an agreeable and ingenious manner, the tragical end which ſome writers aſcribe to Themiſtocles, as related above; pretending that the

(y) Cic. de Senec. n. 72. (z) Brut. n. 42, 43.

* *The wiſeſt heathens did not think that a man was allowed to lay violent hands on himſelf.*

whole

whole is a fiction, invented by rhetoricians, who, on the bare rumour that this great man had poiſoned himſelf, had added all the other particulars to embelliſh the ſtory, which otherwiſe would have been very dry and unaffecting. He appeals for this to Thucydides, that iudicious hiſtorian, who was an Athenian, and almoſt cotemporary with Themiſtocles. This author indeed owns, that a report had prevailed, that this general had poiſoned himſelf; however, his opinion was, that he died a natural death, and that his friends conveyed his bones ſecretly to Athens, where, in (*a*) Pauſanias's time, his mauſolæum was ſtanding near the great harbour. This account ſeems much more probable than the other.

Themiſtocles was certainly one of the greateſt men that Greece ever produced. He had a great ſoul, an invincible courage, which danger even enflamed; was fired with an incredible thirſt for glory, which ſometimes his country's love would temper and allay, but which ſometimes carried him too far; * his preſence of mind was ſuch, that it immediately ſuggeſted whatever it was moſt neceſſary to act: In fine, he had a ſagacity and penetration with regard to futurity, that revealed to him, in the cleareſt light, the moſt ſecret deſigns of his enemies; pointing out to him at a diſtance, the ſeveral meaſures he ſhould take to diſconcert them, and inſpired him with great, noble, bold, extenſive views with regard to the honour of his country. The moſt eſſential qualities of the mind were however wanting in him, I mean, ſincerity, integrity, and fidelity: nor was he altogether free from ſuſpicions of avarice, which is a great blemiſh in ſuch as are charged with public affairs.

(*b*) Nevertheleſs, a noble ſentiment as well as action are related of him, which ſpeak a great and diſinte-

(*a*) Lib. 1. p. 1.

(*b*) Plut. in Themiſt. p. 121.

* De inſtantibus, ut ait Thucydides, veriſſimè judicabat, & de futuris callidiſſimè conjiciebat. *Corn. Nep. in Themiſt.* cap. 1.

reſted

reſted ſoul. † His daughter being aſked of him in marriage, he preferred an honeſt poor man to a rich one of an indifferent character; and gave for his reaſon, *That in the choice of a ſon-in-law, he would much rather have merit without riches, than riches without merit.*

SECT. IV. *The Egyptians riſe againſt Perſia, ſupported by the Athenians.*

(c) ABOUT this time the Egyptians, to free themſelves from a foreign yoke which was inſupportable to them, revolted from Artaxerxes, and made Inarus, prince of the Lybians, their king. They demanded aid of the Athenians, who having at that time a fleet of two hundred ſhips at the iſland of Cyprus, accepted the invitation with pleaſure, and immediately ſet ſail for Egypt; judging this a very favourable opportunity to weaken the power of the Perſians, by driving them out of ſo great a kingdom.

(d) Advice being brought Artaxerxes of this revolt, he raiſed an army of three hundred thouſand men, and reſolved to march in perſon againſt the rebels. But his friends adviſing him not to venture himſelf in that expedition, he gave the command of it to Achæmenes, one of his brothers. The latter being arrived in Egypt, encamped his great army on the banks of the Nile. During this interval, the Athenians having defeated the Perſian fleet, and either deſtroyed or taken fifty of their ſhips; they went again up that river, landed their forces under the command of Charitimis their general; and having joined Inarus and his Egyptians, they charged Achæmenes, and defeated him in a great battle, in which that Perſian general, and an hundred thouſand of his ſoldiers were ſlain. Thoſe

(c) A. M. 3538. Ant. J. C. 460. Thucyd. l. 1. p. 68. & 71, 72. Cteſ. c. 32—35. Diod. l. 11. p. 54—59. (d) A. M. 3545. Ant. J. C. 459.

† Themiſtocles, cùm conſuleretur utrum bono viro pauperi, an minùs probato diviti filiam collocaret: EGO VERO, inquit, MALO VIRUM QUI PECUNIA EGEAT, QUAM PECUNIAM QUÆ VIRO. *Cic. de offic.* l. 2. c. 71.

who

who escaped fled to Memphis, whither the conquerors pursued them, and immediately made themselves masters of two quarters of the city: but the Persians having fortified themselves in the third, called the *white wall*, which was the largest and strongest of the three, they were besieged in it near three years, during which they made a most vigorous defence, till they were at last delivered by the forces sent to their aid.

(*e*) Artaxerxes hearing of the defeat of his army, and how much the Athenians had contributed to it; to make a diversion of their forces, and oblige them to turn their arms another way, he sent ambassadors to the Lacedæmonians, with a large sum of money, to engage them to proclaim war against the Athenians. But the Lacedæmonians having rejected the offer, their refusal did not abate his ardor, and accordingly he gave Megabysus (*f*) and Artabazus the command of the forces designed against Egypt. These generals immediately raised an army of three hundred thousand men in Cilicia and Phœnicia. They were obliged to wait till the fleet was equipped, which was not till the next year. (*g*) Artabazus then took upon him the command of it, and sailed towards the Nile, whilst Megabysus, at the head of the land-army, marched towards Memphis, He raised the siege of that city, and afterwards fought Inarus. All the forces on both sides engaged in this battle, in which Inarus was entirely defeated: but the Egyptians, who had rebelled, suffered most in this slaughter. After this defeat, Inarus, though wounded by Megabysus, retreated with the Athenians, and such Egyptians as were willing to follow him; and reached Biblos, a city in the island of Prosopitis, which is surrounded by two arms of the Nile, and both navigable. The Athenians ran their fleet into one of these arms, where it was secured from the attacks of the enemy, and held out a siege of a year and a half in this island.

(*e*) A. M. 3546. Ant. J. C. 448. (*f*) A. M. 3547. Ant. J. C. 457. (*g*) A. M. 3548. Ant. J. C. 456.

After

After the battle, all the reſt of Egypt ſubmitted to the conqueror, and was reunited to the empire of Artaxerxes, except Amyrteus, who had ſtill a ſmall party in the fens, where he long ſupported himſelf, through the difficulty the Perſians found in penetrating far enough to reduce him.

(*b*) The ſiege of Proſopotis was ſtill carrying on. The Perſians finding that they made no advances in attacking it after the uſual methods, becauſe of the ſtratagems and intrepidity of the beſieged, they therefore had recourſe to an extraordinary expedient, which ſoon produced what force had not been able to effect. They turned the courſe, by different canals, of the arm of the Nile in which the Athenians lay, and by that means opened themſelves a paſſage for their whole army to enter the iſland. Inarus ſeeing that all was loſt, compounded with Megabyſus for himſelf, for all his Egyptians, and about fifty Athenians, and ſurrendred upon condition that their lives ſhould be ſpared. The remainder of the auxiliary forces, which formed a body of ſix thouſand men, reſolved to hold out longer; and for this purpoſe they ſet fire to their ſhips, and drawing up in order of battle, reſolved to die ſword in hand, and ſell their lives as dear as they could, in imitation of the Lacedæmonians, who refuſed to yield, and were all cut to pieces at Thermopylæ. The Perſians, hearing they had taken ſo deſperate a reſolution, did not think it adviſable to attack them. A peace was therefore offered them, with a promiſe that they ſhould all be permitted to leave Egypt, and have free paſſage to their native country either by ſea or land. They accepted the conditions, put the conquerors in poſſeſſion of Biblos and of the whole iſland, and went by ſea to Cyrene, where they embarked for Greece: but moſt of the ſoldiers who had ſerved in this expedition periſhed in it.

But this was not the only loſs the Athenians ſuſtained on this occaſion. Another fleet of fifty ſhips, which

(*b*) A. M. 3550. Ant. J. C. 454.

they

they ſent to the aid of their beſieged countrymen, ſailed up one of the arms of the Nile, (juſt after the Athenians had ſurrendred) to diſengage them, not knowing what had happened. But the inſtant they entered, the Perſian fleet, which kept out at ſea, followed them and attacked their rear, whilſt the army diſcharged ſhowers of darts upon them from the banks of the river; thus only a few ſhips eſcaped, which opened themſelves a way through the enemy's fleet, and all the reſt were loſt. Here ended the fatal war carried on by the Athenians for ſix years in Egypt, which kingdom was now united again to the Perſian empire, and continued ſo during the reſt of the reign of Artaxerxes, of which this is the twentieth (*i*) year. But the priſoners who were taken in this war met with the moſt unhappy fate.

SECT. V. *Inarus is delivered up to the king's mother, contrary to the articles of the treaty. The affliction of Megabyſus, who revolts.*

(*k*) ARTAXERXES, after refuſing to gratify the requeſt of his mother, who for five years together had been daily importuning him to put Inarus and his Athenians into her hands, in order that ſhe might ſacrifice them to the manes of Achæmenes her ſon, at laſt yielded to her ſollicitations. But how blind, how barbarouſly weak muſt this king have been, to break through the moſt ſolemn engagements merely through complaiſance; who, (deaf to remorſe) violated the law of nations, ſolely to avoid offending a moſt unjuſt mother. (*l*) This inhuman princeſs, without regard to the faith of ſolemn treaties, cauſed Inarus to be crucified, and beheaded all the reſt. Megabyſus was in the deepeſt affliction on that account; for as he had promiſed that no injury ſhould be done them, the affront reflected principally on him. He therefore left the court, and withdrew to Syria, of

(*i*) A. M. 3550. Ant. J. C. 454. (*k*) A. M. 3556. Ant. J. C. 448. Ctef. c. 35—40. (*l*) Thucyd. l. 1. p. 72.

which

which he was governor; and his discontent was so great, that he raised an army and revolted openly.

(*m*) The king sent Osiris, who was one of the greatest lords of the court, against him with an army of two hundred thousand men. Megabysus engaged Osiris, wounded him, took him prisoner, and put his army to flight. Artaxerxes sending to demand Osiris, Megabysus generously dismissed him, as soon as his wounds were cured.

(*n*) The next year Artaxerxes sent another army against him, the command of which he gave to Menostanes, son to Artarius the king's brother, and governor of Babylon. This general was not more fortunate than the former. He also was defeated and put to flight, and Megabysus gained as signal a victory as the former.

Artaxerxes finding he could not reduce him by force of arms, sent his brother Artarius and Amytis his sister, who was the wife of Megabysus, with several other persons of the first quality, to persuade the latter to return to his allegiance. They succeeded in their negotiation; the king pardoned him, and he returned to court.

One day as they were hunting, a lion raising himself on his hinder feet, was going to rush upon the king, when Megabysus seeing the danger he was in, and fired with zeal and affection for his sovereign, hurled a dart at the lion, which killed him. But Artaxerxes, upon pretence that he had affronted him, in darting at the lion first, commanded Megabysus's head to be struck off: Amytis the king's sister, and Amestris, with the greatest difficulty prevailed upon the king to change this sentence into perpetual banishment. Megabysus was therefore sent to Cyrta, a city on the Red sea, and condemned to end his days there: However, five years after, disguising himself like a leper, he made his escape and returned to Susa, where,

(*m*) A. M. 3557. Ant. J. C. 447. (*n*) A. M. 3558. Ant. J. C. 446.

by the assistance of his wife and mother-in-law, he was restored to favour, and continued so till his death, which happened some years after, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. Megabysus was extremely regretted by the king and the whole court. He was a man of the greatest abilities in the kingdom, and at the same time the best general. Artaxerxes owed both his crown and life to him: * but it is of dangerous consequence for a subject, when his sovereign is under too many obligations to him. This was the cause of all the misfortunes of Megabysus.

It is surprizing that so judicious a prince as Artaxerxes should have been so imprudent, as to be fired with jealousy against a nobleman of his court, merely because in a party of hunting, he had wounded the beast they were pursuing before him. Could any thing be so weak; and was this placing the point of honour in a manner worthy a king? Nevertheless, history furnishes us with many instances of this kind. I am apt to believe, from some expressions of (o) Plutarch, that Artaxerxes was ashamed of the wild fury to which this false delicacy had raised him, and that he made some public kind of atonement for it: For, according to this author, he published a decree, importing, that any man who was hunting with the king, should be allowed to throw his javelin first at the beast, if opportunity should offer; and he, according to Plutarch, was the first Persian monarch who granted such a permission.

SECT. VI. *Artaxerxes sends Esdras and afterwards Nehemiah to Jerusalem.*

BEFORE I proceed in the history of the Persians and Greeks, I shall relate, in few words, the several things which happened to the people of God

(o) Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 173.

* Beneficia eò usque læta sunt, dum videntur exolvi posse: ubi multum antevertere, pro gratia odium redditur. *Tacit. Annal.* l.4.c.18.

during

during the firſt twenty years of Artaxerxes, which is an eſſential part of the hiſtory of that prince.

(*p*) In the ſeventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes, Eſdras obtained of the king and his ſeven counſellors an ample commiſſion, impowering him to return to Jeruſalem with all ſuch Jews as would follow him thither, in order to ſettle the Jewiſh government and religion agreeably to their own laws. Eſdras was deſcended from Saraia, who was high-prieſt of Jeruſalem, when deſtroyed by Nabuchodonoſor, and was put to death by his command. Eſdras was a very learned and pious man, and was chiefly diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the Jews, by his great knowledge in the ſcriptures; it being ſaid of him, (*q*) *That he was very ready in the law of Moſes that was given by the God of Iſrael.* He now ſet out from Babylon with the gifts and offerings which the king, his courtiers, and ſuch Iſraelites as had ſtaid in Babylon, had put into his hands for the ſervice of the temple, and which he gave to the prieſts upon his arrival in Jeruſalem. It appears by the commiſſion which Artaxerxes gave him, that this prince had a high veneration for the God of Iſrael, as, in commanding his officers to furniſh the Jews with all things neceſſary for their worſhip, he adds, (*r*) *Let all things be performed after the law of God diligently, unto the moſt high God, that wrath come not upon the kingdom of the king and his ſon.* This commiſſion, as I obſerved, impowered him to ſettle the religion and government of the Jews, purſuant to the law of Moſes; to appoint magiſtrates and judges to puniſh evil doers, not only by impriſoning their perſons, and confiſcating their poſſeſſions, but alſo by ſending them into baniſhment, and even ſentencing them to death, according to the crimes they ſhould commit. Such was the power with which Eſdras was inveſted, and which he exerciſed faithfully during

(*p*) A. M. 3537. Ant. J. C. 467. Eſdr. c. vii, &c. (*q*) Eſdras I. c. viii, v. 3. (*r*) Eſdras I. c. viii, v. 21.

thirteen years, till (*r*) Nehemiah brought a new commiſſion from the Perſian court.

(*s*) Nehemiah was alſo a Jew of diſtinguiſhed merit and piety, and one of the cup-bearers to king Artaxerxes. This was a very conſiderable employment in the Perſian court, becauſe of the privilege annexed to it, *viz.* of being often near the king's perſon, and of being allowed to ſpeak to him in the moſt favourable moments. However, neither his exalted ſtation, nor the ſettlement of his family in that land of captivity, could obliterate from his mind the country of his anceſtors, nor their religion: neither his love for the one, nor his zeal for the other, were abated; and his heart was ſtill in Sion. Some Jews who were come from Jeruſalem, having informed him of the ſad ſtate of that city, that its walls lay in ruin, its gates were burnt down, and the inhabitants thereby expoſed to the inſults of their enemies, and made the ſcorn of all their neighbours; the affliction of his brethren, and the dangers with which they were menaced, made ſuch an impreſſion on his mind, as might naturally be expected from one of his piety. One day as he was waiting upon the king, the latter obſerving an unuſual air of melancholy in Nehemiah's countenance, aſked him the cauſe of it; a proof that this monarch had a tenderneſs of heart rarely found in kings, and which is nevertheleſs much more valuable than the moſt ſhining qualities. Nehemiah took this opportunity to acquaint him with the calamitous ſtate of his country; owned that was the ſubject of his grief; and humbly intreated that leave might be given him to go to Jeruſalem, in order to repair the fortifications of it. The kings of Perſia his predeceſſors had permitted the Jews to rebuild the temple, but not the walls of Jeruſalem. But Artaxerxes immediately decreed, that the walls and gates of Jeruſalem ſhould be rebuilt; and Nehemiah, as governor of Judea, was appointed to put this decree in execution. The king,

(*r*) A. M. 3550. Ant. J. C. 454. (*s*) Nehem. c. i. & ii.

to

to do him the greater honour, ordered a body of horſe, commanded by a conſiderable officer, to eſcort him thither. He likewiſe writ to all the governors of the provinces on this ſide the Euphrates, to give him all the aſſiſtance poſſible in forwarding the work for which he was ſent. This pious Jew executed every part of his commiſſion with incredible zeal and activity.

(*t*) It is from this decree, enacted by Artaxerxes in the twentieth year of his reign, for the rebuilding of the walls of Jeruſalem, that we date the beginning of the ſeventy weeks mentioned in the famous prophecy of Daniel, after which the Meſſiah was to appear and be put to death. I ſhall here inſert the whole prophecy, but without giving the explication of it, as it may be found in other writers, and is not a part of this hiſtory.

" (*u*) Thou art greatly beloved, therefore under-
" ſtand the matter, and conſider the viſion. Seventy
" weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon
" thy holy city, to finiſh the tranſgreſſion, and to
" make an end of ſins, and to make reconciliation
" for iniquity, and to bring in everlaſting righteouſ-
" neſs, and to ſeal up the viſion and propheſy, and to
" anoint the Moſt Holy. Know therefore and under-
" ſtand, THAT FROM THE GOING FORTH OF
" THE COMMANDMENT TO RESTORE AND TO
" BUILD JERUSALEM, unto the Meſſiah the prince,
" ſhall be ſeven weeks; and threeſcore and two
" weeks the ſtreet ſhall be built again, and the wall,
" even in troublous times. And after threeſcore and
" two weeks ſhall Meſſiah be cut off, but not for
" himſelf: and the people of the prince that ſhall
" come, ſhall deſtroy the city and the ſanctuary, and
" the end thereof ſhall be with a flood; and unto
" the end of the war deſolations are determined. And
" he ſhall confirm the covenant with many for one
" week; and in the midſt of the week he ſhall cauſe
" the ſacrifice and the oblation to ceaſe, and for the

(*t*) Dan. c. ix. v. 24, 27. (*u*) Dan. c. ix. v. 23 to 27. *inclusive.*

" overſpreading of abominations, he ſhall make it
" deſolate, even until the conſummation, and that
" determined ſhall be poured upon the deſolate."

(x) When Eſdras was in power, as his chief view was to reſtore religion to its antient purity, he diſpoſed the books of ſcripture into their proper order, reviſed them all very carefully, and collected the incidents relating to the people of God in antient times; in order to compoſe out of them the two books of Chronicles, to which he added the hiſtory of his own times, which was finiſhed by Nehemiah. It is their books that end the long hiſtory which Moſes had begun, and which the writers who came after them continued in a direct ſeries, till the repairing of Jeruſalem. The reſt of the ſacred hiſtory is not written in that uninterrupted order. Whilſt Eſdras and Nehemiah were compiling the latter part of that great work, Herodotus, whom profane authors call the father of hiſtory, began to write. Thus we find that the lateſt authors of the books of ſcripture, flouriſhed about the ſame time with the firſt authors of the Grecian hiſtory; and when it began, that of God's people to compute only from Abraham, included already fifteen centuries. Herodotus made no mention of the Jews in his hiſtory; for the Greeks deſired to be informed of ſuch nations only, as were famous for their wars, their commerce and grandeur; ſo that as Judea was then but juſt riſing from its ruins, it did not excite the attention of that people.

SECT. VII. *Character of Pericles. The methods employed by him to gain the affection of the people.*

I Now return to Greece. From the baniſhment of Themiſtocles, and the death of Ariſtides, (the exact time of which is not known) two citizens, Cimon and Pericles, divided all credit and authority in Athens. Pericles was much younger than Cimon, and of a quite different character. As he will make

(x) *Biſhop of Meaux's univerſal hiſtory.*

a very

a very conſiderable figure in the following hiſtory, it is of importance to the reader to know who he was; in what manner he had been educated, and his ſcheme and method of government.

(y) Pericles was deſcended, by the mother's as well as father's ſide, from the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious families of Athens. His father Xanthippus, who defeated at Mycale the king of Perſia's lieutenants, married Agariſta, niece to Clyſthenes, who expelled the Piſiſtratides, deſcendants of Piſiſtratus the tyrant, and eſtabliſhed a popular government in Athens. Pericles had long prepared himſelf for the deſign he formed of engaging in ſtate affairs.

He was brought up under the moſt learned men of his age, and particularly Anaxagoras of Clazomene, ſirnamed the *Intelligence*, from his being the firſt, as we are told, who aſcribed human events, as well as the formation and government of the univerſe, not to chance, as ſome philoſophers, nor to a fatal neceſſity, but to a ſuperior intelligence, who diſpoſed and governed all things with wiſdom. This tenet or opinion ſubſiſted long before his time, but he perhaps ſet it in a ſtronger light than all others had done, and taught it methodically and from principles. Anaxagoras inſtructed his pupil perfectly in the part of philoſophy that relates to nature, and which is therefore called * phyſicks. This ſtudy gave him a ſtrength and greatneſs of ſoul which raiſed him above an infinite number of vulgar prejudices, and vain practices generally obſerved in his time; and which, in affairs of government and military enterprizes, either diſconcerted often the wiſeſt and moſt neceſſary meaſures, or defeated them by ſcrupulous delays, authorized and covered with the ſpecious veil of religion. Theſe were ſometimes dreams or auguries, at other

(y) Plut. in vit. Pericl. p. 153—156.

* *The antients, under this name, comprehended what we call phyſicks and metaphyſicks; that is, the knowledge of ſpiritual things, as God and ſpirits; and that of bodies.*

times dreadful phænomena, as eclipſes of the ſun or moon, or elſe omens and preſages; not to mention the wild chimeras of judiciary aſtrology. The knowledge of nature, free from the groveling and weak ſuperſtitions to which ignorance gives birth, inſpired him, ſays Plutarch, with a well-grounded piety towards the gods, attended with a ſtrength of mind that was immoveable, and a calm hope of the bleſſings to be expected from them. Altho' he found infinite charms in this ſtudy, he did not however devote himſelf to it as a philoſopher, but as a ſtateſman; and he had ſo much power over himſelf (a very difficult thing) as to preſcribe himſelf limits in the purſuit of knowledge.

But the talent he cultivated with the greateſt care, becauſe he looked upon it as the moſt neceſſary inſtrument to all who are deſirous of conducting and governing the people, was eloquence. And indeed, thoſe who poſſeſſed this talent, in a free ſtate like that of Athens, were ſure of reigning in the aſſemblies, engroſſing ſuffrages, determining affairs, and exerciſing a kind of abſolute power over the hearts and minds of the people. He therefore made this his chief object, and the mark to which all his other improvements, as well as the ſeveral ſciences he had learnt from Anaxagoras * were directed; exalting, to borrow Plutarch's expreſſion, the ſtudy of philoſophy with the dye of rhetoric; the meaning of which is, that Pericles, to embelliſh and adorn his diſcourſe, heightned the ſtrength and ſolidity of reaſoning, with the colouring and graces of eloquence.

He had no cauſe to repent his having beſtowed ſo much time in this ſtudy, for his ſucceſs far exceeded his utmoſt hopes. † The poets, his cotemporaries, uſed to ſay, that his eloquence was ſo powerful, that

* Βαφῇ τῇ ῥητορικῇ τὴν φυσιολογίαν ὑποχεόμενος.

† Ab Ariſtophane poeta fulgurare, tonare, permiſcere Græciam dictus eſt. *Cic. in Orat. n.* 29.

he

he lightned, thundred, and agitated all Greece. ‖ It had thoſe piercing and lively ſtrokes, that reach the inmoſt ſoul; and his diſcourſe left always an irreſiſtible incentive, a kind of ſpur behind it in the minds of his auditors. He had the art of uniting beauty with ſtrength; and Cicero obſerves, that at the very time he oppoſed, with the greateſt tenaciouſneſs, the inclinations and deſires of the Athenians; he had the art to make even ſeverity itſelf, and the kind of cruelty with which he ſpoke againſt the flatterers of the people, popular. There was no reſiſting the ſolidity of his arguments, or the ſweetneſs of his words, whence it was ſaid, that the goddeſs of perſuaſion, with all her graces, reſided on his lips. And indeed, as Thucydides *, his rival and adverſary, was one day asked, whether he or Pericles was the beſt wreſtler: "Whenever, ſays he, I have given him a fall, he affirms "the contrary, in ſuch ſtrong and forcible terms, "that he perſuades all the ſpectators that I did not "throw him, though they themſelves ſaw him on the "ground." Nor was he leſs prudent and reſerved, than ſtrong and vehement in his ſpeeches; and 'tis related, that he never ſpoke in public, till after he had beſought the gods not to ſuffer any expreſſion to drop from him, either incongruous to his ſubject, or offenſive to the people. (z) Whenever he went into the aſſembly, before he came out of his houſe, he uſed to ſay to himſelf; *Remember, Pericles, that thou art going to ſpeak to men born in the arms of liberty; to Greeks, to Athenians.*

The uncommon endeavours which Pericles, according to hiſtorians, uſed, in order to improve his

(z) Plut. in Symp. lib. 1. p. 610.

‖ Quid Pericli? De cujus dicendi copia ſic accepimus, ut, cum contra voluntatem Athenienſium loqueretur pro ſalute patriæ, ſeverius tamen id ipſum, quod ille contra populares homines diceret, populare omnibus & jucundum videretur: cujus in labris veteres comici--leporem habitaſſe dixerunt: tantamque vim in eo fuiſſe, ut in eorum mentibus, qui audiſſent, quaſi aculeos quoſdam relinqueret. *Cic. lib. 3. de Orat. n. 138.*

* *Not the hiſtorian.*

mind in knowledge, and to attain to a perfection in eloquence, are an excellent leſſon to ſuch perſons as are one day to fill the important offices of ſtate; and a juſt cenſure of * thoſe, who, diſregarding whatever is called ſtudy and learning, bring into thoſe employments, (upon which they enter without knowledge or experience,) nothing but a ridiculous ſelf-ſufficiency, and a raſh boldneſs in deciding. (*a*) Plutarch, in a treatiſe where he ſhows, that 'tis to ſtateſmen that a philoſopher ought chiefly to attach himſelf, preferably to any other claſs of men; (becauſe in inſtructing them he, at the ſame time, teaches whole cities and republics) verifies his aſſertion from the example of the greateſt men both of Greece and Italy, who derived this help from philoſophy. Pericles, of whom we now write, was taught by Anaxagoras; Dionyſius of Syracuſe by Plato; many princes of Italy by Pythagoras; Cato, the famous cenſor, travelled to the place where Athenodorus lived for the ſame purpoſe; and laſtly, the famous Scipio, the deſtroyer of Carthage, always kept Panetius the philoſopher near his perſon.

One of the chief endeavours of Pericles alſo was, to ſtudy thoroughly the genius and diſpoſition of the Athenians, that he might diſcover the ſecret ſprings which were to be employed in order to ſet them in motion; and the manner it was proper to act for acquiring their confidence; † for it was principally in that the great men among the antients uſed to make their ſkill and politicks conſiſt. He found by the reflections he had made on the ſeveral tranſactions of his time, that the predominant paſſions of this people were, a violent averſion to tyranny, and a ſtrong love of liberty, which inſpired them with ſentiments of fear,

(*a*) P. 777.

* Nunc contrà plerique ad honores adipiſcendos, & ad remp. gerendam, nudi veniunt & inermes, nulla cognitione rerum, nulla ſcientia ornati. *Cic. lib.* 3. *de Orat. n.* 136.

† Olim noſcenda vulgi natura, & quibus modis temperanter habereturque; Senatuſque & optimatium ingenia qui maximè perdiderant, callidi temporum & ſapientes habebantur. *Tacit. Annal. lib.* 4. *cap.* 33.

jea'ouſy

jealouſy and ſuſpicion of all ſuch citizens as were too conſpicuous for their birth, their perſonal merit; their own credit and authority, or that of their friends. He not only was very like Piſiſtratus, with regard to the ſweetneſs of his voice, and fluency of expreſſion, but he alſo reſembled him very much in the features of his face, and his whole air and manner; and he obſerved, that the moſt antient Athenians who had ſeen the tyrant, were prodigiouſly ſtruck at the reſemblance. Beſides, he was very rich; was deſcended from an illuſtrious family, and had very powerful friends. To prevent therefore his being obnoxious to the ſuſpicion and jealouſy of the people, he at firſt ſhunned all affairs of government, which require a conſtant attendance in the city; and was ſolely intent upon diſtinguiſhing himſelf in war and dangers.

Seeing Ariſtides dead, Themiſtocles baniſhed, and Cimon engaged almoſt continually in foreign wars, and abſent from Greece; he began to appear in public with greater confidence than before, and entirely devoted himſelf to the party of the people, but not out of inclination, for he was far from affecting popular power, but to remove all ſuſpicions of his aſpiring to the tyranny, and ſtill more, to raiſe a ſtrong bulwark againſt the credit and authority of Cimon, who had joined with the nobles.

At the ſame time, he quite changed his conduct and way of life; and aſſumed, in all things, the character of a ſtateſman, wholly buſied in affairs of government, and entirely devoted to the ſervice of his country. He was never ſeen in the ſtreets except when he was going either to the aſſembly of the people, or to the council. He left off going to banquets, aſſemblies, and other diverſions of that kind which he had uſed to frequent; and during the many years that he preſided in the adminiſtration, he was never ſeen to go to ſupper with his friends, except once at the nuptials of a near relation.

He

(*b*) He † knew that the people, who are naturally fickle and inconſtant, commonly increaſe their diſregard for thoſe who are always in their ſight; and that too ſtrong a deſire to pleaſe them, grows at laſt tireſome and importunate; and it was obſerved that ſuch a behaviour did Themiſtocles great prejudice. To avoid this error, he uſed to go very rarely to the aſſemblies; and never appeared before the people but at intervals, in order to make himſelf deſired; and to preſerve ſuch an aſcendant over their minds as might be always new, and not worn and in a manner withered by an over-great aſſiduity; wiſely reſerving himſelf for great and important occaſions. (*c*) Hence it was ſaid that he imitated Jupiter, who, in the government of the world, according to ſome philoſophers, buſied himſelf in great events only; and left the direction of thoſe of leſs importance to ſubaltern deities. And indeed, Pericles uſed to tranſact all petty affairs by his friends, and by certain orators that were entirely devoted to him, among whom was Ephialtes.

(*d*) Pericles employed his whole induſtry and application to gain the favour and eſteem of the people, in order to counter-balance the fame and credit of Cimon. However, he could not equal the magnificence and liberality of his rival, whoſe immenſe riches gave him an opportunity of beſtowing ſuch largeſſes as appear to us almoſt incredible, ſo much they differ from our behaviour in that reſpect. Finding it impoſſible for him to rival Cimon in this particular, he had recourſe to another expedient (in order to gain the love of the populace) no leſs effectual perhaps, but certainly not ſo lawful and honourable. He was the firſt who divided the conquered lands among the citizens; who diſtributed among them the public revenues for

(*b*) Plut. de ſui laude. p. 441.
(*c*) Plut. de ger. rep. p. 811.
(*d*) Plut. in Pericl. p. 156.

* Iſta noſtra aſſiduitas, Servi, neſcis quantum interdum afferat hominibus faſtidii, quantum ſatietatis —— Utrique noſtrûm deſiderium nihil obfuiſſet. *Cic. pro Mur. n.* 21.

the

the expence of their games and ſhows, and annexed penſions to all public employments; ſo that certain ſums were beſtowed on them regularly, as well to gratify them at the games, as for their preſence in the courts of juſtice, and the public aſſemblies. It is impoſſible to ſay, how fatal theſe unhappy politics were to the republic, and the many evils with which they were attended. For theſe new regulations, beſides their draining the public treaſury, gave the people a luxurious and diſſolute turn of mind; whereas they before were ſober and modeſt, and contented themſelves with getting a livelihood by their ſweat and labour.

By * ſuch arts as theſe Pericles had gained ſo great an aſcendant over the minds of the people, that he may be ſaid to have attained a monarchical power under a republican form of government; moulding the citizens into what ſhape he pleaſed, and preſiding with unlimited authority in all their aſſemblies. And indeed, Valerius Maximus makes ſcarce any other difference between Piſiſtratus and Pericles, except that the one exerciſed a tyrannical power by force of arms, and the other by the ſtrength of his eloquence, in which he had made a very great progreſs under Anaxagoras.

This credit and authority, however enormous, could not yet reſtrain the comic writers from laſhing him very ſeverely in the theatres; and it does not appear that any of the poets who cenſured Pericles with ſo much boldneſs, were ever puniſhed, or even called to account for it by the people. Perhaps it was out of prudence and policy that he did not attempt to curb this licentiouſneſs of the ſtage; nor to ſilence the poets, that he might amuſe and content the people by

* Pericles feliciſſimis naturæ incrementis, ſub Anaxagora præceptore ſummo ſtudio perpolitus & inſtructus, liberis Athenarum cervicibus jugum ſervitutis impoſuit: egit enim ille urbem & verſavit arbitrio ſuo ——— Quid inter Piſiſtratum & Periclem interfuit, niſi quod ille armatus, hic ſine armis, tyrannidem exercuit? *Val. Max.* l. 8. c. 9.

this

this vain ſhadow of liberty, and prevent their diſcovering that they really were enſlaved.

(a) But Pericles did not ſtop here. He boldly reſolved, if poſſible, to weaken the authority of the tribunal of the Areopagus, of which he was not a member, becauſe he had never been elected either † Archon, Theſmotheta, king of the ſacrifices, nor Polemarch. Theſe were different employments in the republic, which from time immemorial had been given by lot; and none but thoſe who had behaved uprightly in them, were allowed a ſeat in the Areopagus. Pericles, taking advantage of Cimon's abſence, ſet Ephialtes, who was his creature, at work clandeſtinely; and at laſt leſſened the power of that illuſtrious body, in which the chief ſtrength of the nobility conſiſted. The people, emboldened and ſupported by ſo powerful a faction, ſubverted all the fundamental laws and antient cuſtoms; took from the ſenate of the Areopagus the cognizance of moſt cauſes that uſed to be brought before it, leaving it very few, and ſuch only as were of little conſequence; and made themſelves abſolute maſters of all the tribunals.

Cimon being returned to Athens, was afflicted to ſee the dignity of the ſenate trampled under foot, and therefore ſet every engine at work to reſtore it to its priſtine authority, and to revive the ariſtocracy, in the ſame form as it had been eſtabliſhed under Cliſthenes. But now his enemies began to exclaim and excite the people againſt him; reproaching him, among many other things, his ſtrong attachment to the Lacedæmonians. Cimon had himſelf given ſome room for this reproach, by his not paying ſufficient regard to the Athenian delicacy: For, in ſpeaking to them, he

(a) Plut. in Pericl. p. 157. In Cim. p. 488.

† *After ſome changes had been made in the form of the Athenian government, the ſupreme authority was at laſt inveſted in nine magiſtrates, called Archons, and laſted but one year. One was called Rex, another Polemarchus, a third Archon, and this magiſtrate was properly at the head of the reſt, and gave his name to the year; and ſix Theſmothetæ, who preſided immediately over the laws and decrees.*

would

would for ever extol Lacedæmonia; and whenever he cenſured their conduct on any occaſion, he uſed to cry, *The Spartans do not act in this manner.* Such expreſſions as theſe drew upon him the envy and hatred of his fellow-citizens; but an event, in which he nevertheleſs had no ſhare, made him the object of their utmoſt deteſtation.

SECT. VIII. *An earthquake in Sparta. Inſurrection of the Helots. Seeds of diviſion ariſe between the Athenians and Spartans. Cimon is ſent into baniſhment.*

(*b*) IN the fourth year of the reign of Archidamus, there happened the moſt dreadful earthquake in Sparta that had ever been known. In ſeveral places the country was entirely ſwallowed up; Taygetus and other mountains were ſhaken to their foundations; many of their ſummits being torn away, came tumbling down; and the whole city was laid in ruins, five houſes only excepted. To heighten the calamity, the Helots, who were ſlaves to the Lacedæmonians, looking upon this as a favourable opportunity to recover their liberty, flew up and down every part of the city, to murder ſuch as had eſcaped the earthquake: But finding them under arms, and drawn up in order of battle, by the prudent foreſight of Archidamus, who had aſſembled them round him, they retired into the neighbouring cities, and commenced that very day open war, having entered into alliance with ſeveral of the neighhouring nations, and being ſtrengthened by the Meſſenians, who at that time were engaged in a war with the Spartans.

The Lacedæmonians in this extremity ſent to Athens to implore ſuccours; but this was oppoſed by Ephialtes, who declared that it would be no way adviſable to aſſiſt them, nor to rebuild a city that was the rival of Athens, which, he ſaid, ought to be left in its ruins, and the pride of Sparta thereby humbled

(*b*) A. M. 3534. Ant. J. C. 470. Plut. in Cim. p. 488, 489.

for

for ever. But Cimon being ſtruck with horror at theſe politics, did not heſitate a moment to prefer the welfare of the Lacedæmonians to the aggrandizing of his country; declaring, in the ſtrongeſt terms, that it was abſolutely weak and inconſiſtent, *to leave Greece lame of one of its legs, and Athens without a counterpoiſe*; the people came into his opinion, and accordingly a ſuccour was voted. Sparta and Athens might indeed be conſidered as the two limbs on which Greece ſtood; ſo that if one of them was deſtroyed, the reſt were inevitably crippled. It is alſo certain, that the Athenians were ſo elate with their grandeur, and were become ſo proud and enterprizing, that they wanted a curb; for which none was ſo proper as Sparta, that ſtate being the only one that was capable of being a counterpoiſe to the head-ſtrong diſpoſition of the Athenians. Cimon therefore marched to the aid of the Lacedæmonians with four thouſand men.

We have here an example of the prodigious influence which a man of fine talents and abilities has in a ſtate, when a great fund of merit unites in his perſon, with a well-eſtabliſhed reputation for probity, diſintereſtedneſs and zeal for the good of his country. Cimon, with very little difficulty, prevails ſo far as to inſpire the Athenians with noble and magnanimous ſentiments, which in outward appearance interfered with their intereſt; and this in ſpite of the ſuggeſtions of a ſecret jealouſy, which never fails to ſhew itſelf in the moſt ſenſible manner on theſe occaſions. By the aſcendant and authority which his virtue gives him, he raiſes them above the groveling and unjuſt (though too common) political views, that prompt a people to conſider the calamities of their neighbours as an advantage, which the intereſt of their own country permits, and even enjoins them to lay hold of. The counſels of Cimon were perfectly wiſe and equitable; but it is ſurprizing, how he could prevail ſo far as to make a whole people approve them, ſince this is all

that

that could be expected from an assembly of the wisest and gravest senators.

(*c*) Some time after, the Lacedæmonians again implored the aid of the Athenians against the Messenians and Helots, who had seized upon Ithoma. But these forces being arrived under the command of Cimon, the Spartans began to dread their intrepidity, their power and great fame; so that they affronted them so far, as to send them back upon the suspicion of their harbouring ill designs, and of intending to turn their arms against them.

The Athenians being returned full of anger and resentment, they declared themselves, from that very day, enemies to all who should favour the Lacedæmonian interest; for which reason they banished Cimon by the ostracism, the first opportunity that presented itself for that purpose. This is the first time that the misunderstanding between these two nations, which afterwards augmented through mutual discontent, displayed itself in so strong a manner. It was nevertheless suspended for some years, by truces and treaties, which prevented its consequences; but it at last broke out in the most violent manner in the Peloponnesian war.

Those who had shut themselves up in Ithoma, after making a ten years defence in it, surrendred at last to the Lacedæmonians, who gave them their lives upon condition that they should never return to Peloponnesus. The Athenians, to exasperate the Lacedæmonians, received them with their wives and children, and settled them in Naupactus, of which they had just before possessed themselves. (*d*) The inhabitants of Megara at the same time went over from the Spartans to the Athenians. In this manner several leagues were concluded on both sides, and many battles were fought, the most famous of which was that of

(*c*) Plut. in Cim. Thucyd. l. 1. p. 67, 68. (*d*) Thucyd. l. 1. p. 69, 71. Diod. l. 11. p. 59—65. A. M. 3548. Ant. J. C. 450.

Tanagra

Tanagra in Bœotia, which Diodorus equals with thoſe of Marathon and Platæa, and in which Myronides the Athenian general defeated the Spartans, who came to the aid of the Thebans.

(e) It was on this occaſion that Cimon, thinking himſelf diſpenſed from his proſcription, repaired with ſome ſoldiers to his tribe to ſerve his country, and to fight in the Athenian army againſt the Lacedæmonians: but his enemies cauſed him to be ordered to retire. However, before he went away he exhorted his companions, who were no leſs ſuſpected than himſelf of favouring the Lacedæmonians, to exert themſelves to the utmoſt, and fight with the greateſt courage, to prove their innocence; and, if poſſible, to efface from the minds of the citizens a ſuſpicion ſo injurious to them all. Accordingly thoſe brave ſoldiers, who were an hundred in number, fired by his words, demanded his whole armour of him, which they placed in the center of their little battalion, in order to have him in a manner preſent and before their eyes. They fought with ſo much valour and fury, that they were all cut to pieces, to the great regret of the Athenians, who deeply repented their having accuſed them ſo unjuſtly.

I omit ſeveral events of little importance.

SECT. IX. *Cimon is recalled. He eſtabliſhes peace between the two cities. He gains ſeveral victories, which reduce Artaxerxes to the neceſſity of concluding a treaty highly honourable to the Greeks. Cimon's death.*

(f) THE Athenians perceiving the great occaſion they had for Cimon, recalled him from baniſhment, in which he had ſpent five years. It was Pericles himſelf who propoſed and drew up that decree; ſo moderate in thoſe times, ſays Plutarch, were feuds and animoſities, and ſo eaſy to be appeaſed, when the welfare of their country required it; and ſo happily did ambition, which is one of the ſtrongeſt

(e) Plut. in Cim. p. 489. (f) Ibid. p. 490.

and

and moſt lively paſſions, yield to the neceſſity of the times, and comply with the occaſions of the public.

(g) The inſtant Cimon returned, he ſtifled the ſparks of war which were going to break out among the Greeks; reconciled the two cities, and prevailed with them to conclude a truce for five years. And to prevent the Athenians, who were grown haughty in effect of the many victories they had gained, from having an opportunity, or harbouring a deſign to attack their neighbours and allies, he thought it adviſable to lead them at a great diſtance from home againſt the common enemy; thus endeavouring, in an honourable way, to inure the citizens to war, and enrich them at the ſame time. Accordingly he put to ſea with a fleet of two hundred ſail. He ſent ſixty of theſe into Egypt to the aid of Amyrteus, and himſelf ſailed with the reſt againſt the iſland of Cyprus. Artabazus was at that time in thoſe ſeas with a fleet of three hundred ſail; and Megabyſus, the other general of Artaxerxes, with an army of three hundred thouſand men, on the coaſt of Cilicia. As ſoon as the ſquadron which Cimon ſent into Egypt had joined his fleet, he ſailed and attacked Artabazus, and took an hundred of his ſhips. He ſunk many of them, and chaſed the reſt as far as the coaſts of Phœnicia. But as if this victory had been only a prelude to a ſecond, he made a deſcent on Cilicia in his return, attacked Megabyſus, defeated him, and cut to pieces a prodigious number of his troops. He afterwards returned to Cyprus with this double triumph, and laid ſiege to Citium, a ſtrong city of very great importance. His deſign, after he had reduced that iſland, was to ſail for Egypt, and again embroil the affairs of the Barbarians; for he had very extenſive views, and meditated no leſs a proſpect than that of the entire ſubverſion of the mighty empire of Perſia. The rumours which prevailed, that Themiſto-

(g) A. M. 3554. Ant. J. C. 450. Plut. ibid. Diod. l. 12. p. 73, 74.

cles

cles was to command againſt him, added freſh fire to his courage; and almoſt aſſured of ſucceſs, he was infinitely pleaſed with the occaſion of trying his abilities with thoſe of that general. But we have already ſeen that Themiſtocles laid violent hands on himſelf about this time.

(*b*) Artaxerxes, tired with a war in which he had ſuſtained ſuch great loſſes, reſolved, with the advice of his council, to put an end to it. Accordingly, he ſent orders to his generals to conclude a peace with the Athenians, upon the moſt advantagious conditions they could. Megabyſus and Artabazus ſent ambaſſadors to Athens to propoſe an accommodation. Plenipotentiaries were choſen on both ſides, and Callias was at the head of thoſe of Athens. The conditions of the treaty were as follow: 1. That all the Grecian cities of Aſia ſhould enjoy their liberty, with ſuch laws and forms of government as they ſhould think fit to chuſe. 2. That no Perſian ſhip of war ſhould be allowed to enter the ſeas between the Cyanean and Chelidonian iſlands, that is, from the Euxine ſea to the coaſts of Pamphylia. 3. That no Perſian general ſhould march any troops within three days march of thoſe ſeas. 4. That the Athenians ſhould not invade any part of the dominions of the king of Perſia. Theſe articles being ratified by both parties, peace was proclaimed.

(*i*) Thus ended this war, which, from the burning of Sardis by the Athenians, had laſted fifty-one years compleat, and in which infinite numbers of Perſians as well as Greeks had periſhed.

(*k*) Whilſt this treaty was negotiating, Cimon died, either of ſickneſs, or of a wound he had received at the ſiege of Citium. When he was near his end, he commanded his officers to ſail with the fleet immediately for Athens, and to conceal his death with the utmoſt care. Accordingly this was executed with ſo much

(*b*) Diod. p. 74, 75.
(*k*) Plut. in Cim. p. 491.
(*i*) A. M. 3555. Ant. J. C. 449.

ſecrecy,

ſecrecy, that neither the enemy nor the allies once ſuſpected it; and they returned ſafe to Athens, ſtill under the conduct and auſpices of Cimon, though he had been dead above thirty days.

Cimon was univerſally regretted *, which is no wonder, ſince he was poſſeſſed of all thoſe qualities that dignify the ſoul; the moſt tender ſon, a faithful friend; zealous for the good of his country; a great politician, an accompliſhed general; modeſt when raiſed to the higheſt employments and moſt diſtinguiſhed honours; liberal and beneficent almoſt to profuſion; ſimple and averſe to oſtentation of every kind, even in the midſt of riches and abundance; in fine, ſo great a lover of the poor citizens, as to ſhare his whole eſtate with them, without being aſhamed of ſuch companions of his fortune. Hiſtory mentions no ſtatues or monuments erected to his memory, nor any magnificent obſequies celebrated after his death: but the greateſt honour that could be paid him, was the ſighs and tears of the people; † theſe were permanent and laſting ſtatues, which are not obnoxious to the inclemencies of weather, or the injuries of time, and endear the memory of the good and virtuous to the remoteſt ages. For the moſt ſplendid mauſolæums, the works of braſs and marble that are raiſed in honour of wicked great men, are deſpiſed by poſterity, as ſepulchres which incloſe nothing but vile duſt and putrefaction.

What followed proved more ſtrongly the loſs which Greece had ſuſtained by his death; for Cimon was the laſt of all the Grecian generals who did any thing conſiderable or glorious againſt the Barbarians. Excited by the orators, who gained the ſtrongeſt aſcendant over the minds of the people, and ſowed the

* Sic ſe gerendo, minimè eſt mirandum, ſi & vita ejus fuit ſecura, & non acerba. *Cor. Nep. in Cim.* cap. 4.

† Hæ pulcherrimæ effigies & manſuræ. Nam, quæ ſaxo ſtruuntur, ſi judicium poſtercrum in odium vertit, pro ſepulchris ſpernuntur. *Tacit. Annal.* lib. 4. cap. 38.

ſeeds

ſeeds of diviſion in their public aſſemblies, they turned their animoſity againſt each other; and at laſt proceeded to open war, the fatal conſequences of which no one endeavoured to prevent; a circumſtance that was of great advantage to the king of Perſia, and the utmoſt prejudice to the affairs of Greece.

SECT. X. *Thucydides is oppoſed to Pericles. The envy raiſed againſt the latter. He clears himſelf, and prevails to have Thucydides baniſhed.*

(*l*) THE nobles of Athens ſeeing Pericles raiſed to the higheſt degree of power, and far above all the reſt of the citizens, reſolved to oppoſe him with a man, who, in ſome meaſure, might make head againſt him, and prevent his great authority from growing up to monarchy. Accordingly they oppoſed him with Thucydides, Cimon's brother-in-law, a man who had diſplayed his wiſdom on numberleſs occaſions. He indeed did not poſſeſs the military talents in ſo eminent a degree as Pericles; but then he had as great an influence over the people; ſhaping their opinions, and directing their aſſemblies as he pleaſed: and as he never ſtirred out of the city, but continually combated Pericles in all his deſigns, he ſoon reſtored things to an equilibrium. On the other ſide, Pericles was ſolliciteus of pleaſing the people on all occaſions, and ſlackened the rein more than ever; entertaining them as often as poſſible with ſhows, feſtivals, games, and other diverſions.

He found means to maintain, during eight months in the year, a great number of poor citizens, by putting them on board a fleet, conſiſting of threeſcore ſhips, which he fitted out every year; and thereby did his country an important ſervice, by training up a great number of ſeamen for its defence. He alſo planted ſeveral colonies in Cherſoneſus, in Naxos, in Andros, and among the Biſaltæ in Thrace. There was a very noble one in Italy, of which we ſhall

(*l*) Plut. in Peric. p. 158—161.

ſoon

ſoon have occaſion to ſpeak, and which built Thurium. Pericles had different views in ſettling theſe colonies, beſides the particular deſign he might have of gaining the affections of the people by that means. His chief motives were, to clear the city of a great number of idle perſons who were every ready to diſturb the government; to relieve the wants of the loweſt claſs of people, who before were unable to ſubſiſt themſelves; in fine, to awe the allies, by ſettling native Athenians among them as ſo many garriſons, which might prevent their engaging in any meaſures contrary to the intereſt of that people. The Romans acted in the ſame manner; and it may be ſaid, that ſo wiſe a policy was one of the moſt effectual methods uſed by them to ſecure the tranquillity of the ſtate.

But the circumſtance which did Pericles the greateſt honour in the ſenſe of the people, was his adorning the city with magnificent edifices and other works, which raiſed the admiration and aſtoniſhment of all foreigners, and gave them a mighty idea of the power of the Athenians. It is ſurprizing that, in ſo ſhort a ſpace, ſo many works of architecture, ſculpture, engraving and painting ſhould be performed; and at the ſame time be carried to the higheſt perfection: For it is generally found, that edifices raiſed in haſte, boaſt neither a ſolid and durable grace, nor the regularity required in works of an exquiſitely-beautiful kind. Commonly, nothing but length of time, joined to aſſiduous labour, can give them ſuch a ſtrength as may preſerve, and make them triumph over ages; and this raiſes our wonder ſtill more in regard to the works of Pericles, which were finiſhed with ſo much rapidity and however ſubſiſted through ſo great a length of time. For each of thoſe works, the very inſtant it was finiſhed, had the beauty of an antique; and at this time, *i. e.* above five hundred years after, ſays Plutarch, they retain a freſhneſs and youth as if juſt come out of the artiſt's hand; ſo happily do they preſerve the graces and charms of novelty, which will not

not ſuffer time to diminiſh their luſtre; as if an ever-blooming ſpirit, and a ſoul exempt from age, were diffuſed into every part of thoſe works.

But that circumſtance which excited the admiration of the whole world, raiſed the jealouſy of the people againſt Pericles. His enemies were for ever crying aloud in the aſſemblies, that it was diſhonourable to the Athenians, to appropriate to themſelves the bank of all Greece, which he had ſent for from Delos, where it had been depoſited; that the allies muſt neceſſarily conſider ſuch an attempt as a manifeſt tyranny, when they found that the ſums which had been extorted from them, upon pretence of their being employed in the war, were laid out by the Athenians in gilding and embelliſhing their city, in making magnificent ſtatues, and raiſing temples that coſt millions. They did not amplify on theſe occaſions; for only the temple of Minerva, called the Parthenone, had coſt three millions of livres. *

Pericles, on the contrary, remonſtrated to the Athenians, that they were not obliged to give the allies an account of the monies they had received from them; that it was enough they defended them from, and repulſed, the Barbarians, whilſt the allies furniſhed neither ſoldiers, horſes nor ſhips; and were excuſed for ſome ſums of money, which, from the inſtant they were paid in, were no longer the property of the donors, but of thoſe who received them; provided they performed the conditions agreed upon, and in conſideration of which they were received. He added, that as the Athenians were ſufficiently provided with all things neceſſary for war, it was but juſt that they ſhould employ the reſt of their riches in edifices and other works, which, when finiſhed, would give immortal glory to their city; and, the whole time they were carrying on, diffuſed a plenty of all things, and gave bread to an infinite number of citizens: That they themſelves had all kinds of materials, as timber,

* *About* 145000 *l. ſterling.*

ſtone,

ſtone, braſs, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypreſs wood; and all ſorts of artificers capable of working them, as carpenters, maſons, ſmiths, ſtone-cutters, dyers, gold-ſmiths; artificers in ebony, painters, embroiderers and turners; men fit to conduct their naval affairs, as merchants, ſailors and experienced pilots; others for land-carriage, as cartwrights, waggoners, carters, rope-makers, paviors, &c. That it was for the advantage of the ſtate to employ theſe different artificers and workmen, who as ſo many ſeparate bodies, formed, when united, a kind of peaceable and domeſtic army, whoſe different functions and employments diffuſed gain and encreaſe throughout all ſexes and ages: Laſtly, that whilſt men of robuſt bodies, and of an age fit to bear arms, whether ſoldiers or mariners, and thoſe who were in the different garriſons, were ſupported with the public monies; it was but juſt, that the reſt of the people who lived in the city ſhould alſo be maintained in their way; and that as all were members of the ſame republic, they all ſhould reap the ſame advantages, by doing it ſervices, which, though of a different kind, did however all contribute to its ſecurity or ornament.

One day, as the debates were growing warm, Pericles offered to defray the expence of all theſe things, provided it ſhould be declared in the public inſcriptions, that he only had been at the charge of them. At theſe words the people, either admiring his magnanimity, or fired with emulation, and determined not to let him engroſs that glory, cried with one voice, that he might take out of the public treaſury all the ſums neceſſary for his purpoſe.

Phidias the celebrated ſculptor preſided over all theſe works, as director-general. It was he who particularly caſt the gold * and ivory ſtatue repreſenting Pallas, which was ſo highly valued, by all the judges of an-

* Non Minervæ Athenis factæ amplitudine utemur, cum ea ſit cubitorum XXVI. Ebore hæc & auro conſtat. *Plin. l.* 36. *c.* 5. *This ſtatue was twenty-ſix cubits in height.*

tiquity. There arose an incredible ardor and emulation among the several artificers, who all strove to excel each other, and immortalize their names by master-pieces of art.

The odeon, or music-theatre, which had a great number of seats and columns within it, and whose roof grew narrower by degrees, and terminated in a point, was built, as history informs us, after the model of king Xerxes's tent, according to the direction of Pericles. It was at that time he proposed with great warmth, a decree, by which it was ordained, that musical games should be celebrated on the festival called Panathenæa; and having been chosen the judge and distributor of the prizes, he regulated the manner in which musicians should play on the flute and the lyre, as well as sing. From that time, the musical games were always exhibited in this theatre.

I have already taken notice, that the more the beauty and splendor of these works were admired, the greater envy and clamour were raised against Pericles. The orators of the opposite faction were eternally exclaiming against him, and tearing his character to pieces; accusing him of squandering the public monies, and laying out very unseasonably the revenues of the state in edifices, whose magnificence was of no use. At last, the rupture between him and Thucydides rose to such a height, that one or other of them must necessarily be banished by the ostracism. He got the better of Thucydides; prevailed to have him banished; crushed by that means the faction which opposed him, and obtained a despotic authority over the city and government of Athens. He now disposed at pleasure of the public monies, troops and ships. The islands and sea were subject to him; and he reigned singly and alone in that wide domain, which extended, not only over the Greeks, but the Barbarians also, and which was cemented and strengthned by the obedience and fidelity of the conquered nations, by the friend-

ship

ſhip of kings, and treaties concluded with various princes.

Hiſtorians expatiate greatly on the magnificent edifices and other works with which Pericles adorned Athens, and I have related faithfully their teſtimony; but I cannot ſay whether, the complaints and murmurs raiſed againſt him were very ill grounded. And indeed, was it juſt in him to expend in ſuperfluous buildings, and vain decorations, the immenſe * ſums intended for carrying on the war; and would it not have been better to have eaſed the allies of part of the contributions, which, in Pericles's adminiſtration, were raiſed to a third part more than before? According to Cicero, (*m*) ſuch edifices and other works only are worthy of admiration, as are of uſe to the public, as aquæducts, city-walls, citadels, arſenals, ſea-ports; and to theſe we muſt add, the work made by Pericles, to join Athens to the port of Piræus. But Cicero obſerves at the ſame time, that Pericles was blamed for ſquandring away the public treaſure, merely to embelliſh the city with ſuperfluous ornaments. (*n*) Plato, who formed a judgment of things, not from their outward ſplendor, but from truth, obſerves (after his maſter Socrates) that Pericles, with all his grand edifices and other works, had not improved the mind of one of the citizens in virtue, but rather corrupted the purity and ſimplicity of their antient manners.

SECT. XI. *Pericles changes his conduct with regard to the people. His prodigious authority. His diſintereſtedneſs.*

(*o*) WHEN Pericles ſaw himſelf inveſted with the whole authority, he began to change his behaviour. He now was not ſo mild and tractable as before, nor did he ſubmit or abandon himſelf any

(*m*) Lib. 2. Offic. n. 60. (*n*) In Gorg. p. 515. In Alcib. 1. p. 119. (*o*) Plut. in Pericl. p. 161.

* *They amounted to upwards of ten millions French money.*

longer to the whims and caprice of the people, as ſo many winds; but drawing in, ſays Plutarch, the reins of this, too looſe, popular government, in the ſame manner as we ſcrew up the ſtrings of an inſtrument when too ſlack, he changed it into an ariſtocracy, or rather a kind of monarchy, without departing however from the public good. Chooſing always what was moſt expedient, and becoming irreproachable in all things, he gained ſo mighty an aſcendant over the minds of the people, that he turned and directed them at pleaſure. Sometimes, by his bare counſel, and by perſuaſive methods, he would win them over gently to his will, and gain their aſſent ſpontaneouſly; at other times, when he found them obſtinate, he would in a manner drag them forward againſt their will, to thoſe things which were for their good; imitating on this occaſion a skilful phyſician, who, in a tedious and ſtubborn diſeaſe, knows what times are proper for him to indulge his patient in innocent medicaments that are pleaſing; in order after to adminiſter thoſe of a ſtrong and violent nature, which indeed put him to pain, but are alone capable of reſtoring his health.

And indeed, it is manifeſt that the utmoſt skill and abilities were required, to manage and govern a populace haughty from their power and exceedingly capricious; and on this occaſion Pericles ſucceeded wonderfully. He uſed to employ, according to the different ſituation of things, ſometimes hope, and at other times fear, as a double helm, either to check the wild tranſports and ſtarts of the people, or to raiſe them when dejected and deſponding. By this conduct he ſhowed that eloquence, as Plato obſerves, is only the art of directing the minds of people at will; and that the chief excellency of this art conſiſts in moving, ſeaſonably, the various paſſions, whether gentle or violent; which being to the ſoul what ſtrings are to a muſical inſtrument, need only be touched by an ingenious and skilful hand to produce their effect.

It muſt nevertheleſs be confeſſed, that the circumſtance

ſtance which gave Pericles this great authority, was, not only the force of his eloquence; but, as Thucydides obſerves, the reputation of his life, and great probity.

(p) Plutarch points out in Pericles, one quality which is very eſſential to ſtateſmen; a quality, well adapted to win the eſteem and confidence of the public, and which ſuppoſes a great ſuperiority of mind; and that is, for a man to be fully perſuaded that he wants the counſels of others, and is not able to manage and direct all things alone; to aſſociate with himſelf perſons of merit in his labours, to employ each of theſe according to his talents; and to leave them the management of ſmall matters, which only conſume time, and deprive him of the liberty of mind, ſo neceſſary in the conduct of important affairs. Such a conduct, ſays Plutarch, is productive of two advantages. Firſt, it extinguiſhes or at leaſt breaks the force of envy and jealouſy, by dividing, in ſome meaſure, a power, which is grating and offenſive to us when we ſee it united in one ſingle perſon, as if all merit centered in him alone. Secondly, it advances and facilitates the execution of affairs, and makes their ſucceſs more certain. Plutarch, the better to explain his thought, employs a very natural and beautiful compariſon. The hand, ſays he, which, from its being divided into five fingers, ſo far from being weaker, is the ſtronger, the more active, and better adapted to motion on that very account. It is the ſame of a ſtateſman, who has the skill to divide his cares and functions in a proper manner, and who by that means makes his authority more active, more extenſive and deciſive: whereas, the indiſcreet fire of a narrow-minded man, who takes umbrage at, and is for engroſſing all things, ſerves to no other purpoſe but to ſet his weakneſs and incapacity in a ſtronger light, and to diſconcert his affairs. But Pericles, ſays Plutarch, did not act in this manner. Like a skilful pilot, who, though he ſtand al-

(p) Plut. in præc. de rep. ger. p. 812.

moſt motionleſs himſelf, however puts every thing in motion, and will ſometimes ſeat ſubaltern officers at the helm; ſo Pericles was the ſoul of the government; and, ſeeming to do nothing of himſelf, he actuated and governed all things; employing the eloquence of one man, the credit and intereſt of another, the prudence of a third, the bravery and courage of a fourth, and ſo on.

(q) To what has been here related, we may add another quality which is no leſs rare and valuable, I mean, a noble and diſintereſted ſoul. Pericles had ſo great a diſinclination to the receiving of gifts, ſo utter a contempt for riches, and was ſo far above all rapaciouſneſs and avarice, that though he had raiſed Athens to the richeſt and moſt flouriſhing ſtate; though his power had ſurpaſſed that of many tyrants and kings; though he had long diſpoſed in an abſolute manner of the treaſures of Greece, he did not however add a ſingle drachma to the eſtate he inherited from his father. This was the ſource, the true cauſe of the ſupreme authority of Pericles in the republic; the juſt and deſerved fruit of his integrity and perfect diſintereſtedneſs.

It was not only for a few ſhort moments, nor during the firſt heats of favour, which are generally ſhort-lived, that he preſerved his authority. He maintained it forty years, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of Cimon, of Tolmides, of Thucydides, and many others, who had all declared againſt him; and of theſe forty years he ſpent fifteen without a rival, from the time of Thucydides's baniſhment, and diſpoſed all affairs with abſolute power. Nevertheleſs, in the midſt of this ſupreme authority, which he had rendered perpetual and unlimited in his own perſon, his ſoul was always ſuperior to the charms and allurements of wealth, though he never neglected improving his eſtate to the utmoſt of his power. For Pericles did not act like thoſe rich men, who, notwithſtanding their immenſe revenues, either through negligence or want of œconomy,

(q) Plut. in vit. Pericl. p. 161, 162.

nomy, or the expences of pride and folly, are always poor in the midſt of their riches; unable and unwilling to do the leaſt ſervice to their virtuous friends, or their faithful and zealous domeſtics; and at laſt die in every one's debt, whence their name and memory are had in the utmoſt deteſtation by their unfortunate creditors. I ſhall not expatiate on another extreme, to which this negligence and want of œconomy generally lead, I mean rapine, a love of gifts and exactions; for here, as well as in the management of the public monies, the maxim of Tacitus takes place, * viz. that when a man has ſquandered away his eſtate, he then makes it his whole ſtudy to retrieve the loſs of it by all ſorts of methods, not excepting the moſt criminal.

Pericles knew much better the uſe a ſtateſman ought to make of riches. He was ſenſible that he ought to expend them in the ſervice of the public, ſuch as the procuring of able men to aſſiſt him in the adminiſtration; the relieving good officers, who too often are in unhappy circumſtances; the rewarding and encouraging merit of every kind, and a thouſand ſuch things; to which doubtleſs, either on account of the exquiſite joy they give, or the ſolid glory that reſults from them, no one will be ſo thoughtleſs as to compare the expences laviſhed away in entertainments, equipages, or gaming. In this view Pericles managed his eſtate with the utmoſt œconomy; having himſelf taught one of his old ſervants to take care of his domeſtic concerns; and he always had the account brought him, at ſtated times, of all things that had been received as well as expended; confining himſelf and his family to a decent ſubſiſtence, (from which he baniſhed ſeverely all ſuperfluities of a vain and oſtentatious kind,) ſuitable to his eſtate and condition. This way of life, indeed, did no way pleaſe his children when they were come to years of maturity, and much leſs his wife. They thought Pericles did not live at a ſufficient expence for

* Si ambitione ærarium exhauſerimus, per ſcelera ſupplendum erit. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 2. c. 38.

perſons of their rank; and murmured at that low and ſordid œconomy, as they called it, which carried no air of the plenty which generally reigns in houſes where riches and authority are united. However, Pericles had little regard to theſe complaints, and directed his views to things of much greater importance.

I believe it will not be improper to apply on this occaſion, a very juſt remark of Plutarch, in his parallel of Ariſtides and Cato. After ſaying that political virtue, or the art of governing cities and kingdoms, is the greateſt and moſt perfect that man can acquire, he adds, that œconomy is not one of the moſt inconſiderable branches of this virtue. And indeed, as riches are one of the means which may moſt contribute to the ſecurity or ruin of a ſtate; the art that teaches to diſpoſe of, and make a good uſe of them, and which is called œconomy, is certainly a branch of the art of policy; and not one of the moſt inconſiderable branches of it, ſince great wiſdom is required, in order to the obſerving a juſt medium on theſe occaſions, and to the baniſhing poverty and too great opulence from a country. It is this art, which avoiding induſtriouſly all trifling and needleſs expences, prevents a magiſtrate from being forced to overburthen a people with taxes; and keeps always in reſerve, in the public coffers, monies ſufficient for the ſupporting a war that may break out, or for providing againſt any unforeſeen accident. Now what is ſaid of a kingdom or of a city, may be applied to particular perſons. For a city, which is compoſed of an aſſemblage of houſes, and which forms a whole of ſeveral parts united, is either powerful or weak when taken together, in proportion as all the members of which it conſiſts, are powerful or weak. Pericles certainly acquitted himſelf well with regard to that part of this ſcience which relates to the government of a family: but I do not know whether the ſame may be ſaid of his adminiſtration of the public revenues.

SECT.

SECT. XII. *Jealouſy and conteſts ariſe between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. A treaty of peace is concluded for thirty years.*

(*a*) SUCH was the conduct of Pericles with reſpect to his domeſtic concerns: and he was no leſs famous for his adminiſtration of public affairs. The Lacedæmonians beginning to grow jealous of the proſperity of the Athenians, and to take umbrage at it; Pericles, to inſpire his citizens with greater courage and magnanimity, publiſhed a decree, importing, that orders ſhould be ſent to all the Grecks, inhabiting either Europe or Aſia, and to all the cities great or ſmall, to ſend immediately their deputies or repreſentatives to Athens, to examine and debate on ways and means to rebuild the temples that had been burnt by the Barbarians; to perform the ſacrifices, which they had engaged themſelves to offer up, for the preſervation and ſafety of Greece, when war was carrying on againſt them: as alſo, to conſider on the neceſſary expedients for eſtabliſhing ſuch an order and diſcipline in their navy, that all ſhips might ſail in ſafety, and the Greeks live in peace one with another.

Accordingly twenty perſons were choſen for this embaſſy, each of whom was upwards of fifty years old. Five of theſe were ſent to the Ionians and Dorians of Aſia, and the inhabitants of the iſlands as far as Leſbos and Rhodes; five to the countries of the Helleſpont and Thrace, as far as Byzantium. Five were ordered to go to Bœotia, to Phocis, and Peloponneſus; and from thence, by the country of the Locrians to proceed to the ſeveral cities of the upper continent as far as Acarnania and Ambracia. The laſt five were ordered to croſs Eubœa, and to go to the people of mount Œta, and thoſe of the gulph of Malea, and to the inhabitants of Phthiotis, of Achaia, and of Theſſaly; to induce the ſeveral nations to come to the aſſembly convened in Athens, and to aſſiſt at the debates which ſhould be

(*a*) Plut. in Pericl. p. 162.

there carried on concerning peace, and the general affairs of Greece. I judged it neceſſary to enter into this detail, as it ſhows how far the power of the Greeks extended, and the authority which the Athenians enjoyed among them.

But all theſe ſollicitations were in vain; the cities not ſending their deputies, which, according to hiſtorians, was owing to the oppoſition made by the Lacedæmonians, a circumſtance we are not to wonder at. They were ſenſible, that Pericles's deſign was, to have Athens acknowledged as miſtreſs and ſovereign of all the other Grecian cities; and Lacedæmon was far from allowing it that honour. A ſecret leaven of diſſenſion had, for ſome years, began to diſturb the tranquillity of Greece; and we ſhall find by the ſequel, that diſguſts augmented continually.

Pericles had acquired great fame for the wiſdom with which he formed and conducted his enterprizes. The troops repoſed the higheſt confidence in him, and whenever they followed him, aſſured themſelves of ſucceſs. His chief maxim of war was, never to venture a battle unleſs he were almoſt certain of victory, and not to laviſh the blood of the citizens. He uſed to ſay frequently, that were it in his power they ſhould be immortal; that when trees were felled they ſhoot to life again in a little time, but when once men die they are loſt for ever. A victory that was only the effect of a happy temerity, appeared to him as little worthy of praiſe, though it often was much admired.

His expedition into the Thracian Cherſoneſus did him great honour, and was of great advantage to all the Greeks of that country: for he not only ſtrengthned the Grecian cities of that peninſula, by the colonies of Athenians which he carried thither, but alſo ſhut up the Iſthmus with a ſtrong wall, with forts at proper diſtances from ſea to ſea; ſecuring by that means the whole country from the perpetual incurſions of the Thracians, who were very near neighbours to it.

He

He alſo ſailed with an hundred ſhips round Peloponneſus, ſpreading the terror of the Athenian arms wherever he came, the ſucceſs of which was not once interrupted on this occaſion.

He advanced as far as the kingdom of Pontus with a large, well-mann'd, and magnificent fleet; and granted the Grecian cities all they thought fit to aſk of him. At the ſame time he diſplayed to the Barbarian nations in that neighbourhood, to their kings and princes, the greatneſs of the power of the Athenians; and proved to them, by the ſecurity with which he ſailed to all parts, that they poſſeſſed the empire of the ſeas without a rival.

(*b*) But ſo conſtant and ſhining a fortune began to dazzle the eyes of the Athenians. Intoxicated with the idea of their power and grandeur, they now revolved nothing but the boldeſt and moſt lofty projects. They were for ever talking of new attempts upon Egypt; of attacking the maritime provinces of the great king; of carrying their arms into Sicily, (a fatal and unhappy deſign, which at that time did not take effect, though it was revived ſoon after;) and to extend their conqueſts towards Hetruria on one ſide, and Carthage on the other. Pericles was far from giving into ſuch idle views, or ſupporting them with his credit and approbation. On the contrary, his whole ſtudy was to damp that reſtleſs ardour, and check an ambition which no longer knew either bounds or meaſure. It was his opinion that the Athenians ought to employ their forces for the future, only in ſecuring and preſerving their preſent acquiſitions; and he thought he had gained a great point, in reſtraining the power of the Lacedæmonians, the reducing of which he always meditated; and this was particularly ſeen in the ſacred war.

(*c*) This name was given to the war which was raiſed on account of Delphos. The Lacedæmonians having entered armed into the country where that

(*b*) Ibid. p. 164. (*c*) Plut. in Pericl. p. 164.

temple

temple is ſituated, had diſpoſſeſſed the people of Phocis of the ſuperintendence of that temple, and beſtowed it on the Delphians. As ſoon as they left it, Pericles went thither with an army, and reſtored the Phocenſes.

The Eubœans having rebelled at the ſame time, Pericles was obliged to march thither with an army. He was no ſooner arrived there, but news was brought, that the inhabitants of Megara had taken up arms; and that the Lacedæmonians, headed by Pliſtonax their king, were on the frontiers of Attica. This obliged him to quit Eubœa, and to go with all poſſible expedition to defend his country. The Lacedæmonian army being retired, he returned againſt the rebels, and again ſubjected all the cities of Eubœa to the Athenians.

(*d*) After this expedition, a truce for thirty years was concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. This treaty reſtored things to a tranquillity for the preſent: but as it did not deſcend to the root of the evil, nor cure the jealouſy and enmity of the two nations, this calm was not of long duration.

SECT. XIII. *New ſubjects of contention between the two nations, occaſioned by the Athenians laying ſiege to Samos; by their ſuccouring the people of Corcyra, and beſieging Potidæa. An open rupture enſues.*

(*e*) THE Athenians, ſix years after, took up arms againſt Samos in favour of Miletus. Theſe two cities were conteſting for that of Priene, to which each claimed a right. It is pretended, that Pericles fomented this war to pleaſe a famous curtezan, of whom he was very fond; her name was Aſpaſia, a native of Miletus. After ſeveral events and battles, Pericles beſieged the capital of the iſland of Samos. It is ſaid, that this was the firſt time he uſed military en-

(*d*) A. M. 3558. Ant. J. C. 446. Thucyd. l. 1. p. 75. Diod. p. 87. (*e*) A. M. 3564. Ant. J. C. 440. Thucyd. l. 1. p. 75, 76. Diod. l. 12. p. 88, 89. Plut. in Pericl. p. 165—167.

gines,

gines, as battering-rams and tortoiſes, invented by Artemon the engineer, who was lame, and therefore was always carried in a chair to the batteries, whence he was ſurnamed Periphoretus. The uſe of theſe machines had been long known in the eaſt. The Samians, after ſuſtaining a nine months ſiege, ſurrendred, Pericles raz'd their walls, diſpoſſeſſed them of their ſhips, and demanded immenſe ſums to defray the expences of the war. Part of this ſum they paid down; agreed to diſburſe the reſt at a certain time, and gave hoſtages by way of ſecurity for the payment.

After the reduction of Samos, Pericles being returned to Athens, buried in a ſplendid manner all who had loſt their lives in this war, and pronounced in perſon the funeral oration over their graves. This cuſtom, which he firſt introduced, was afterwards regularly obſerved. The ſenate of the Areopagus always appointed the orator on theſe occaſions. He was choſen, ten years after, for the like ceremony in the beginning of the Peloponneſian war.

(*f*) Pericles, who foreſaw that a rupture would ſoon enſue between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, adviſed the former to ſend aid to the people of Corcyra, whom the Corinthians had invaded; and to win over to their intereſt that iſland, which was ſo very formidable at ſea; foretelling them, that they would be attacked by the Peloponneſians. The occaſion of the quarrel between the people of Corcyra and Corinth, which gave riſe to that of Peloponneſus, one of the moſt conſiderable events in the Grecian hiſtory, was as follows.

* Epidamnum, a maritime city of Macedonia among the Taulantii, was a colony of Corcyrans, founded by Phalius of Corinth. This city growing, in time, very large and populous, diviſions aroſe in it, and the common people expelled the moſt wealthy in-

(*f*) A. M. 3572. Ant. J. C. 432. Thucyd. l. 1. p. 17—37. Diod. l. 12. p. 90—93. Plut. in Pericl. p. 167.

* *This city was afterwards called Dyrrachium.*

habitants,

habitants, who went over to the neighbouring nations, and infeſted them greatly with their incurſions. In this extremity they firſt had recourſe to the Corcyrans, and being refuſed by them, they addreſſed the Corinthians, who took them under their protection, ſent ſuccours to, and ſettled other inhabitants in it. But they did not continue long unmoleſted there, the Corcyrans beſieging it with a large fleet. The people of Corinth haſtened to its aid, but having been defeated at ſea, the city ſurrendred that very day, upon condition that the foreigners ſhould be ſlaves, and the Corinthians priſoners, till further orders. The Corcyrans erected a trophy, murthered all their priſoners except the Corinthians, and laid waſte the whole country.

The year after the battle, the Corinthians raiſed a greater army than the former, and fitted out a new fleet. The people of Corcyra, finding it would be impoſſible for them to make head alone againſt ſuch powerful enemies, ſent to the Athenians to deſire their alliance. The treaty of peace, concluded between the ſtates of Greece, left ſuch Grecian cities as had not declared themſelves, the liberty of joining whom they pleaſed, or of ſtanding neuter. This the Corcyrans had hitherto done; judging it their intereſt not to eſpouſe any party, in conſequence of which they had hitherto been without allies. They now ſent for this purpoſe to Athens, which the Corinthians hearing, they alſo ſent deputies thither. The affair was debated with great warmth in preſence of the people, who heard the reaſons on both ſides, and it was twice put to the vote in the aſſembly. The Athenians declared the firſt time in favour of the Corinthians; but afterwards changing their opinion, (doubtleſs on the remonſtrances of Pericles) they received the Corcyrans into their alliance. However, they did not go ſo far as to conclude a league offenſive and defenſive with them; (for they could not declare war againſt Corinth, without breaking at the ſame time with all Peloponneſus,) but only agreed to ſuccour each other mutually, in caſe they

ſhould be attacked, either perſonally, or in their allies. Their real deſign was, to ſet thoſe two ſtates, very powerful by ſea, at variance; and after each ſhould have exhauſted the other, by a tedious war, to triumph over the weakeſt: For at that time there were but three ſtates in Greece, who poſſeſſed powerful fleets; and theſe were Athens, Corinth, and Corcyra. They alſo had a deſign on Italy and Sicily, which their taking the iſland of Corcyra would very much promote.

On this plan they concluded an alliance with the Corcyrans, and accordingly ſent them ten gallies, but with an order for them not to engage the Corinthians, unleſs they ſhould firſt invade the iſland of Corcyra, or ſome other place belonging to their allies: this precaution was uſed, in order that the articles of the truce might not be infringed.

But it was very difficult to obey theſe orders. A battle was fought between the Corcyrans and the Corinthians, near the iſland of Sibotis, oppoſite to Corcyra: it was one of the moſt conſiderable, with regard to the number of ſhips, that was ever fought between the Greeks. The advantage was almoſt equal on both ſides. About the end of the battle, as night was drawing on, twenty Athenian gallies came up. The Corcyrans, with this reinforcement, ſailed next day by day-break towards the port of Sibotis, whither the Corinthians had retired, to ſee if they would venture a ſecond engagement. However, the latter contented themſelves with ſailing away in order of battle, without fighting. Both parties erected a trophy in the iſland of Sibotis, each aſcribing the victory to himſelf.

(g) From this war aroſe another, which occaſioned an open rupture between the Athenians and Corinthians, and afterwards the war of Peloponneſus. Potidæa, a city of Macedonia, was a colony belonging to the Corinthians, which ſent magiſtrates thither annually;

(g) Thucyd. l. 1. p. 37—42. Dicd. l. 12. p. 93, 94.

but

but it was dependent at that time on Athens, and paid tribute to it. The Athenians fearing this city would revolt, and prevail with the reſt of the Thracian allies to join them, commanded the inhabitants to demoliſh their walls on the ſide next Pallene; to deliver hoſtages to them as ſureties for their fidelity; and to ſend back the magiſtrates which Corinth had given them. Demands of ſo unjuſt a nature only fomented the revolt. (*b*) The Potidæans declared againſt the Athenians, and ſeveral neighbouring cities followed their example. Both Athens and Corinth armed and ſent forces thither. The two armies engaged near Potidæa, and that of the Athenians had the advantage. Alcibiades, who was then very young, and Socrates his maſter, ſignalized themſelves on this occaſion. It is ſomething very ſingular, to ſee a philoſopher put on his coat of mail; as well as to conſider his behaviour and conduct in a battle. There was not a ſoldier in the whole army who ſo reſolutely ſupported all the toils and fatigues of the campaign as Socrates. Hunger, thirſt, and cold, were enemies he had long accuſtomed himſelf to deſpiſe and ſubdue with eaſe. Thrace, the ſcene of this expedition, was a frozen region. Whilſt the other ſoldiers, covered with thick clothes and warm furs, lay cloſe in their tents, and ſcarce ever dared to ſtir out of them; Socrates uſed to come into the open air as thin clad as uſual, and bare-footed. His gaiety and wit were the life of all tables; and induced others to put the glaſs round chearfully, though he himſelf never drank wine to exceſs. When the armies engaged, he performed his duty to a miracle. Alcibiades having been thrown down and wounded, Socrates placed himſelf before him, defended him valiantly, and, in ſight of the whole army, prevented him and his arms from being taken by the enemy. The prize of valour was juſtly due to Socrates; but as the generals ſeemed inclined to decree it to Alcibiades, on account of his illuſtrious birth; Socrates, who

(*b*) Plut. in Conviv. p. 219, 220. Plut. in Alcib. p. 194.

only

only ſought for opportunities to inflame him with deſire of true glory, contributed more than any other perſon, by the noble elogium he made on his courage, to cauſe the crown and compleat ſuit of armour (which was the prize of valour) to be adjudged to Alcibiades.

Notwithſtanding the loſs which the Corinthians had ſuſtained in the battle, the inhabitants of Potidæa did not change their conduct. The city was therefore beſieged. (*i*) The Corinthians, fearing to loſe a place of ſo much importance, addreſſed their allies in the ſtrongeſt terms; who all in conjunction with them, ſent a deputation to Lacedæmon, to complain of the Athenians, as having infringed the articles of peace. The Lacedæmonians admitted them to audience in one of their ordinary aſſemblies. The people of Ægina, though very much diſguſted at the Athenians, did not ſend a deputation publickly thither, for fear of giving umbrage to a republic to which they were ſubject, but they acted in ſecret as ſtrenuouſly as the reſt. The Megarians complained vehemently againſt the Athenians, that (contrary to the law of nations, and in prejudice of the treaty concluded between the Greeks) they had prohibited them, by a public decree, acceſs to their fairs and markets, and excluded them from all the ports dependant on them. (*k*) By that decree, according to Plutarch *, the Athenians declared an eternal and irreconcilable hatred againſt Megara; and ordained that all Megarians ſhould be put to death, that ſet foot in Athens; and that all the Athenian generals, when they took the uſual oath, ſhould ſwear

(*i*) Thucyd. l. 1. p. 43—59.

(*k*) Plut. in Pericl. p. 168.

* *According to Plutarch, ſome perſons pretended that Pericles had cauſed this decree to be enacted, to revenge the private injury done to Aſpaſia, from whoſe houſe the people of Megara had carried off two curtezans; and he cites ſome verſes of Ariſtophanes, who, in a comedy entitled,* The Acharnanians, *reproaches Pericles with this action. But Thucydides, a cotemporary author, and who was very well acquainted with all the tranſactions of Athens, does not ſay a word of this affair; and he is much more worthy of belief than a poet who was a profeſſed ſlanderer and ſatyriſt.*

expreſsly,

expreſsly, that they would ſend a body of ſoldiers twice a year, to lay waſte the territories of the Megarenſes.

The chief complaints were made by the Corinthian embaſſador, who ſpoke with the utmoſt force and freedom. He repreſented to the Lacedæmonians, that as they themſelves never ſwerved from the moſt inviolable integrity, either in public or private tranſactions, they, for that very reaſon, were leſs ſuſpicious of the probity of others; and that their own moderation prevented their diſcovering the ambition of their enemies: That inſtead of flying, with inſtant activity, to meet dangers and calamities, they never attempted to remedy them, till they were quite cruſhed by them: That by their indolence and ſupineneſs, they had given the Athenians an opportunity of attaining by inſenſible degrees, their preſent height of grandeur and power. That it was quite different with regard to the Athenians, "That this active, vigilant "and indefatigable people were never at reſt themſelves, nor would ſuffer any other nation to be ſo. "Employed, (ſays he) wholly in their projects, they "form only ſuch as are of the greateſt and moſt in-"trepid nature; their deliberations are ſpeedy, and "their executions the ſame. One enterprize ſerves "only as a ſtep to a ſecond. Whether they are ſuc-"ceſsful or unfortunate, they turn every thing to their "advantage; and never ſtop in their career, or are "diſcouraged. But you, who are oppreſs'd by ſuch "formidable enemies, are lulled aſleep in a fatal tran-"quillity; and do not reflect, that a man who de-"ſires to live calm and eaſy, muſt not only forbear "injuring others, but alſo not let any ill be done to "himſelf; and that juſtice conſiſts, not only in for-"bearing to commit evil ourſelves, but in avenging "that done to us by others. Shall I be ſo free as to "ſay it? Your integrity is of too antique a caſt for "the preſent ſtate of affairs. It is neceſſary for men, "in politicks as well as in all other things, to con-

"form

" form always to the times. When a people are at
" peace, they may follow their antient maxims; but
" when they are involved in a variety of difficulties,
" they muſt try new expedients, and ſet every en-
" gine at work to extricate themſelves. It was by
" theſe arts that the Athenians have increaſed their
" power ſo much. Had you imitated their activity,
" they would not have diſpoſſeſſed us of Corcyra, and
" would not now be laying ſiege to Potidæa. Fol-
" low, at leaſt, their example on this occaſion, by
" ſuccouring the Potidæans and the reſt of your allies,
" as your duty obliges you; and do not force your
" friends and neighbours, by forſaking them, to have
" recourſe, out of deſpair, to other powers.

The Athenian embaſſador, who was come to Sparta upon other affairs, and was in the aſſembly, did not think it adviſeable to let this ſpeech go unanſwered. He put the Lacedæmonians in mind, of the ſtill recent ſervices that the republic, by which he was ſent, had done to all Greece, which (he ſaid) merited ſome regard: and that therefore it ought not to be envied, much leſs ſhould endeavours be uſed to leſſen its power. That the Athenians could not be charged with having uſurped an empire over Greece; ſince it was merely at the entreaty of their allies, and in ſome meaſure with the conſent of Sparta, that they had been forced to take the abandoned helm: That thoſe who murmured, did it without grounds; and only from the averſion which mankind in general have to dependance and ſubjection, though of the gentleſt and moſt equitable kind: That he exhorted them to employ a ſufficient time in deliberating, before they came to a reſolution; and not involve themſelves and all Greece in a war, which would neceſſarily be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. That gentle methods may be found, for terminating the differences of the allies, without breaking at once into open violence. However, that the Athenians, in caſe of an invaſion, were able to oppoſe force with force; and

would

would prepare for a vigorous defence, after having invoked, againſt Sparta, the deities who take vengeance of thoſe that forſwear themſelves, and who violate the faith of treaties.

The embaſſadors being withdrawn, and the affair debated, the majority were for war. But before it paſſed into an act, Archidamus king of Sparta, ſetting himſelf above thoſe prejudices which ſo ſtrongly byaſſed the reſt, and directing his views to futurity, made a ſpeech, in which he ſet forth the dreadful conſequences of the war they were going to embark in; ſhewed the ſtrength of the Athenians; exhorted them firſt to try gentle methods, which they themſelves had ſeemed to approve; but to make, in the mean time, the neceſſary preparations for carrying on ſo important an enterprize, and not be under any apprehenſions, that their moderation and delays would be branded with the name of cowardice, ſince their paſt actions ſecured them from any ſuſpicion of that kind.

But, notwithſtanding all theſe wiſe expoſtulations, a war was reſolved. The people cauſed the allies to return into the aſſembly, and declared to them, that in their opinion the Athenians were the aggreſſors; but that it would be expedient firſt to aſſemble all who were in the alliance, in order that peace or war might be agreed upon unanimouſly. This decree of the Lacedæmonians was made the fourteenth year of the truce; and was not owing ſo much to the complaints of the allies, as to the jealouſy of the Athenian power, which had already ſubjected a conſiderable part of Greece.

(*k*) Accordingly the allies were convened a ſecond time. They all gave their votes, in their ſeveral turns, from the greateſt city to the leaſt, and war was reſolved by a general conſent. However, as they had not yet made any preparations, it was judged adviſeable to begin them immediately; and while this was

(*k*) Thucyd. l. 1. p. 77—84, and 93.

doing,

doing, in order to gain time, and obſerve the neceſſary formalities, to ſend embaſſadors to Athens, to complain of the violation of the treaty.

The firſt who were ſent thither, reviving an antient complaint, required of the Athenians to expel out of their city the deſcendants of thoſe who had profaned the temple of Minerva in the affair of * Cylon. As Pericles was of that family by the mother's ſide, the view of the Lacedæmonians, in their making this demand, was, either to procure his baniſhment or leſſen his authority. However, it was not complied with. The ſecond embaſſadors required, that the ſiege of Potidæa ſhould be raiſed, and the liberty of Ægina reſtored, and above all, that the decree againſt the Megarians ſhould be repealed; declaring, that otherwiſe no accommodation could take place. In fine, a third embaſſador came, who took no notice of any of theſe particulars, but only ſaid, that the Lacedæmonians were for peace; but that this could never be, except the Athenians ſhould ceaſe to infringe the liberties of Greece.

SECT. XIV. *Troubles excited againſt Pericles. He determines the Athenians to engage in war againſt the Lacedæmonians.*

(*l*) PERICLES oppoſed all theſe demands with great vigour, and eſpecially that relating to the Megarians. He had great credit in Athens, and at the ſame time had many enemies. Not daring to attack him at firſt in perſon, they cited his moſt intimate friends, and thoſe for whom he had the greateſt eſteem, as Phidias, Aſpaſia and Anaxagoras, before the

(*l*) Plut. in. Pericl. p. 168, 169.

* *This Cylon ſeized on the citadel of Athens above an hundred years before. Thoſe who followed him, being beſieged in it, and reduced to extreme famine, fled for ſhelter to the temple of Minerva, where they afterwards were taken out by force and cut to pieces. Thoſe who adviſed this murder were declared guilty of impiety and ſacrilege, and as ſuch baniſhed. However, they were recalled ſome time after.*

people,

people, and their design in this was, to sound how the people stood affected towards Pericles himself.

Phidias was accused of having embezzled considerable sums in the casting the statue of Minerva, which was his master-piece. The prosecution having been carried on with the usual forms, before the assembly of the people, not a single proof of Phidias's pretended embezzlement appeared: For, that artist, from beginning that statue, had, by Pericles's advice, contrived the workmanship of the gold in such a manner, that all of it might be taken off and weighed; which accordingly Pericles bid the informers do in presence of all the spectators. But Phidias had witnesses against him, the truth of whose evidence he could neither dispute nor silence; these were the fame and beauty of his works, the ever-existing causes of the envy which attacked him. The circumstance which they could least forgive in him was, his having represented to the life (in the battle of the Amazons, engraved on the shield of the goddess) his own person, and that of Pericles (*m*): and, by an imperceptible art, he had so blended and incorporated these figures with the whole work, that it was impossible to erase them, without disfiguring and taking to pieces the whole statue. Phidias was therefore dragged to prison, where he came to his end, either by the common course of nature, or by poison. Other authors say, that he was only banished, and that after his exile he made the famous statue of Jupiter at Olympia. It is not possible to excuse in any manner, the ingratitude of the Athenians, in thus making a prison or death the reward of a master-piece of art; nor their excessive rigour, in punishing, as a capital crime, an action that appears innocent in itself; or which, to make the worst of it, was a vanity very pardonable in so great an artist.

Aspasia, a native of Miletus in Asia, had settled in Athens, where she was become very famous, not so

(*m*) Aristot. in tractat. de mund. p. 613.

much

much for the charms of her perſon, as for her vivacity and ſolidity of wit, and her great knowledge. All the illuſtrious men in the city thought it an honour to frequent her houſe. (*m*) Socrates himſelf uſed to viſit her conſtantly; and was not aſhamed to paſs for her pupil, and to own that he had learnt rhetoric from her. Pericles declared alſo, that he was obliged to Aſpaſia for his eloquence, which ſo greatly diſtinguiſhed him in Athens; and that it was from her converſation he had imbibed the principles of the art of policy, for ſhe was exceedingly well verſed in the maxims of government. Their intimacy was owing to ſtill ſtronger motives. Pericles did not love his wife; he reſigned her very freely to another man, and ſupplied her place with Aſpaſia, whom he loved paſſionately, though her reputation was more than ſuſpicious. Aſpaſia was therefore accuſed of impiety and a diſſolute conduct; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that Pericles ſaved her, by his intreaties and by the compaſſion he raiſed in the judges, by ſhedding abundance of tears whilſt her cauſe was pleading, a behaviour little conſiſtent with the dignity of his character, and the rank of ſupreme head of the moſt powerful ſtate of Greece.

A decree had paſſed, by which informations were ordered to be taken out againſt all ſuch * perſons as denied what was aſcribed to the miniſtry of the gods; or thoſe philoſophers and others who taught præternatural things, and the motions of the heavens, doctrines on this occaſion conſidered injurious to the eſtabliſhed religion. The ſcope and aim of this decree was, to make Pericles ſuſpected with regard to theſe matters, becauſe Anaxagoras had been his maſter. This philo-

(*m*) Plut. in Menex. p. 235.

* Τὰ θεῖα μὴ νομίζοντας, ἢ λόγους περὶ τῶν μεταρσίων διδάσκοντας. *Anaxagoras teaching, that the divine intelligence alone gave a regular motion to all the parts of nature, and preſided in the government of the univerſe; deſtroyed, by that ſyſtem, the plurality of gods, their powers, and all the peculiar functions which were aſcribed to them.*

ſopher

ſopher taught, that one only intelligence had modified the chaos, and diſpoſed the univerſe in the beautiful order in which we now ſee it; which tended directly to depreciate the gods of the pagan ſyſtem. Pericles thinking it would be impoſſible for him to ſave his life, ſent him out of the city to a place of ſafety.

The enemies of Pericles ſeeing that the people approved and received with pleaſure all theſe accuſations, they impeached that great man himſelf, and charged him with embezzling the public monies during his adminiſtration. A decree was made, by which Pericles was obliged to give in immediately his accompts; was to be tried for oppreſſion and rapine; and the cauſe to be adjudged by fifteen hundred judges. Pericles had no real cauſe of fear, becauſe in the adminiſtration of the public affairs his conduct had always been irreproachable, eſpecially on the ſide of intereſt: he could not however but be under ſome apprehenſions from the ill-will of the people, when he conſidered their great levity and inconſtancy. One day when Alcibiades, (then very young) went to viſit Pericles, he was told that he was not to be ſpoke with, becauſe of ſome affairs of great conſequence in which he was then engaged. Alcibiades enquiring what theſe mighty affairs were, was anſwered, that Pericles was preparing to give in his accompts. *He ought rather*, ſays Alcibiades, *not give them in:* and indeed this was what Pericles at laſt reſolved. To allay the ſtorm, he made a reſolution to oppoſe the inclination the people diſcovered for the Peloponneſian war no longer, preparations for which had been long carrying on, firmly perſuaded that this would ſoon ſilence all complaints againſt him; that envy would yield to a more powerful motive; and that the citizens, when in ſuch imminent danger, would not fail of throwing themſelves into his arms, and ſubmit implicitly to his conduct, from his great power, and exalted reputation.

(*n*) This is what ſome hiſtorians have related; and

(*n*) Plut. de Herod. malign. p. 855, 856.

the comic poets, in the life-time, and under the eye, as it were, of Pericles, ſpread ſuch a report in public, to ſully, if poſſible, his reputation and merit, which drew upon him the envy and enmity of many. Plutarch, on this occaſion, makes a reflection which may be of great ſervice, not only to thoſe in the adminiſtration of public affairs, but to all ſorts of perſons, as well as of advantage in the ordinary commerce of life. He thinks it ſtrange, when actions are good in themſelves, and manifeſtly laudable in all reſpects, that men, purely to diſcredit illuſtrious perſonages, ſhould pretend to dive into their hearts; and from a ſpirit of the vileſt and moſt abject malice, ſhould aſcribe ſuch views and intentions to them, as they poſſibly never ſo much as imagined. He, on the contrary, wiſhes, when the motive is obſcure, and the ſame action may be conſidered in different lights, that men would always view it in the moſt favourable, and incline to judge candidly of it. He applies this maxim to the reports which had been ſpread concerning Pericles, as the fomenter of the Peloponneſian war, merely from private views of intereſt; whereas, the whole tenor of his paſt conduct ought to have convinced every body, that it was wholly from reaſons of ſtate, and for the good of the public, that he at laſt acquieſced in an opinion, which he had hitherto thought it incumbent on him to oppoſe.

(o) Whilſt this affair was carrying on at Athens, the Lacedæmonians ſent ſeveral embaſſies thither, one after another, to make the various demands above mentioned. At laſt the affair was debated in the aſſembly of the people, and it was reſolved they ſhould firſt deliberate upon all the articles, before they gave a poſitive anſwer. Opinions, as is uſual in theſe caſes, were divided; and ſome were for aboliſhing the decree enacted againſt Megara, which ſeemed the chief obſtacle to the peace.

Pericles ſpoke on this occaſion with the utmoſt force of eloquence, which his view to the public welfare

(o) Thucyd. l. 1. p. 93—99. Diod. l. 12. p. 95—97.

and the honour of his country, rendered more vehement and triumphant than it had ever appeared before. He ſhowed in the firſt place, that the decree relating to Megara, on which the greateſt ſtreſs was laid, was not of ſo little conſequence as they imagined: That the demand made by the Lacedæmonians on that head, was merely to ſound the diſpoſition of the Athenians, and to try whether it would be poſſible to frighten them out of their deſign; that ſhould they recede on this occaſion, it would betray fear and weakneſs: That the affair was of no leſs importance than the giving up to the Lacedæmonians the empire which the Athenians had poſſeſſed during ſo many years, by their courage and reſolution: That ſhould the Athenians ſubmit on this occaſion, the Lacedæmonians would immediately preſcribe new laws to them, as to a people ſeized with dread; whereas, if they made a vigorous reſiſtance, their opponents would be obliged to treat them, at leaſt, on the foot of equals: That with regard to the preſent matters in diſpute, arbiters might be choſen, in order to adjuſt them in an amicable way; but that it did not become the Lacedæmonians to command the Athenians in a magiſterial way, to quit Potidæa, to free Ægina, and revoke the decree relating to Megara: That ſuch imperious behaviour was directly contrary to the treaty, which declared in expreſs terms, *That ſhould any diſputes ariſe among the allies, they ſhould be decided by pacific methods*, AND WITHOUT ANY PARTY'S BEING OBLIGED TO GIVE UP ANY PART OF WHAT THEY POSSESSED: That the ſureſt way to prevent a government from being eternally conteſting about its poſſeſſions, is to take up arms, and diſpute its rights ſword in hand: That the Athenians had juſt reaſon to believe they would gain their cauſe this way; and to give them a ſtronger idea of this truth, he ſet before them in the moſt pompous light the preſent ſtate of Athens, giving a very particular account of its treaſures, revenues, fleets, land as well as ſea-forces, and thoſe of its allies; contraſting theſe

ſeveral things with the poverty of the Lacedæmonians, who (he ſaid) had no money, which is the ſinews of war, not to mention the poor condition of their navy, on which they moſt depended. (*p*) And indeed, it appeared by the treaſury, that the Athenians had brought from Delos to their city nine thouſand ſix hundred talents, which amount to about twelve hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. The annual contributions of the allies amounted to four hundred and ſixty talents, that is, to near fourteen hundred thouſand French livres. In caſes of neceſſity, the Athenians would find infinite reſources from the ornaments of the temples, ſince thoſe of the ſtatue of Minerva only, amounted to fifty talents of gold, that is, fifteen hundred thouſand French livres, which might be taken from the ſtatue without ſpoiling it in any manner, and be afterwards fixed on again in more auſpicious times. With regard to the land-forces, they amounted to very near thirty thouſand men, and the fleet conſiſted of three hundred gallies. Above all, he adviſed them not to venture a battle in their own country againſt the Peloponneſians, whoſe troops were ſuperior in number to theirs; not to regard the laying waſte of their lands, as they might eaſily be reſtored to their former condition; but to conſider the loſs of their men as highly important, becauſe irretrievable; to make their whole policy conſiſt in defending their city, and preſerving the empire of the ſea, which would certainly one day give them the ſuperiority over their enemies. He laid down the plan for carrying on the war, not for a ſingle campaign, but during the whole time it might laſt; and enumerated the evils they had to fear, if they deviated from that ſyſtem. Pericles, after adding other conſiderations, taken from the genius or character, and the internal government of the two republics; the one uncertain and fluctuating in its deliberations, and rendered ſtill ſlower in the

(*p*) Dion. l. 12. p. 96, 97.

execution, from its being obliged to wait for the conſent of its allies; the other ſpeedy, determinate, independent, and miſtreſs of its reſolutions, which is no indifferent circumſtance with regard to the ſucceſs of enterprizes: Pericles, I ſay, concluded his ſpeech, and gave his opinion as follows: "We have no more "to do but to diſmiſs the ambaſſadors, and to give "them this anſwer, that we permit thoſe of Megara "to trade with Athens, upon condition that the La-"cedæmonians do not prohibit either us, or our allies, "to trade with them. With regard to the cities of "Greece, we ſhall leave thoſe free who were ſo at "the time of our agreement, provided they ſhall do "the ſame with regard to thoſe dependent on them. "We do not refuſe to ſubmit the deciſion of our "differences to arbitration, and will not commit the "firſt hoſtilities: however, in caſe of being attacked, "we ſhall make a vigorous defence."

The ambaſſadors were anſwered as Pericles had dictated. They returned home and never came again to Athens; ſoon after which the Peloponneſian war broke out.

CHAPTER II.

Tranſactions of the Greeks in Sicily and Italy.

AS the Peloponneſian war is a great event of conſiderable duration, before I enter upon the hiſtory of it, it may be proper to relate, in few words, the moſt conſiderable tranſactions which had happened in Græcia major, to the time we now ſpeak of, whether in Sicily or Italy.

SECT. I. *The Carthaginians are defeated in Sicily. Theron, tyrant of Agrigentum. Reign of Gelon in Syracuſe, and his two brothers. Liberty is reſtored.*

I. GELON. WE have ſeen that (q) Xerxes, whoſe project tended to no leſs than the

(q) A. M. 3520. Ant. J. C. 484. Diod. l. 11. p. 1. & 16—22.

total

total extirpation of the Greeks, had prevailed with the Carthaginians to make war againſt the people of Sicily. They landed in it an army of above three hundred thouſand men, and ſent thither a fleet of two thouſand ſhips, and upwards of three thouſand ſmall veſſels for the baggage, &c. Hamilcar, the ableſt of the Carthaginian generals at that time, was charged with this expedition. However, the ſucceſs was not anſwerable to theſe mighty preparations; the Carthaginians were entirely defeated by Gelon, who at that time had the chief authority in Syracuſe.

(r) This Gelon was born in a city of Sicily, ſituated on the ſouthern coaſt between Agrigentum and Camarina, called Gelas, whence perhaps he received his name. He had ſignalized himſelf very much in the wars which Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, carried on againſt the neighbouring powers, moſt of whom he ſubdued, and was very near taking Syracuſe. After the death of Hippocrates, Gelon, upon pretence of defending the rights and poſſeſſion of the tyrant's children, took up arms againſt his own citizens, and having overcome them in a battle, poſſeſſed himſelf of the government in his own name. Some time after he made himſelf maſter alſo of Syracuſe, by the aſſiſtance of ſome exiles whom he had cauſed to return into it, and who had engaged the populace to open the gates of that city to him. He then gave Gela to Hiero his brother, and applied himſelf wholly in extending the limits of the territory of Syracuſe, and ſoon rendered himſelf very powerful. We may form a judgment of this * from the army which he offered the Grecian ambaſſadors, who came to deſire his aid againſt the king of Perſia; and by his demand of being appointed generaliſſimo of all their forces, which however they refuſed. The fear he was in at that time, of being ſoon invaded by the Carthaginians, was the chief occaſion of his not ſuccouring the Greeks.

(r) Her. l. 7. c. 153—167.

* *He promiſed to furniſh two hundred ſhips, and thirty thouſand men.*

He was extremely political in his conduct; and when news was brought him of Xerxes's having croſſed the Helleſpont, he ſent a truſty perſon with rich preſents, with orders for him to wait the iſſue of the firſt battle, and in caſe Xerxes ſhould be victorious, to pay homage to him in his name, otherwiſe to bring back the money. I now return to the Carthaginians.

They were landed in Sicily at the earneſt ſollicitations of Terillus, formerly tyrant of Himera, but dethroned by Theron, another tyrant who reigned at Agrigentum. The family of the latter was one of the moſt illuſtrious of all Greece, being deſcended in a direct line from Cadmus. He married into the family which at that time ruled at Syracuſe, and which conſiſted of four brothers, Gelon, Hiero, Polyzelus, and Thraſybulus. He married his daughter to the firſt, and himſelf married the daughter of the third.

Hamilcar having landed at Panormus, began by laying ſiege to Himera. Gelon haſted with a great army to the ſuccour of his father-in-law; when uniting, they defeated the Carthaginians. This was perhaps the moſt compleat victory ever gained.

The battle was fought the ſame day with that of * Thermopylæ, the circumſtances of which I have related in the (s) hiſtory of the Carthaginians. One remarkable circumſtance in the conditions of the peace, which Gelon preſcribed the conquered, was, that they ſhould ceaſe to ſacrifice their children to the god Saturn; which ſhows, at the ſame time, the cruelty of the Carthaginians, and the piety of Gelon.

(s) Vol. I. p. 153. Plut. in Apophth. p. 175.

* *Herodotus ſays, that this battle was fought the ſame day with that of Salamin, which does not appear ſo probable. For the Greeks, informed of Gelon's ſucceſſes, intreated him to ſuccour them againſt Xerxes, which they would not have done after the battle of Salamin, that exalted their courage ſo much, that after this battle, they imagined themſelves ſtrong enough to reſiſt their enemies, and to put an end to the war, to their own advantage, without the aſſiſtance of any other power.*

The

The ſpoils won on this occaſion were of immenſe value. Gelon allotted the greateſt part of them for the ornament of the temples in Syracuſe. They alſo took an incredible number of priſoners. Theſe he ſhared, with the utmoſt equity, with his allies, who employed them, after putting irons on their feet, in cultivating their lands, and in building magnificent edifices, as well for the ornament as the utility of the cities. Several of the citizens of Agrigentum had each five hundred for his own ſhare.

(*t*) Gelon, after ſo glorious a victory, ſo far from growing more proud and haughty, behaved with greater affability and humanity than ever towards the citizens and his allies. Being returned from the campaign, he convened the aſſembly of the Syracuſans, who were ordered to come armed into it. However, he himſelf came unarmed thither: declared to the aſſembly every ſtep of his conduct; the uſes to which he had applied the ſeveral ſums with which he had been intruſted, and in what manner he had employed his authority; adding, that if they had any complaints to make againſt him, his perſon and life were at their diſpoſal. All the people, ſtruck with ſo unexpected a ſpeech, and ſtill more with the unuſual confidence he repoſed in them, anſwered by acclamations of joy, praiſe, and gratitude; and immediately, with one conſent, inveſted him with the ſupreme authority, and the title of king. (*u*) And, to preſerve to lateſt poſterity, the remembrance of Gelon's memorable action, who had come into the aſſembly, and put his life into the hands of the Syracuſans, they erected a ſtatue in honour of him, wherein he was repreſented in the ordinary habit of a citizen, ungirded, and unarm'd. This ſtatue met afterwards with a very ſingular fate, and worthy of the motives which had occaſioned its ſetting up. Timoleon, above a hundred and thirty years after, having reſtored the

(*t*) A. M. 3525. Ant. J. C. 479. (*u*) Plut. in Timol. p. 247. Ælian. l. 13. c. 37.

Syracuſans to their liberty, thought it adviſable, in order to eraſe from it all traces of tyrannical government, and at the ſame time to aſſiſt the wants of the people, to ſell publickly all the ſtatues of thoſe princes and tyrants who had governed it till that time. But firſt, he brought them to a trial, as ſo many criminals; hearing the depoſitions and witneſſes upon each of them. They all were condemned unanimouſly, the ſtatue of Gelon only excepted, which found an eloquent advocate and defender, in the warm and ſincere gratitude which the citizens retained for that great man, whoſe virtue they rever'd as if he had been ſtill alive.

The Syracuſans had no cauſe to repent their having intruſted Gelon with unlimited power and authority. This did not add to his known zeal for their intereſts, but only enabled him to do them more important ſervices. (x) For, by a change till then unheard of, and of which * Tacitus found no example except in Veſpaſian, he was the firſt man whom the ſovereignty made the better man. He made upwards of ten thouſand foreigners, who had ſerved under him, denizens. His views were, to people the capital, to increaſe the power of the ſtate, to reward the ſervices of his brave and faithful ſoldiers; and to attach them more ſtrongly to Syracuſe, from the ſenſe of the advantageous ſettlement they had obtained in being incorporated with the citizens.

(y) He was particularly famous for his inviolable ſincerity, truth and fidelity to his engagements; a quality very eſſential to a prince, the only one capable of gaining him the love and confidence of his ſubjects and of foreigners, and which therefore ought to be conſidered as the baſis of all juſt policy and good government. Having occaſion for money to carry on an expedition he meditated, (this, very probably, was before

(x) Diod. l. 11. p. 55. (y) Plut. in Apophth. p. 175.

* Solus omnium ante ſe principum in melius mutatus eſt. *Hiſt.* l. 1. c. 50.

he

he had triumphed over the Carthaginians) he addreſſed the people, in order to obtain a contribution from them: but finding the Syracuſans unwilling to be at that expence, he told them, that he aſked nothing but a loan, and that he would engage to repay it as ſoon as the war ſhould be over. The money was advanced, and repaid punctually at the promiſed time. How happy is that government where ſuch juſtice and equity are exerciſed; and how miſtaken are thoſe miniſters and princes, who violate them in the leaſt!

(z) One of the chief objects of his attention, and in which his ſucceſſor imitated him, was to make the cultivation of the lands be conſidered as an honourable employment. It is well known how fruitful Sicily was in corn; and the immenſe revenues which might be produced from ſo rich a ſoil when induſtriouſly cultivated. He animated the huſbandman by his preſence, and delighted ſometimes in appearing at their head, in the ſame manner as on other occaſions he had marched at the head of armies. His intention, ſays Plutarch, was not merely to make the country rich and fruitful, but alſo to exerciſe his ſubjects, to accuſtom and inure them to toils, and by that means to preſerve them from a thouſand diſorders, which inevitably follow a ſoft and indolent life. There are few maxims (in point of policy) on which the antients have inſiſted more ſtrongly, than on that relating to the cultivation of their lands; a manifeſt proof of their great wiſdom, and the profound knowledge they had of what conſtitutes the ſtrength and ſolid happineſs of a ſtate. (a) Xenophon, in a dialogue, the ſubject of which is government, entitled Hiero, ſhows the great advantage it would be to a ſtate, were the king ſtudious to reward thoſe who ſhould excel in huſbandry, and whatever relates to the cultivation of lands. He ſays the ſame of war, of trade, and of all the arts; on which occaſion, if honours were paid to all thoſe who ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves in them, it would give

(z) Plut. ibid. (a) P. 916, 917.

univerſal life and motion; would excite a noble and laudable emulation among the citizens, and give riſe to a thouſand inventions for the improvement of thoſe arts.

It does not appear that Gelon had been educated in the ſame manner as the children of the rich among the Greeks, who were taught muſic and the art of playing on inſtruments very carefully. Poſſibly this was becauſe of his mean birth, or rather was owing to the little value he ſet on thoſe kind of exerciſes. (*b*) One day at an entertainment, when, according to the uſual cuſtom, a lyre was preſented to each of the gueſts; when it was Gelon's turn, inſtead of touching the inſtrument as the reſt had done, he cauſed his horſe to be brought, mounted him with wonderful agility and grace, and ſhowed that he had learnt a nobler exerciſe than playing on the lyre.

(*c*) From the defeat of the Carthaginians in Sicily, the ſeveral cities of it enjoyed a profound peace, and Syracuſe was particularly happy in its tranquillity, under the auſpicious government of Gelon. He was not born in Syracuſe, and yet all the inhabitants of that city, though ſo extremely jealous of their liberty, had forced him in a manner to be their king. Though an alien, the ſupreme power went in ſearch of him, not courted with any art or inducement but thoſe of merit. Gelon was thoroughly acquainted with all the duties of the regal office, as well as its great weight; and he accepted it with no other view but the good of his people. He thought himſelf only king for the defence of the ſtate, to preſerve the good order of ſociety, to protect innocence and juſtice, and to exhibit to all his ſubjects, in his ſimple, modeſt, active and regular life, a pattern of every civil virtue. The whole of royalty that he aſſumed was the toils and cares of it, a zeal for the public welfare, and the ſweet ſatisfaction which reſults from making millions happy by his cares: in a word, he conſidered the ſovereignty

(*b*) Plut. in Apophth. p. 175. (*c*) Diod. l. 11, p. 29, 30.

as

as an obligation, and a means to procure the felicity of a greater number of men. He baniſhed from it pomp, oſtentation, licentiouſneſs, and impunity for crimes. He did not affect the appearance of reigning, but contented himſelf with making the laws reign. He never made his inferiors feel that he was their maſter, but only inculcated to them that both himſelf and they ought to ſubmit to reaſon and juſtice. To induce their obedience, he employed no other methods but perſuaſion and a good example, which are the weapons of virtue, and alone produce a ſincere and uninterrupted obedience.

A rever'd old age, a name highly dear to all his ſubjects, a reputation equally diffuſed within and without his kingdoms; theſe were the fruits of that wiſdom which he retained on the throne to the laſt gaſp. His reign was ſhort, and only juſt ſhowed him in a manner to Sicily, to exhibit in his perſon an example of a great, good, and true king. He left the world, after having reigned only ſeven years, to the infinite regret of all his ſubjects. Every family imagined itſelf deprived of its beſt friend, its protector and father. The people erected, in the place where his wife Demarata had been buried, a ſplendid mauſolæum, ſurrounded with nine towers of a ſurprizing height and magnificence; and decreed thoſe honours to him, which were then paid to the demi-gods or heroes. The Carthaginians afterwards demoliſhed the mauſoleum, and Agathocles the towers: but, ſays the hiſtorian, neither violence, envy, nor time, which deſtroys all groſſer things, could deſtroy the glory of his name, or aboliſh the memory of his exalted virtues and noble actions, which love and gratitude had engraved in the hearts of the Sicilians.

II. HIERO. (*d*) After Gelon's death, the ſcepter continued near twelve years in his family. He was ſucceeded by Hiero, his eldeſt brother.

It will be neceſſary for us, in order to reconcile the

(*d*) A. M. 3532. Ant. J. C. 472.

authors

authors who have writ on this prince, ſome of whom declare him to have been a good king, and others a deteſtable tyrant; it will be neceſſary, I ſay, to diſtinguiſh the periods. It is very probable that Hiero, dazzled, in the beginning of his reign, by the glitter of ſovereign power, and corrupted by the flattery of his courtiers, ſtudiouſly endeavoured to deviate from that path which his predeceſſor had pointed out to him, and in which he had found himſelf ſo happy. (*e*) This young prince was avaricious, headſtrong, unjuſt, and ſtudious of nothing but the gratification of his paſſions, without ever endeavouring to acquire the eſteem and affection of the people; who, on the other ſide, had the utmoſt averſion for a prince, whom they looked upon as a tyrant over them, rather than as a king; and nothing but the veneration they had for Gelon's memory, prevented from breaking out.

(*f*) Some time after he had aſcended the throne, he had violent ſuſpicions of Polyzelus his brother, whoſe great credit among the citizens made him fear that he had a deſign to depoſe him. However, in order to rid himſelf without noiſe of an enemy whom he fancied very dangerous, he reſolved to put him at the head of ſome forces he was going to ſend to the ſuccour of the Sibaritæ againſt the Crotonienſes, hoping that he would periſh in the expedition. His brother's refuſal to accept this command, made him the more violent againſt him. Theron, who had married Polyzelus's daughter, joined with his father-in-law. This gave riſe to great differences of long duration between the kings of Syracuſe and Agrigentum; however, they at laſt were reconciled by the wiſe mediation of (*g*) Simonides the poet; and to make their reconciliation laſting, they cemented it by a new alliance, Hiero marrying Theron's ſiſter; after which the two kings always lived in good intelligence with each other.

(*h*) At firſt, an infirm ſtate of health, which was

(*e*) Diod. l. 21. p. 51. (*f*) Diod. l. 11. p. 36. (*g*) Schol. in Pind. (*h*) Ælian. l. 4. c. 15.

increaſed

increaſed by repeated illneſſes, gave Hiero an opportunity of thinking ſeriouſly; after which he reſolved to ſend for men of learning, who might converſe agreeably with him, and furniſh him with uſeful inſtructions. The moſt famous poets of the age came to his court, as Simonides, Pindar, Bacchylides, and Epicharmus; and it is affirmed, that their delightful converſation did not a little contribute to ſoften the cruel and ſavage diſpoſition of Hiero.

(*i*) Plutarch relates a noble ſaying of his, which ſhows an excellent diſpoſition in a prince. He declared, that his palace and his ears ſhould be always open to every man who would tell him the truth, and that without diſguiſe or reſerve.

The poets above mentioned excelled, not only in poetry, but were alſo poſſeſſed of a great fund of learning, and conſidered and conſulted as the ſages of their times. This is what * Cicero ſays particularly of Simonides. He had a great aſcendant over the king; and the only uſe he made of it was, to incline him to virtue.

(*k*) They often uſed to converſe on philoſophical ſubjects. I obſerved on another occaſion, that Hiero, in one of theſe converſations, aſked Simonides his opinion with regard to the nature and attributes of the deity. The latter deſired one day's time to conſider of it; the next day he aſked two, and went on increaſing in the ſame proportion. The prince preſſing him to give us reaſons for theſe delays, he confeſſed, that the ſubject was above his comprehenſion, and that the more he reflected, the more obſcure it appeared to him.

Xenophon has left us an excellent treatiſe on the art of governing well, entitled Hiero, and writ by way of dialogue between this prince and Simonides. Hiero undertakes to prove to the poet, thar tyrants and kings

(*i*) In Aph. p. 175. (*k*) Cic. l. 1. de Nat. deor. n. 60.

* Simonides, non poeta ſolùm ſuavis, verùm etiam ceteroqui doctus ſapienſque traditur. *Lib.* 1. *de Nat. Deor.* n. 60.

are

are not ſo happy as is generally imagined. Among the great number of proofs alledged by him, he inſiſts chiefly on their vaſt unhappineſs in being deprived of the greateſt comfort and bleſſing in this life, *viz.* the enjoyment of a true friend, to whoſe boſom they may ſafely confide their ſecrets and afflictions; who may ſhare with them in their joy and ſorrow; in a word, a ſecond ſelf, who may form but one heart, one ſoul with them. Simonides, on the other ſide, lays down admirable maxims with reſpect to the well-governing of a kingdom. He repreſents to him, that a king is not ſo for himſelf, but for others: that his grandeur conſiſts, not in building magnificent palaces for his own reſidence, but in erecting temples, and fortifying and embelliſhing cities: that it is his glory, not that his people ſhould fear, but be afraid for, him: that a truly royal care is, not to enter the liſts with the firſt comer at the Olympic games, (for the princes of that age were paſſionately fond of them, and eſpecially * Hiero) but to contend with the neighbouring kings, who ſhould ſucceed beſt in diffuſing wealth and abundance throughout his dominions, and endeavouring to form the felicity of his people.

Nevertheleſs, another poet (Pindar) praiſes Hiero for the victory he had won in the horſe-race. "This "prince, (ſays he, in his ode) who governs with "equity the inhabitants of opulent Sicily, has gathe-"red the faireſt flower in the garden of virtue. He takes "a noble delight in the moſt exquiſite performances "of poetry and muſic. He loves melodious airs, "ſuch as it is cuſtomary for us to play, at the ban-"quets given us by our deareſt friends. Rouze then "thy ſelf, take thy lyre, and raiſe it to the Doric "pitch. If thou feeleſt thy ſelf animated by a glori-

* *It is ſaid that Themiſtocles, ſeeing him arrive at the Olympic games with a ſplendid equipage, would have had him forbid them, becauſe he had not ſuccoured the Greeks againſt the common enemy, any more than Gelon his brother; which motion did honour to the Athenian general.* Ælian. l. 9. c. 5.

" ous fire in favour of † Piſa and Phœrenice ; if they
" have waked the ſweeteſt tranſports in thy breaſt,
" when that generous courſer (without being quick-
" ned by the ſpur) flew along the banks of the Al-
" pheus, and carried his royal rider to glorious vic-
" tory : O ſing the king of Syracuſe, the ornament
" of the Olympic courſe ! "

The whole ode, tranſlated by the late Mr. Maſſieu, is in the ſixth volume of the memoirs of the academy of inſcriptions of Belles-Lettres, from which I have made the ſmall extract above. I was very glad to give the reader ſome idea of Pindar, by this little ſpecimen.

The next ode to this was compoſed in honour of Theron king of Agrigentum, victorious in the chariot-race. The diction of it is ſo ſublime, the thoughts ſo noble, and the moral ſo pure, that many look upon it as Pindar's maſter-piece.

I cannot ſay how far we may depend on the reſt of the praiſes which Pindar gives Hiero, for poets are not always very ſincere in the elogiums they beſtow on princes: however, it is certain that Hiero had made his court the reſort of all perſons of wit and ſenſe ; and that he had invited them to it by his affability and engaging behaviour, and much more by his liberality, which is a great merit in a king.

We cannot beſtow on Hiero's court the elogium which * Horace gives the houſe of Mecœnas, in which

† *Piſa was the city, near to which the Olympic games were ſolemnized: and Phœrenice, the name of Hiero's courſer, ſignifying the victor.*

* ——————Non iſto vivimus illic,
Quo tu rere, modo. Domus hac nec purior ulla eſt,
Nec magis his aliena malis. Nil mî officit unquam,
Ditior hic aut eſt quia doctior. Eſt locus uni-
Cuique ſuus. *Hor. lib. 1. Satyr. 9.*

That is,

Sir, you miſtake, that's not our courſe of life,
We know no jealouſies, no brawls, no ſtrife ;
From all thoſe ills our patron's houſe is free,
None, 'cauſe more learn'd or wealthy, troubles me ;
We have our ſtations, all their own purſue, &c. Creech.

a cha-

a character prevailed rarely found among ſcholars, and nevertheleſs worth all their erudition. This amiable houſe, ſays Horace, was an utter ſtranger to the mean and groveling ſentiments of envy and jealouſy; and men ſaw, in thoſe who ſhared in the maſter's favour, a ſuperior merit or credit, without taking the leaſt umbrage at it. (*l*) But it was far otherwiſe in the court of Hiero or of Theron. It is ſaid that Simonides, and Bacchylides his nephew, employed all kinds of criticiſm, to leſſen the eſteem which thoſe princes had for Pindar's works. The latter, by way of repriſal, ridicules them very ſtrongly in his ode to Theron, in comparing *them to ravens, who croak in vain againſt the divine bird of Jove.* But modeſty was not the virtue which diſtinguiſhed Pindar.

(*m*) Hiero, having drove the antient inhabitants of Catana and Naxos from their country, ſettled a colony of ten thouſand men there, half of whom were Syracuſans, and the reſt Peloponneſians. This prompted the inhabitants of thoſe two cities to appoint, after his death, the ſame ſolemnities in his honour, as were beſtowed on heroes or demi-gods, becauſe they conſidered him as their founder.

(*n*) He ſhowed great favour to the children of Anaxilaus, formerly tyrant of Zancle, and a great friend to Gelon his brother. As they were arrived at years of maturity, he exhorted them to take the government into their own hands; after Micythus, their tutor, ſhould have informed them of the perfect ſtate of it, and how he himſelf had behaved in the adminiſtration. The latter, having aſſembled the neareſt relations and moſt intimate friends of the young princes, gave, in their preſence, ſo good an account of his guardianſhip, that the whole aſſembly (in perfect admiration) beſtowed the higheſt encomiums on his prudence, integrity and juſtice. Matters were carried ſo far, that the young princes were extremely urgent with him to preſide in

(*l*) Scholiaſt. Pind. (*m*) Diod. l. 11. p. 37. (*n*) Diod. p. 50.

the

the adminiſtration, as he had hitherto done. However, the wiſe tutor preferring the ſweets of eaſe to the ſplendor of authority, and perſuaded at the ſame time, that it would be for the intereſt of the ſtate if the young princes took the government into their own hands, he reſolved to retire from buſineſs. Hiero died, after having reigned eleven years.

III. THRASYBULUS. (*n*) He was ſucceeded by Thraſybulus his brother, who, by his evil conduct, contributed very much to the making him be regretted. Swelled with pride and a brutal haughtineſs, he conſidered men as mere worms; vainly fancying that they were created for him to trample upon, and that he was of a quite different nature from them. He abandoned himſelf implicitly to the flattering counſels of the giddy young courtiers who ſurrounded him. He treated all his ſubjects with the utmoſt ſeverity; baniſhing ſome, confiſcating the poſſeſſions of others, and putting great numbers to death. So ſevere a ſlavery grew ſoon inſupportable to the Syracuſans, and therefore they implored the ſuccour of the neighbouring cities, whoſe intereſt it was alſo to throw off the tyrant's yoke. Thraſybulus was beſieged even in Syracuſe, the ſovereignty of part of which he had reſerved to himſelf, *viz.* Acradina, and the iſland which was very well fortified; but the third quarter of the city, called Tyche, was poſſeſſed by the enemy. After making a feeble reſiſtance, and demanding to capitulate, he left the city, and withdrew into baniſhment among the Locrians. He had reigned but a year. In this manner the Syracuſans recovered their liberty. They alſo delivered the reſt of the cities of Sicily from tyrants; eſtabliſhed a popular government in all places, and maintained that form themſelves during threeſcore years, till the reign of Dionyſius the tyrant, who again enſlaved them.

(*o*) After Sicily had been delivered from the go-

(*n*) Diod. l. 11. p. 51, 52. (*o*) A. M. 3544. Ant. J. C. 460. Diod. l. 11. p. 55, &c.

vernment

vernment of tyrants, and all the cities of it were reſtored to their liberty; as the country was extremely fruitful in itſelf, and the peace which all places enjoyed, gave the inhabitants of this iſland an opportunity of cultivating their lands, and feeding their flocks; the people grew very powerful, and amaſſed great riches. To perpetuate to lateſt poſterity the remembrance of the happy day in which they had thrown off the yoke of ſlavery, by the baniſhment of Thraſybulus, it was decreed in the general aſſembly of the nation, that a coloſſal ſtatue ſhould be ſet up to Jupiter the deliverer; that on the anniverſary of this day, a feſtival ſhould be ſolemnized, by way of thankſgiving, for the reſtoration of their liberty; and that there ſhould be ſacrificed, in honour of the gods, four hundred and fifty bulls, with which the people ſhould be entertained as a common feaſt.

There nevertheleſs lay concealed in the minds of many, I know not what ſecret leaven of tyranny, which frequently diſturbed the harmony of this peace, and occaſioned ſeveral tumults and commotions in Sicily, the particulars of which I ſhall omit. (*p*) To prevent the evil conſequences of them, the Syracuſans eſtabliſhed the Petaliſm, which differed very little from the Athenian Oſtraciſm; and was ſo called from the Greek πέταλον, ſignifying a leaf, becauſe the votes were then given on an olive leaf. This judgment was pronounced againſt ſuch citizens whoſe great power made the people apprehenſive that they aſpired at the tyranny, and it baniſhed them for ten years; however, it did not long continue in force, and was ſoon aboliſhed; becauſe the dread of falling under its cenſure, having prompted the moſt virtuous men to retire, and renounce the government, the chief employments were now filled by ſuch citizens only as had the leaſt merit.

(*q*) DEUCETIUS, according to Diodorus, was chief over the people who were properly called Sicilians. Having united them all (the inhabitants of Hybla excepted)

(*p*) Ibid. p. 65.

(*q*) Diod. p. 67—70.

cepted) into one body, he became very powerful, and formed ſeveral great enterprizes. It was he who built the city Palica, near the temple of the gods called Palici. This city was very famous on account of ſome wonders which are related of it; and ſtill more from the ſacred nature of the oaths which were there taken, the violation whereof was ſaid to be always followed by a ſudden and exemplary puniſhment. This was a ſecure aſylum for all perſons who were oppreſſed by ſuperiour power; and eſpecially for ſlaves who were unjuſtly abuſed, or too cruelly treated by their maſters. They continued in ſafety in this temple, till certain arbiters and mediators had made their peace; and there was not a ſingle inſtance of a maſter's having ever forfeited the promiſe he had made to pardon his ſlaves; ſo famous were the gods who preſided over this temple, for the ſevere vengeance they took on thoſe who violated their oaths.

This Deucetius, after having been ſucceſsful on a great many occaſions, and gained ſeveral victories, particularly over the Syracuſans; ſaw his fortune change on a ſudden by the loſs of a battle, and was abandoned by the greateſt part of his forces. In the conſternation and deſpondency into which ſo general and ſudden a deſertion threw him, he formed ſuch a reſolution as deſpair only could ſuggeſt. He withdrew in the night to Syracuſe; advanced as far as the great ſquare of the city, and there, falling proſtrate at the foot of the altar, he abandoned his life and dominions to the mercy of the Syracuſans, that is, to his profeſſed enemies. The ſingularity of this ſpectacle drew great numbers of people to it. The magiſtrates immediately convened the people, and debated on the affair. They firſt heard the orators, whoſe buſineſs was generally to addreſs the people by their ſpeeches; and theſe animated them prodigiouſly againſt Deucetius, as a public enemy, whom providence ſeemed to throw into their way, to revenge and puniſh, by his death, all the injuries he had done the republic. A

ſpeech

ſpeech in this caſt, ſtruck all the virtuous part of the aſſembly with horror. The moſt antient and wiſeſt of the ſenators repreſented, "That they were not to "conſider what puniſhment Deucetius deſerved, but "how it behoved the Syracuſans to behave on that oc-"caſion; that they ought not to look upon him any "longer as an enemy, but as a ſuppliant, a character "by which his perſon was become ſacred and invio-"lable. That there was a goddeſs (Nemeſis) who "took vengeance of crimes, eſpecially of cruelty and "impiety, and who doubtleſs would not ſuffer that "to go unpuniſhed: That beſides the baſeneſs and in-"humanity there is in inſulting the unfortunate, and "in cruſhing thoſe who are already under one's foot; "it was worthy the grandeur and goodneſs natural to "the Syracuſans, to exert their clemency even to "thoſe who leaſt deſerved it." All the people came into this opinion, and, with one conſent, ſpared Deucetius's life. He was ordered to reſide in Corinth, the metropolis and foundreſs of Syracuſe; and the Syracuſans engaged to furniſh Deucetius with all things neceſſary for his ſubſiſting honourably there. What reader, who compares theſe two different opinions, does not perceive which of them was the nobleſt and moſt generous?

SECT. II. *Of ſome famous perſons and cities in Græcia Major. Pythagoras, Charondas, Zaleucus, Milo the Athleta: Croton, Sybaris, and Thurium.*

I. PYTHAGORAS.

IN treating of what relates to Græcia Major in Italy, I muſt not omit Pythagoras, who was the glory of it. (r) He was born in Samos. After having travelled into a great many regions, and enriched his mind with the moſt excellent learning of every kind, he returned to his native country, but did not make a long ſtay in it, becauſe of the tyrannical government Polycrates had eſtabliſhed in it, who however had the

(r) Diog. Laert. in vit. Pythag. A. M. 3480. Ant. J. C. 524.

higheſt

higheſt regard for him, and ſhowed him all the eſteem due to his rare merit. But the ſtudy of the ſciences, and particularly of philoſophy, is ſcarce compatible with ſlavery, though of the mildeſt and moſt honourable kind. He therefore went into Italy, and reſided uſually either at Croton, Metapontum, Heraclea, or Tarentum. (s) Servius Tullius, or Tarquinius Superbus, reigned in Rome at that time; which abſolutely refutes the opinion of thoſe who imagined that Numa Pompilius, the ſecond king of the Romans, who lived upwards of an hundred years before, had been Pythagoras's diſciple; an opinion that very probably was grounded on the reſemblance of their manners, diſpoſition and principles.

* The whole country ſoon felt very happy effects from the preſence of this excellent philoſopher. An inclination for ſtudy, and a love of wiſdom, diffuſed themſelves almoſt univerſally in a very ſhort time. Multitudes flocked from all the neighbouring cities to get a ſight of Pythagoras, to hear him, and to improve by his ſalutary counſels. The ſeveral princes of the country took a pleaſure in inviting him to their courts, which they thought honoured by his preſence; and all were delighted with his converſation, and glad to learn from him the art of governing nations with wiſdom. His ſchool became the moſt famous that had ever been till that age. He had no leſs than four or five hundred diſciples. Before he admitted them in that quality, they were probationers five years, during which time he obliged them to keep the ſtricteſt ſilence; thinking it proper for them to be inſtructed, before they ſhould attempt to ſpeak. I ſhall take notice of his tenets and ſentiments, when I come to ſpeak of the various ſects of philoſophers; it was well known, that the tranſmigration of ſouls was one of the chief of

(s) Liv. l. 1. n. 18.

* Pythagoras, cùm in Italiam veniſſet, exornavit eam Græciam, quæ magna dicta eſt, & privatim & publicè, præſtantiſſimis & inſtitutis, & artibus, *Cic. Tuſcul. Quæſt.* l. 5. n. 10.

them. His disciples had the greatest reverence for every word he uttered; and, if he did but barely aver a thing, he was immediately believed without its being once examined; and to affirm the truth of any thing, they used to express themselves in this manner, (*t*) *The master said it.* However, the disciples carried their deference and docility too far, in thus waving all enquiry, and in sacrificing implicitly their reason and understanding; a sacrifice that ought to be made only to the divine authority, which is infinitely superior to our reason and all our knowledge; and which, consequently, is authorized to prescribe laws to us, and dictate absolute obedience.

The school of Pythagoras bred a great number of illustrious disciples, who did infinite honour to their master; as wise legislators, great politicians, persons skilled in all the sciences, and capable of governing states, and being the ministers of the greatest princes *. A long time after his death, that part of Italy which he had cultivated and improved by his instructions, was still considered as the nursery and seat of men skilled in all kinds of literature, and maintained that glorious character for several ages. (*u*) The Romans certainly entertained a high opinion of Pythagoras's virtue and merit, since the oracle of Delphos having commanded that people, during the war of the Samnites, to erect two statues in the most conspicuous part of Rome; the one to the wisest, and the other to the most valiant among the Greeks, they accordingly set up two in the *Comitium*, representing Pythagoras and Themistocles. Historians are not exact with respect to the time and place of Pythagoras's death.

II. CROTON. SYBARIS. THURIUM. (*x*) Croton

(*t*) Αυτὸς ἔφα. (*u*) Plin. l. 34. c. 6. (*x*) A. M. 3295. Ant. J. C. 709. Strab. l. 6. p. 262. & 269. Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. l. 2. p. 121.

* Pythagoras tenuit magnam illam Græciam cum honore, & disciplina, tum etiam auctoritate, multaque secula postea sic viguit Pythagoreorum nomen, ut nulli alii docti viderentur. *Tusc. Quæst.* l. 1. n. 38.

was

was founded by Myſcellus, chief of the Achaians, the third year of the xviith olympiad. This Myſcellus being come to Delphos to conſult the oracle of Apollo, about the ſpot on which he ſhould build his city, met Archias the Corinthian there, who was arrived upon the ſame account. The god gave him a favourable audience; and after having determined them with regard to the place that would beſt ſuit their new ſettlements, he propoſed different advantages to them; and left them, among other particulars, the choice of riches or health. The offer of riches ſtruck Archias, but Myſcellus deſired health; and, if hiſtory is to be credited, Apollo performed his promiſe faithfully to both. Archias founded Syracuſe, which ſoon became the moſt opulent city of Greece. (y) Myſcellus laid the foundations of Croton, which became ſo famous for the long life and innate ſtrength of its inhabitants, that its name was uſed proverbially, to ſignify a very healthy ſpot, whoſe air was extremely pure. The people of it ſignalized themſelves in a great number of victories in the Grecian games; and Strabo relates, that in the ſame Olympiad, ſeven Crotonians were crowned in the Olympic games, and carried off all the prizes of the ſtadium.

(z) Sybaris was ten leagues (two hundred ſtadia) from Croton, and had alſo been founded by the Achaians, but before the other. This city became afterwards very powerful. Four neighbouring ſtates, and twenty-five cities were ſubject to it, ſo that it was, alone, able to raiſe an army of three hundred thouſand men. The opulence of Sybaris was ſoon followed by luxury, and ſuch a diſſoluteneſs as is ſcarcely credible. The citizens employed themſelves in nothing but banquets, games, ſhows, parties of pleaſure and carrouſals. Public rewards and marks of diſtinction were beſtowed on thoſe who gave the moſt magnificent entertainments; and even to ſuch cooks as were beſt

(y) Κρότωνος ὑγιέστερον. Athen. l. 12. p. 518—520.

(z) Strab. l. 6. p. 263.

ſkilled

ſkilled in the important art of making new diſcoveries in the dreſſing diſhes, and invented new refinements to tickle the palate. The Sybarites carried their delicacy and effiminacy to ſuch a height, that they carefully removed from their city all ſuch artificers whoſe work was noiſy; and would not ſuffer any cocks in it, leſt their ſhrill piercing crow ſhould diſturb their balmy ſlumbers.

(*a*) All theſe evils were heightned by diſſenſion and diſcord, which at laſt proved their ruin. Five hundred of the wealthieſt in the city having been expelled by the faction of one Telys, fled to Croton. Telys demanded to have them ſurrendered to him; and, on the refuſal of the Crotonians to deliver them up, (prompted to this generous reſolution by Pythagoras who then lived among them) war was declared. The Sybarites marched three hundred thouſand men into the field, and the Crotonians only an hundred thouſand; but then they were headed by Milo, the famous champion, (of whom we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to ſpeak) over whoſe ſhoulders a lion's skin was thrown, and himſelf armed with a club, like another Hercules. The latter gained a compleat victory, and made a dreadful havock of thoſe who fled, ſo that very few eſcaped, and their city was depopulated. About threeſcore years after, ſome Theſſalians came and ſettled in it; however, they did not long enjoy peace, being driven out by the Crotonians. Being thus reduced to the moſt fatal extremity, they implored the ſuccour of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. The latter, moved to compaſſion at their deplorable condition, after cauſing proclamation to be made in Peloponneſus, that all who were willing to aſſiſt that colony were at liberty to do it, ſent the Sybarites a fleet of ten ſhips, under the command of Lampon and Xenocrates.

(*a*) A. M. 3474. Ant. J. C. 520. Diod. l. 12. p. 76—85.

They

(*b*) They built a city near the antient Sybaris, and called it Thurium. Two men, greatly renowned for their learning, the one an orator, and the other an hiſtorian, ſettled in this colony. The firſt was Lyſias, at that time but fifteen years of age. He lived in Thurium, till the ill fate which befel the Athenians in Sicily, and then went to Athens. The ſecond was Herodotus. Though he was born in Halicarnaſſus, a city of Caria, he was however conſidered as a native of Thurium, becauſe he ſettled there with that colony. I ſhall ſpeak more largely of him hereafter.

Diviſions ſoon broke out in the city, on occaſion of the new inhabitants, whom the reſt would exclude from all public employments and privileges. But as theſe were much more numerous, they repulſed all the antient Sybarites, and got the ſole poſſeſſion of the city. Being ſupported by the alliance they made with the people of Croton, they ſoon grew vaſtly powerful; and having ſettled a popular form of government in their city, they divided the citizens into ten tribes, which they called by the names of the different nations whence they ſprung.

III. CHARONDAS, *the legiſlator*. They now bent their whole thoughts to the ſtrengthning of their government by wholſome laws, for which purpoſe they made choice of Charondas, who had been educated in Pythagoras's ſchool, to digeſt and draw them up. I ſhall quote ſome of them in this place.

1. He excluded from the ſenate, and all public employments, all ſuch as ſhould marry a ſecond wife, in caſe any children by their firſt wife were living; being perſuaded, that any man who was ſo regardleſs of his children's intereſt, would be equally ſo of his country's, and be as worthleſs a magiſtrate as he had been a father.

2. He ſentenced all falſe accuſers to be carried through every part of the city crowned with heath or

(*b*) A. M. 3560. Ant. J. C. 444. Dionyſ. Halicarn. in vit. Lyſ. p. 82. Strab. l. 14. p. 656.

broom, as the vileſt of men; an ignominy which moſt of them were not able to ſurvive. The city thus delivered from thoſe peſts of ſociety, was reſtored to its former tranquillity. And indeed, * from calumniators generally ariſe all feuds and conteſts, whether of a public or private nature; and yet, according to Tacitus's obſervation, they are too much tolerated in moſt governments.

3. He enacted a new kind of law againſt another ſpecies of peſts, which in a ſtate generally firſt occaſions depravity of manners; by ſuffering all thoſe to be proſecuted who ſhould form a correſpondence or contract a friendſhip with wicked men, and by laying a heavy fine upon them.

4. He required all the children of the citizens to be educated in the Belles Lettres; the effect of which is to poliſh and civilize the minds of men, inſpiring them with gentleneſs of manners, and inclining them to virtue; all which conſtitute the felicity of a ſtate, and are equally neceſſary to citizens of all conditions. In this view he appointed ſalaries (paid by the ſtate) for maſters and preceptors; in order that learning, by being communicated *gratis*, might be acquired by all. He conſidered ignorance as the greateſt of evils, and the ſource whence all vices flowed.

5. He made a law with reſpect to orphans which appears ſufficiently judicious, by intruſting the care of their education to their relations by the mother's ſide, as their lives would not be in danger from them; and the management of their eſtates to their paternal relations, it being the intereſt of theſe to make the greateſt advantage of them, ſince they would inherit them, in caſe of the demiſe of their wards.

6. Inſtead of putting deſerters to death, and thoſe who quitted their ranks and fled in battle, he only ſentenced them to make their appearance during three days, in the city, dreſt in the habit of women, ima-

* Delatores, genus hominum publico exitio repertum, & pœnis quidem nunquam ſatis coercitum. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 4. c. 30.

gining,

gining, that the dread of ſo ignominious a puniſhment would produce the ſame effect as putting to death; and being, at the ſame time, deſirous of giving ſuch cowardly citizens an opportunity of atoning for their fault.

7. To prevent his laws from being too raſhly or eaſily abrogated, he impoſed a very ſevere and hazardous condition on all perſons who ſhould propoſe to alter or amend them in any manner. Theſe were ſentenced to appear in the public aſſembly with a halter about their necks; and, in caſe the alteration propoſed did not paſs, they were to be immediately ſtrangled. There were but three amendments ever propoſed, and all of them admitted.

Charondas did not long ſurvive his own laws. Returning one day from purſuing ſome thieves, and finding a tumult in the city, he came armed into the aſſembly, though he himſelf had prohibited this by an expreſs law. A certain perſon objected to him, in ſevere terms, that he violated his own laws; *I do not violate them*, ſays he, *but thus ſeal them with my blood*; ſaying which, he plunged his ſword into his boſom, and expired.

IV. ZALEUCUS, *another lawgiver*. (*d*) At the ſame time, there aroſe among the Locrians another famous legiſlator, Zaleucus by name, who, as well as Charondas, had been Pythagoras's diſciple. There is now ſcarce any thing extant of his, except a kind of preamble to his laws, which gives a moſt advantageous idea of them. He requires, above all things, of the citizens, to believe and be firmly perſuaded, that there are gods; and adds, that the bare caſting up our eyes to the heavens, and contemplating their order and beauty, are ſufficient to convince us, that it is impoſſible ſo wonderful a fabric could have been formed by mere chance or human power. As the natural conſequence of this belief, he exhorts men to honour and revere the gods, as the authors of whatever is good

(*d*) Diod. l. 12. p. 79—85.

and juſt among mortals; and to honour them, not merely by ſacrifices and ſplendid gifts, but by a ſage conduct, and by purity and innocence of manners; theſe being infinitely more grateful to the immortals, than all the ſacrifices that can be offered.

After this religious exordium, in which he deſcribes the ſupreme being, as the ſource whence all laws flow, as the chief authority which commands obedience to them, as the moſt powerful motive for our faithful obſervance of them, and as the perfect model to which mankind ought to conform; he deſcends to the particulars of thoſe duties which men owe to one another; and lays down a precept which is very well adapted to preſerve peace and unity in ſociety, by enjoining the individuals of it not to make their hatred and diſſenſions perpetual, which would argue an unſociable and ſavage diſpoſition; but to treat their enemies as men who would ſoon be their friends. This is carrying morality to as great a perfection as could be expected from heathens.

With regard to the duty of judges and magiſtrates, after repreſenting to them, that, in pronouncing ſentence, they ought never to ſuffer themſelves to be byaſſed by friendſhip, hatred, or any other paſſion; he only exhorts them not to behave with the leaſt haughtineſs or ſeverity towards the parties engaged in law, ſince ſuch are but too unhappy, in being obliged to undergo all the toils and fatigues inſeparable from lawſuits. The office indeed of judges, how laborious ſoever it may be, is far from giving them a right to uſe the contending parties with ill-nature; the very form and eſſence of their employment requiring them to behave with impartiality, and to do juſtice on all occaſions; and when they diſtribute this even with mildneſs and humanity, it is only a debt they pay, and not a favour they grant.

'To baniſh luxury from his republic, which he looked upon as the certain deſtruction of a government, he did not follow the practice eſtabliſhed in ſome na-

tions, where it is thought ſufficient, for the reſtraining it, to puniſh, by pecuniary mulcts, ſuch as infringe the laws made on that occaſion. But he acted, ſays the hiſtorian, in a more artful and ingenious, and at the ſame time more effectual manner. He prohibited women from wearing rich and coſtly ſtuffs, embroidered robes, precious ſtones, ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets, gold rings, and ſuch like ornaments; excepting none from this law but common proſtitutes. He enacted a like law with regard to the men; excepting, in the ſame manner, from the obſervance of it, ſuch only as were willing to paſs for debauchees and infamous wretches. By theſe regulations he eaſily, and without violence, preſerved the citizens from the leaſt approaches to luxury and effeminacy *. For no perſon was ſo abandoned to all ſenſe of honour, as to be willing to wear the badges of his ſhame, under the eye, as it were, of all the citizens; ſince this would make him the public laughing-ſtock, and reflect eternal infamy on his family.

V. MILO *the champion.* We have ſeen him at the head of an army obtain a great victory. However, he was ſtill more renowned for his athletic ſtrength, than for his military bravery. He was ſirnamed *Crotonienſis*, from Croton the place of his birth. It was his daughter, whom, as was before related, Democedes the famous phyſician, and Milo's countryman, married, after he had fled from Darius's court to Greece, his native country.

(*e*) Pauſanias relates, that Milo, when but a child, was ſeven times victorious in one day at the Pythian games; that he won ſix victories (at wreſtling) in the Olympic games, one of which was alſo gained in his childhood; and that challenging a ſeventh time, (in Olympia) any perſon to wreſtle with him, he could not engage, for want of an opponent. He

(*e*) Lib. 6. p. 369, 370.

* More inter veteres recepto, qui ſatis pœnarum adversùs impudicas in ipſa profeſſione flagitii credebant. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 2. c. 85.

would hold a pomegranate in ſuch a manner, that without breaking it, he would graſp it ſo faſt in his hand, that no force could poſſibly wreſt it from him. He would ſtand ſo firm on a * *diſcus*, which had been oiled to make it the more ſlippery, that it was impoſſible to move him on thoſe occaſions. He would bind his head with a cord, after which, holding his breath ſtrongly, the veins of his head would ſwell ſo prodigiouſly as to break the rope. When Milo, fixing his elbow on his ſide, ſtretched forth his right hand quite open, with his fingers held cloſe one to the other, his thumb excepted, which he raiſed, the utmoſt ſtrength of man could not ſeparate his little finger from the other three.

All this was only a vain and puerile oſtentation of his ſtrength. Chance, however, gave him an opportunity of making a much more laudable uſe of it. (*f*) One day as he was attending the lectures of Pythagoras, (for he was one of his moſt conſtant diſciples) the pillar which ſupported the cieling of the ſchool in which the pupils were aſſembled, being ſhaken by ſome accident, Milo ſupported it by his ſingle ſtrength, gave the auditors time to get away, and afterwards he eſcaped himſelf.

What is related of the voracious appetite of the Athletæ is almoſt incredible. (*g*) Milo's appetite was ſcarce ſatiated with twenty minæ (pounds) of meat, the ſame quantity of bread, and three † *congii* of wine every day. Athenæus relates, that this champion having run the whole length of the ſtadium, with a bull of four years old on his ſhoulders, he afterwards knocked him down with one ſtroke of his fiſt, and eat the whole beaſt that very day. I will take it for granted, that all the other particulars related of Milo are true ; but is it probable, that one man could devour a whole ox in ſo ſhort a time ?

(*f*) Strab. l. 6. p. 263. (*g*) Athen. l. 10. p. 412.

* *This diſcus was a kind of quoit, flat and round.* † *Thirty pounds, or fifteen quarts.*

We

(*b*) We are told that Milo, when advanced to a very great age, ſeeing the reſt of the champions wreſtling, and gazing upon his own arms which once were ſo vigorous and robuſt, but were then very much enfeebled by time, he burſt into tears and cried, *Alas! theſe arms are now dead.*

(*i*) And yet he either forgot or concealed his weakneſs from himſelf; the ſtrong perſuaſion he entertained of his own ſtrength, and which he preſerved to the laſt, proving fatal to him. Happening to meet, as he was travelling, an old oak, which had been opened by ſome wedges that were forced into it, he undertook to ſplit it in two by his bare ſtrength. But, after forcing out the wedges, his arms were catched in the trunk of the tree, by the violence with which it cloſed; ſo that being unable to diſengage his hands, he was devoured by wolves.

(*k*) An author has judiciouſly obſerved, that this ſurprizingly-robuſt champion, who prided himſelf ſo much in his bodily ſtrength, was the weakeſt of men with regard to a paſſion, which often ſubdues and captivates the ſtrongeſt; a courtezan having gained ſo great an aſcendant over Milo, that ſhe tyrannized over him in the moſt imperious manner, and made him obey whatever commands ſhe laid upon him.

CHAPTER III.

The war of Peloponneſus.

(*l*) THE Peloponneſian war, which I am now entring upon, began about the end of the firſt year of the LXXXVIIth Olympiad, and laſted twenty ſeven years. Thucydides has writ the hiſtory of it to the 21ſt year incluſively. He gives us an accurate account of the ſeveral tranſactions of every year, which he divides into campaigns and winter-quarters. However, I ſhall not be ſo minute, and ſhall only

(*b*) Cic. de Senect. n. 27.
(*i*) Pauſan. l. 6. p. 370.
(*k*) Ælian. l. 2. c. 24.
(*l*) A. M. 3573. Ant. J. C. 431.

extract ſuch parts of it as appear moſt entertaining and inſtructive. Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus will alſo be of great aſſiſtance to me on this occaſion.

SECT. I. *The ſiege of Platææ by the Thebans. Alternate ravages of Attica and Peloponneſus. Honours paid to the Athenians who fell in the firſt campaign.*

THE FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR.

(*m*) THE firſt act of hoſtility by which the war began, was committed by the Thebans, who beſieged Platææ, a city of Bœotia, in alliance with Athens. They were introduced into it by treachery; but the citizens falling upon them in the night, killed them, about two hundred excepted that were taken priſoners, and who a little after were put to death. The Athenians, as ſoon as news was brought of the action at Platææ, ſent ſuccours and proviſions thither, and cleared the city of all perſons who were incapable of bearing arms.

The truce being evidently broke, both ſides prepared openly for war; and ambaſſadors were ſent to all places, to ſtrengthen themſelves by the alliance of the Greeks and Barbarians. Every part of Greece was in motion, ſome few ſtates and cities excepted, which continued neuter, till they ſhould ſee the event of the war. The majority were for the Lacedæmonians, as being the deliverers of Greece, and eſpouſed their intereſt very warmly, becauſe the Athenians, forgetting that the moderation and gentleneſs with which they commanded over others, had procured them many allies, had afterwards alienated the greateſt part of them by their pride and the ſeverity of their government, and incurred the hatred, not only of thoſe who were then ſubject to them, but of all ſuch as were apprehenſive of becoming their dependants. In this temper of mind were the Greeks at that time.

(*m*) Thucyd. l. 2. p. 99—122. Diod. l. 12. p. 97—100. Plut. in Pericl. p. 170.

The

The confederates of each of thoſe ſtates were as follows.

All Peloponneſus, Argos excepted, which ſtood neuter, had declared for Lacedæmonia. The Achaians, the inhabitants of Pellene excepted, had alſo joined them; but the latter alſo engaged inſenſibly in that war. Out of Peloponneſus were the people of Megara, Locris, Bœotia, Phocis, Ambracia, Leucadia, and Anactorium.

The confederates of the Athenians were, the people of Chios, Lesbos, Platææ, the Meſſenians of Naupactus; the greateſt part of the Acarnanians, Corcyrans, Cephalenians, and Zacynthians, beſides the ſeveral tributary countries, as maritime Caria, Doria that lies near it, Ionia, the Helleſpont; and the cities of Thrace, Chalcis and Potidæa excepted; all the iſlands between Crete and Peloponneſus, eaſtward; and the Cyclades, Melos and Thera excepted.

Immediately after the attempt on Platææ, the Lacedæmonians had ordered forces to be levied both within and without Peloponneſus; and made all the preparations neceſſary for entring the enemy's country. All things being ready, two thirds of the troops marched to the Iſthmus of Corinth, and the reſt were left to guard the country. Archidamus king of Lacedæmonia, who commanded the army, aſſembled the generals and chief officers, and calling up the remembrance of the great actions performed by their anceſtors, and thoſe they themſelves had done, or been eye-witneſſes to, he exhorted them to ſupport with the utmoſt efforts of their valour, the priſtine glory of their reſpective cities, as well as their own fame. He declared, that the eyes of all Greece were upon them; and that, in expectation of the iſſue of a war which would determine its fate, they were inceſſantly addreſſing heaven in favour of a people, who were as dear to them as the Athenians were become odious: That, however, he could not deny, but that they were going to march againſt an enemy, who though greatly in-

ferior to them in numbers and in ſtrength, were nevertheleſs very powerful, warlike, and daring; and whoſe courage would doubtleſs be ſtill more inflamed by the ſight of danger, and the laying waſte of their territories *: That therefore they muſt exert themſelves to the utmoſt, to ſpread an immediate terror in the country they were going to enter, and to inſpire the allies with new vigour. The whole army anſwered in the loudeſt acclamations of joy, and aſſured their generals that they would do their duty.

The aſſembly breaking up, Archidamus, ſtill zealous for the welfare of Greece, and meditating how he might beſt prevent a rupture, the dreadful conſequences of which he foreſaw, ſent a Spartan to Athens, to endeavour, before they ſhould come to hoſtilities, to prevail, if poſſible, with the Athenians to lay aſide their deſigns; ſince otherwiſe an army would ſoon march into Attica. But the Athenians, ſo far from admitting him to audience, or hearing his reaſons, would not ſo much as ſuffer him to come into their city: Pericles having prevailed with the people to make an order, that no herald or ambaſſador ſhould be received from the Lacedæmonians, till they had firſt laid down their arms. In conſequence of this, the Spartan was commanded to leave the country that very day; and an eſcort was ſent to guard him to the frontiers, and to prevent his ſpeaking to any perſon by the way. At his taking leave of the Athenians, he told them, that from that day great calamities would enſue to all Greece. Archidamus, ſeeing no hopes of a reconciliation, marched for Attica, at the head of ſixty thouſand choſen forces.

Pericles, before the Lacedæmonians had entred this country, declared to the Athenians, that ſhould Archidamus, when he was laying waſte their territories, ſpare his (Pericles's) lands, either on account of the right of hoſpitality which ſubſiſted between them, or

* Gnarus primis eventibus metum aut fiduciam gigni. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 13. c. 31.

to

to furniſh his enemies and thoſe who envied him, with a handle to ſlander him, as holding intelligence with him, he declared, that from that day he made over all his lands and houſes to the city of Athens. He remonſtrated to the Athenians, that it was their intereſt to conſume the enemy's troops, by protracting the war; and that for this purpoſe, they muſt immediately remove all their effects out of the country, retire to the city, and ſhut themſelves up in it without ever hazarding a battle. The Athenians, indeed, had not forces enough to take the field and oppoſe the enemy. Their troops, excluſive of thoſe in garriſon, amounted but to thirteen thouſand heavy-armed ſoldiers; and ſixteen thouſand inhabitants, including the young and old, the citizens as well as others, who were appointed to defend Athens: and beſides theſe, twelve hundred troopers, including the archers who rode on horſeback, and ſixteen hundred foot archers. This was the whole army of the Athenians. But their chief ſtrength conſiſted in a fleet of three hundred gallies, part of which were ordered to lay waſte the enemy's country, and the reſt to awe the allies on whom contributions were levied, without which the Athenians could not defray the expences of the war.

The Athenians, animated by the warm exhortations of Pericles, brought from the country their wives, their children, their moveables, and all their effects, after which they pulled down their houſes, and even carried off the timber of them. With regard to the cattle of all kinds, they conveyed them into the iſland of Eubœa and the neighbouring iſles. However, they were deeply afflicted at this ſad and precipitate migration, and it even forced tears from their eyes. From the time the Perſians left their country, that is, for near fifty years, they had enjoyed the ſweets of peace, wholly employed in cultivating their lands, and feeding their flocks. But now (ſad fate of war!) they were obliged to abandon every thing. They took up their habitations in the city, as conveniently

niently as they could, in the midſt of ſuch confuſion; retiring either to their relations or friends; and ſome withdrew even to the temples and other public places.

In the mean time the Lacedæmonians, being ſet out upon their march, entered the country, and encamped at Œnoe, which is the firſt fortreſs towards Bœotia. They employed a long time in preparing the attack, and raiſing the batteries; for which reaſon complaints were made againſt Archidamus, as if he carried on the war indolently, becauſe he had not approved of it. He was accuſed of being too ſlow in his marches, and of encamping too long near Corinth. He was alſo charged with having been too dilatory in raiſing the army, and having deſired to give the Athenians opportunity to carry off all their effects out of the country; whereas, (they ſaid) had he marched ſpeedily into it, all they had might have been plundered and deſtroyed. His deſign, however, was, to engage the Athenians, by theſe delays, to agree to an accommodation; and to prevent a rupture, the conſequences of which he foreſaw would be pernicious to all Greece. Finding, after making ſeveral aſſaults, that it would be impoſſible for him to take the city, he raiſed the ſiege, and entered Attica in the midſt of the harveſt. Having laid waſte the whole country, he advanced as far as Acharnæ, one of the greateſt towns near Athens, and but fifteen hundred paces from the city. He there pitched his camp, in hopes that the Athenians, exaſperated to ſee him advanced ſo near, would ſally out to defend their country, and give him an opportunity of coming to a battle.

It indeed was a great mortification to the Athenians, (haughty and imperious) to be braved and inſulted in this manner by an enemy, whom they did not think ſuperior to themſelves in courage. They were eye-witneſſes of the dreadful havock made of their lands, and ſaw all their houſes and farms in a blaze. This ſad ſpectacle was now ſo ſhocking, that they could not bear it any longer, and therefore demanded fiercely to be

be led out againſt the Lacedæmonians, be the conſequence what it would. Pericles ſaw plainly, that the Athenians would thereby hazard every thing, and expoſe their city to certain deſtruction, ſhould they march out to engage, under the walls of their city, an army of ſixty thouſand fighting men, compoſed of the choiceſt troops at that time in Bœotia and Peloponneſus. Beſides, he had made it his chief maxim, to ſpare the blood of the citizens, ſince that was an irreparable loſs. Purſuing inflexibly therefore the plan he had laid down, and ſtudious of nothing but how he might check the impatience and ardor of the Athenians, he was particularly careful not to aſſemble either the ſenate or the people; leſt they ſhould form ſome fatal reſolution, in ſpite of all the oppoſition in his power. His friends uſed all the intreaties imaginable, to make him change his conduct. His enemies, on the other ſide, endeavoured to ſtagger him, by their menaces and ſlanderous diſcourſes. They ſtrove to rouze him by ſongs and ſatires, in which they aſperſed him as a man of a cowardly, inſenſible caſt of mind, who baſely gave up his country to the ſword of the enemy. But no man ſhowed ſo much rancour againſt Pericles as * Cleon. He was the ſon of a currier, and alſo followed that trade. He had raiſed himſelf by faction, and probably by a ſpecies of merit which thoſe muſt poſſeſs who would riſe in popular governments. He had a thundering, and at the ſame time a ſpecious voice; and beſides he poſſeſſed, in a wonderful manner, the art of gaining the people, and bringing them over to his intereſt. It was he who enacted a law, that three *oboli* (not two as before) ſhould be given to each of the ſix thouſand judges. The characteriſticks which more immediately diſtinguiſhed him were, an inſupportably-vain opinion of his own abilities, a ridiculous perſuaſion of his uncommon merit; and a boldneſs of ſpeech, which he carried to ſo

* *It is he whom Ariſtophanes has inveighed ſo much againſt, in ſeveral of his comedies.*

high

high a pitch of inſolence as to ſpare no man. But none of theſe things could move Pericles *. His great ſtrength of mind raiſed him above low, vulgar clamours. Like a good pilot in a raging ſtorm, who after he has given out the proper orders, and taken all the precautions neceſſary, is ſtudious of nothing but how to make the beſt uſe of his art, without ſuffering himſelf to be moved by the tears or intreaties of thoſe whom fear has diſtracted; Pericles, in like manner, after having put the city in a good poſture of defence, and poſted guards in all places to prevent a ſurprize, followed thoſe counſels which his prudence ſuggeſted, entirely regardleſs of the complaints, the taunts and licentious diſcourſes of the citizens; from a firm perſuaſion, that he knew much better than they in what manner they were to be governed. (a) It then appeared evidently, ſays Plutarch, that Pericles was abſolute maſter of the minds of the Athenians, ſince he prevailed ſo far (at ſuch a juncture as this) † as to keep them from ſallying out of the city, as if he had kept the keys of the city in his own poſſeſſion; and fixed, on their arms, the ſeal of his authority, to forbid their making uſe of them. Things happened exactly as Pericles had foretold; for the enemy, finding the Athenians were determined not to ſtir out of their city, and having advice that the enemy's fleet carried fire and ſword into their territories, they raiſed their camp, and, after making dreadful havock in the whole country thro' which they marched, they returned to Peloponneſus, and retired to their ſeveral homes.

It might here be asked, why Pericles acted, on this occaſion, in a quite different manner from what Themiſtocles had done about fifty years before, when, at Xerxes's approach, he made the Athenians march out of their city, and abandon it to the enemy. But a

(a) Plut. An Seni ger. ſit. reſp. p. 784.

* Spernendis rumoribus validus. Tacit.

† Διεκώλυσε, μονονὸ τὰς πύλας ἀποφραγισάμενος. ὅπλα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὰς κλεῖς τῶν

little

little reflexion will ſhow, that the circumſtances differed widely. Themiſtocles, being invaded by all the forces of the Eaſt, juſtly concluded that it would be impoſſible for him to withſtand, in a ſingle city, thoſe millions of Barbarians who would have poured upon it like a deluge, and deprived him of all hopes of being ſuccoured by his allies. This is the reaſon given by Cicero. *Fluctum enim totius Barbariæ ferre urbs una non poterat.* It was therefore prudent in him to retire for ſome time, and to let the confuſed multitude of Barbarians conſume and deſtroy one another. But Pericles was not engaged in ſo formidable and oppreſſive a war. The odds were not very great, and he foreſaw it would allow him time to breathe. Thus, like a judicious man and an able politician, he kept cloſe in Athens, and could not be moved either by the remonſtrances or murmurs of the citizens. (*b*) Cicero, writing to his friend Atticus, condemns abſolutely the reſolution which Pompey formed and executed, to abandon Rome to Cæſar; whereas he ought, in imitation of Pericles, to have have ſhut himſelf up in it with the ſenate, the magiſtrates, and the worthieſt of the citizens who had declared in his favour.

After the Lacedæmonians were retired, the Athenians put troops into all the important poſts both by ſea and land, purſuant to the plan they intended to follow as long as the war continued. They alſo came to a reſolution, to keep always a thouſand talents in reſerve *, and an hundred gallies; and never to uſe them, except the enemy ſhould invade Attica by ſea; at the ſame time making it death for any man to propoſe the employing them any other way.

The gallies which had been ſent into Peloponneſus, made dreadful havock there, which conſol'd the Athenians, in ſome meaſure, for the loſſes they had ſuſtained. One day as the forces were going on board, and Pericles was entring his own ſhip, a ſudden and

(*b*) Lib. 7. Epiſt. 11.

* *Three millions.*

total eclipſe of the ſun enſued, and the earth was overſpread with the deepeſt gloom. This phænomenon filled the minds of the Athenians with the utmoſt terror; ſuperſtition, and the ignorance of natural cauſes, making them conſider ſuch events as fatal omens. Pericles ſeeing the pilot who was on board his ſhip aſtoniſhed, and incapable of managing the helm, threw his cloak over his face, and asked him whether he ſaw: the pilot anſwering, that the cloak took away all objects from his ſight; Pericles then gave him to underſtand, that a like cauſe, *viz.* the interpoſition of the vaſt body of the moon between his eyes and the ſun, prevented his ſeeing its ſplendor.

(*c*) The firſt year of the war of Peloponneſus being now elapſed, the Athenians, during the winter, ſolemnized public funerals, according to antient cuſtom, (a practice truly humane, and expreſſive of a juſt gratitude) in honour of thoſe who had loſt their lives in that campaign, a ceremony they obſerved during the whole courſe of that war. For this purpoſe they ſet up, three days before, a tent, in which the bones of the deceaſed citizens were expoſed, and every perſon ſtrewed flowers, incenſe, perfumes, and things of the ſame kind upon thoſe remains. They afterwards were put on a kind of chariots, in coffins made of cypreſs wood, every tribe having its particular coffin and chariot; but in one of the latter a large empty † coffin was carried, in honour of thoſe whoſe bodies had not been found. The proceſſion marched with a grave, majeſtic and religious pomp; a great number of inhabitants, both citizens and foreigners, aſſiſted at this mournful ſolemnity. The relations of the deceaſed officers and ſoldiers ſtood weeping at the ſepulchre. Theſe bones were carried to a public monument, in the fineſt ſuburb of the city, called the Ceramicus; where were buried, in all ages, thoſe who loſt their lives in the field, except the warriors of Marathon,

(*c*) Thucyd. l. 2. p. 122—130.

† *Theſe are called Cenotaphia.*

who,

who, to immortalize their rare valour, were interred in the field of battle. Earth was afterwards laid over them, and then one of the citizens of the greateſt diſtinction pronounced their funeral oration. Pericles was now appointed to exerciſe this honourable office. When the ceremony was ended, he went from the ſepulchre to the tribunal, in order to be the better heard, and ſpoke the oration, the whole of which Thucydides has tranſmitted to us. Whether it was really compoſed by Pericles, or by the hiſtorian, we may affirm that it is truly worthy the reputation of both thoſe great men, as well for the noble ſimplicity of the ſtile, as for the juſt beauty of the thoughts, and the greatneſs of the ſentiments which ſhine in every part of it. (*d*) After having paid in ſo ſolemn a manner, this double tribute of tears and applauſes, to the memory of thoſe brave ſoldiers who had ſacrificed their lives to defend the liberties of their country; the public, who did not confine their gratitude to empty ceremonies and tears, maintained their widows, and all their infant orphans. This was a powerful † incentive to animate the courage of the citizens; for, great men are formed, where merit is beſt rewarded.

About the cloſe of the ſame campaign, the Athenians concluded an alliance with Sitalces, king of the Odryſians in Thrace; and, in conſequence of this treaty, his ſon was admitted a citizen of Athens. They alſo made an accommodation with Perdiccas king of Macedonia, by reſtoring him the city of Thermæ; after which they joined their forces, in order to carry on the war in Chalcis.

(*d*) Thucyd. p. 130.

* Ἄθλα γὰρ οἷς κεῖται ἀρετῆς μέγιστα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες ἄριστοι πολιτεύουσι.

SECT.

SECT. II. *The plague makes dreadful havock in Attica. Pericles is diveſted of the command. The Lacedæmonians addreſs the Perſians for aid. Potidæa is taken by the Athenians. Pericles is reſtored to his employment. His death, and that of Anaxagoras.*

SECOND AND THIRD YEARS OF THE WAR.

(e) IN the beginning of the ſecond campaign, the enemy made an incurſion into the country as before, and laid it waſte. But the plague made a much greater devaſtation in Athens; the like having never been known. It is related, that it began in Ethiopia, whence it deſcended into Egypt, from thence ſpread over Libya, and a great part of Perſia; and at laſt broke at once, like a flood, upon Athens. Thucydides, who himſelf was ſeized with that deadly diſeaſe, has deſcribed very minutely, the ſeveral circumſtances and ſymptoms of it, in order, ſays he, that a faithful and exact relation of this calamity may ſerve as an inſtruction to poſterity, in caſe the like ſhould ever happen. (f) Hippocrates, who was employed to viſit the ſick, has alſo deſcribed it in a medical, and (g) Lucretius in a poetical way. This peſtilence baffled the utmoſt efforts of art; the moſt robuſt conſtitutions were unable to withſtand its attacks; and the greateſt care and skill of the phyſicians were a feeble help to thoſe who were infected. The inſtant a perſon was ſeized, he was ſtruck with deſpair, which quite diſabled him from attempting a cure. The aſſiſtance that was given them was ineffectual, and proved mortal to all ſuch of their relations as had the courage to approach them. The prodigious quantity of baggage which had been removed out of the country into the city, proved very noxious. Moſt of the inhabitants, for want of lodging, lived in little

(e) A. M. 3574. Ant. J. C. 430. Thucyd. l. 2. p. 130—147. Diod. p. 101, 102. Plut. in Pericl. p. 171. (f) Epidem. l. 3. § 3. (g) Lib. 2. c. 47.

cottages,

cottages, in which they could ſcarce breathe, during the raging heat of the ſummer, ſo that they were ſeen either piled one upon the other, (the dead, as well as thoſe who were dying) or elſe crawling thro' the ſtreets; or lying along by the ſide of fountains, to which they had dragged themſelves, to quench the raging thirſt which conſumed them. The very temples were filled with dead bodies, and every part of the city exhibited a dreadful image of death; without the leaſt remedy for the preſent, or the leaſt hopes with regard to futurity.

(g) The plague, before it ſpread into Attica, had made wild havock in Perſia. Artaxerxes, who had been informed of the mighty reputation of Hippocrates of Cos, the greateſt phyſician of that or any other age, cauſed his governors to write to him, to invite him into his dominions, in order that he might preſcribe to thoſe who were infected. The king made him the moſt advantageous offers; ſetting no bounds to his rewards on the ſide of intereſt, and, with regard to honours, promiſing to make him equal with the moſt conſiderable perſons in his court. The reader has already been told, the prodigious regard which was ſhown to the Grecian phyſicians in Perſia; and, indeed, was it poſſible that ſo uſeful a man as Hippocrates could be too well rewarded? However, all the glitter of the Perſian riches and dignities were not capable to corrupt him; nor ſtifle the hatred and averſion which was become natural to the Greeks for the Perſians, ever ſince the latter had invaded them. This great phyſician therefore ſent no other anſwer but this, that he was free from either wants or deſires: that he owed all his cares to his fellow-citizens and countrymen; and was under no obligation to Barbarians, the declared enemies of Greece. Kings are not uſed to denials. Artaxerxes, therefore, in the higheſt tranſports of rage, ſent to the city of Cos, the native place of Hippocrates, and where he was at that time;

(g) Hippocrat. in Epiſt.

commanding

commanding them to deliver up to him that insolent wretch, in order that he might be brought to condign punishment; and threatning, in case they refused, to lay waste their city and island in such a manner, that not the least footsteps of it should remain. However, the inhabitants of Cos were not under the least terror. They made answer, that the menaces of Darius and Xerxes had not been able to prevail with them to give them earth and water, or to obey their orders; that Artaxerxes's threats would be equally impotent; that, let what would be the consequence, they would never give up their fellow-citizen; and that they depended on the protection of the gods.

Hippocrates had said in one of his letters, that he owed himself entirely to his country. And indeed, the instant he was sent for to Athens, he went thither, and did not once stir out of the city till the plague was quite ceased. He devoted himself entirely to the service of the sick; and to multiply himself, as it were, he sent several of his disciples into all parts of the country; after having instructed them in what manner to treat their patients. The Athenians were struck with the deepest sense of gratitude for this generous care of Hippocrates. They therefore ordained by a public decree, that Hippocrates should be initiated in the most exalted mysteries, in the same manner as Hercules the son of Jupiter; that a crown of gold should be presented him, of the value of a thousand staters *, amounting to five hundred pistoles French money; and that the decree by which it was granted him, should be read aloud by a herald in the public games, on the solemn festival of Panathenæa: That the freedom of the city should be given him, and himself be maintained, at the public charge, in the Prytaneum, all his life-time, in case he thought proper: In fine, that the children of all the people of Cos, whose city had given birth to so great a man,

* *The Attic stater was a gold coin weighing two drachms. It is in the original* χρυσῶν χιλίων.

might

might be maintained and brought up in Athens, in the ſame manner as if they had been born there.

In the mean time the enemy having marched into Attica, came down towards the coaſt, and advancing ſtill forward, laid waſte the whole country. Pericles ſtill adhering to the maxim he had eſtabliſhed, not to expoſe the ſafety of the ſtate to the hazard of a battle, would not ſuffer his troops to ſally out of the city: however, before the enemy left the plains, he ſailed to Peloponneſus with an hundred galleys, in order to haſten their retreat by his making ſo powerful a diverſion; and after having made a dreadful havock, (as he had done the firſt year) he returned into the city. The plague was ſtill there as well as in the fleet, and it ſpread to thoſe troops that were beſieging Potidæa.

The campaign being thus ended, the Athenians, who ſaw their country depopulated by two great ſcourges, war and peſtilence, began to deſpond, and to murmur againſt Pericles; conſidering him as the author of all their calamities, as he had involved them in that fatal war. They then ſent a deputation to Lacedæmonia, to obtain, if poſſible, an accommodation by ſome means or other, firmly reſolved to make whatever conceſſions ſhould be demanded of them: however, the ambaſſadors returned back without being able to obtain any terms. Complaints and murmurs now broke out afreſh; and the whole city was in ſuch a trouble and confuſion, as ſeemed to prognoſticate the worſt of evils. Pericles, in the midſt of this univerſal conſternation, could not forbear aſſembling the people; and endeavoured to ſoften, and at the ſame time to encourage them, by juſtifying himſelf. "The reaſons," ſays he, "which determined you to undertake this war, and which you approved at that time, are ſtill the ſame; and are not changed by the alteration of circumſtances, which neither you nor my ſelf could foreſee. Had it been left to your option to make choice of peace or war, the

"former

" former would certainly have been the more eligible:
" but as there was no other means for preſerving your
" liberty, but by drawing the ſword, was it poſſible
" for you to heſitate? If we are citizens who truly
" love our country, will our private misfortunes make
" us neglect the common welfare of the ſtate? Every
" man feels the evil which afflicts him, becauſe it is
" preſent; but no one is ſenſible of the good which
" will reſult from it, becauſe it is not come. Have
" you forgot the ſtrength and grandeur of your em-
" pire? Of the two parts which form this globe of
" ours, *viz.* the land and ſea, you have abſolute poſ-
" ſeſſion of the latter; and no king, or any other
" power, is able to oppoſe your fleets. It is now your
" duty to preſerve this glory and this empire, or to re-
" ſign it for ever. Be not therefore grieved becauſe
" you are deprived of a few country-houſes and gar-
" dens, which ought to be conſidered no otherwiſe
" than as the frame of the picture, though you would
" ſeem to make them the picture itſelf. Conſider,
" that if you do but preſerve your liberty, you will
" eaſily recover them; but that ſhould you ſuffer
" your ſelves to be deprived of this bleſſing, you will
" loſe every valuable poſſeſſion with it. Don't ſhow
" leſs generoſity than your anceſtors, who, for the
" ſake of preſerving it, abandoned even their city;
" and who, though they had not inherited ſuch a
" glory from their anceſtors, yet ſuffered the worſt
" of evils, and engaged in the moſt perilous enter-
" prizes, to tranſmit it to you. I will confeſs that
" your preſent calamities are exceedingly grievous,
" and I my ſelf am duly ſenſible and deeply afflicted
" for them. But is it juſt in you to exclaim againſt
" your general, merely for an accident that was not
" to be diverted by all the prudence of man; and to
" make him reſponſable for an event, in which he has
" not the leaſt concern? We muſt ſubmit patiently
" to thoſe evils which heaven inflicts upon us, and
" vigorouſly oppoſe ſuch as ariſe from our fellow-
" creatures.

" creatures. As to the hatred and jealouſy which " attend on your proſperity, they are the uſual lot of " all who believe themſelves worthy of commanding. " However, hatred and envy are not long-liv'd, but " the glory that accompanies exalted actions is immor- " tal. Revolve therefore perpetually in your minds, " how ſhameful and ignominious it is for men to " bow the neck to their enemies, and how glorious it " is to triumph over them; and then, animated by " this double reflection, march on to danger with " joy and intrepidity, and do not crouch ſo tamely in " vain to the Lacedæmonians; and call to mind, that " thoſe who diſplay the greateſt bravery and reſolu- " tion in dangers, acquire the moſt eſteem and ap- " plauſe."

The motives of honour and fame, the remembrance of the great actions of their anceſtors, the ſoothing title of ſovereigns of Greece, and above all, the jealouſy of Sparta, the antient and perpetual rival of Athens, were the uſual motives which Pericles employed to influence and animate the Athenians, and had hitherto never failed of ſucceſs. But on this occaſion, the ſenſe of the preſent evils prevailed over every other conſideration, and ſtifled all other thoughts. The Athenians indeed did not deſign to ſue the Lacedæmonians any more for peace, but the ſight and preſence only of Pericles was inſupportable to them. They therefore deprived him of the command of the army, and ſentenced him to pay a fine, which, according to ſome hiſtorians, amounted to fifteen talents *, and, according to others, fifty.

However, this public diſgrace of Pericles was not to be very laſting. The anger of the people was appeaſed by this firſt effort, and had ſpent itſelf in this injurious treatment of him, as the bee leaves its ſting in the wound. But he was not now ſo happy with regard to his domeſtic evils; for, beſides his having loſt a great number of his friends and relations by the

* *Fifteen or fifty thouſand French crowns.*

peſtilence,

peſtilence, feuds and diviſions had long reigned in his family. Xanthippus, his eldeſt ſon, who himſelf was extremely profuſe, and had married a young wife no leſs extravagant, could not bear his father's exact œconomy, who allowed him but a very ſmall ſum for his pleaſures. This made him borrow money in his father's name. When the lender demanded his debt of Pericles, he not only refuſed to pay, but even proſecuted him for it. Xanthippus was ſo enraged, that he inveighed in the moſt heinous terms againſt his father, exclaiming againſt him in all places, and ridiculing openly the aſſemblies he held at his houſe, and his conferences with the Sophiſts. He did not know that a ſon, though treated unjuſtly, (which was far otherwiſe in his caſe) ought to ſubmit patiently to the injuſtice of his father, as a citizen is obliged to ſuffer that of his country.

The plague carried off Xanthippus. At the ſame time Pericles loſt his ſiſter, with many of his relations and beſt friends, whoſe aſſiſtance he moſt wanted in the adminiſtration. But he did not ſink under theſe loſſes; his ſtrength of mind was not ſhaken by them; and he was not ſeen to weep or ſhow the uſual marks of ſorrow at the grave of any of his relations, till the death of Paralus, the laſt of his legitimate children. That rude ſtroke quite amazed him, though he did his utmoſt to preſerve his uſual tranquillity, and not ſhow any outward ſymptoms of ſorrow. But when he was to put the crown of flowers upon the head of his dead ſon, he could not ſupport the cruel ſpectacle, nor ſtifle the tranſports of his grief, which forc'd its way in cries, in ſobs, and a flood of tears.

Pericles, miſled by the principles of a falſe philoſophy, imagined, that bewailing the death of his relations and children, would betray a weakneſs that no way ſuited the greatneſs of ſoul he had ever ſhewn; and that on this occaſion, the ſenſibility of the father, would ſully the glory of the conqueror. Exceeding error, childiſh illuſion, which either makes heroiſm

conſiſt

conſiſt in wild and ſavage cruelty; or leaving the ſame grief and confuſion in the mind, aſſumes a vain outſide of conſtancy and reſolution, merely to be admired. But does martial bravery extinguiſh nature? Is a man dead to all humane ſentiments, becauſe he makes a conſiderable figure in the ſtate? Antoninus the emperor had a much juſter way of thinking, when, on occaſion of Marcus Aurelius's lamenting the death of the perſon who had brought him up, he ſaid; * *Suffer him to be a man, for neither philoſophy nor ſovereignty renders us inſenſible.*

Ficklenefs and inconſtancy were the prevailing characters of the Athenians; and as theſe carried them on a ſudden to the greateſt exceſſes, they ſoon brought them back again within the bounds of moderation and gentleneſs. It was not long before they repented the injury they had done Pericles, and earneſtly wiſhed to ſee him again in their aſſemblies. By dint of ſuffering they began to bear patiently their domeſtic misfortunes, and to be fired more and more with a zeal for their country's glory; and in their ardor for reinſtating its affairs, they did not know any perſon more capable than Pericles of the adminiſtration. Pericles, at that time, never ſtirred out of his houſe, and was in the utmoſt grief for the loſs he had ſuſtained. However, Alcibiades and the reſt of his friends intreated him to go abroad, and ſhow himſelf in public. The people aſked him pardon for their ungrateful uſage of him; and Pericles, moved with their entreaties, and perſuaded that it did not become a good man to harbour the leaſt reſentment againſt his country, reſumed the government.

About the end of the ſecond campaign, ſome ambaſſadors had ſet out from Lacedæmon, in order to ſolicit the king of Perſia's alliance, and engage him to furniſh a ſum of money for maintaining the fleet: this reflected great ignominy on the Lacedæmonians,

* Permitte illi ut homo ſit: neque enim vel philoſophia vel imperium tollit affectus. *Jul. Capitol. in vit. Antonini Pii.*

who called themſelves the deliverers of Greece, ſince they thereby retracted or ſullied the glorious actions they had formerly atchieved in her defence againſt Perſia. They went by the way of Thrace, in order to diſengage, if poſſible, Sitalces from the alliance of the Athenians, and prevail with him to ſuccour Potidæa. But they here met with ſome Athenian ambaſſadors, who cauſed them to be arreſted as diſturbers of the public peace, and afterwards to be ſent to Athens, where, without ſuffering them to be heard, they were put to death the ſame day; and their bodies thrown into the open fields, by way of repriſal on the Lacedæmonians, who treated all who were not of their party in the ſame inhuman manner. It is ſcarce poſſible to conceive how two cities, which, a little before, were ſo ſtrongly united, and ought to have ſhewn a mutual civility and forbearance for each other, could contract ſo inveterate an hatred, and break into ſuch cruel acts of violence, as infringe all the laws of war, humanity, and nations; and prompted them to exerciſe greater cruelties upon one another, than if they had been at war with Barbarians.

Potidæa had now been beſieged almoſt three years; when the inhabitants, reduced to extremities, and in ſuch want of proviſions that ſome fed on human fleſh, and not expecting any ſuccours from the Peloponneſians, whoſe attempts in Attica had all proved abortive, ſurrendred on conditions. The circumſtances which made the Athenians treat them with lenity, were, the ſeverity of the weather, which exceedingly annoyed the beſiegers; and the prodigious expence of the ſiege, which had already coſt * two thouſand talents †. They therefore came out of the

* *The army which beſieged Potidæa conſiſted of three thouſand men, excluſive of the ſixteen hundred who had been ſent under the command of Phormio. Every ſoldier received (daily) two drachms, or twenty pence (French) for maſter and man; and thoſe of the gallies had the ſame pay.* Thucyd. l. 3. p. 182.

† *Six millions.*

city

city with their wives and children, as well citizens as foreigners, with each but one ſuit of cloaths, and the women two, and only a little money to carry them home. The Athenians blamed their generals for granting this capitulation without their order; becauſe otherwiſe, as the citizens were reduced to the utmoſt extremities, they would have ſurrendred at diſcretion. They ſent a colony thither.

(*a*) The firſt thing Pericles did, after his being re-elected generaliſſimo, was to propoſe the abrogating of that law, which he himſelf had cauſed to be enacted againſt baſtards, when there were legitimate children. It declared, that ſuch only ſhould be conſidered as true and legitimate Athenians, whoſe fathers and mothers were both natives of Athens; and it had been executed juſt before with the utmoſt rigour. For the * king of Egypt having ſent to Athens a preſent of forty thouſand meaſures of corn to be diſtributed among the people, the baſtards, on account of this new law, were involved in a thouſand difficulties, till then unpractiſed, and which had not been ſo much as thought of. Near five thouſand of them were condemned and ſold as ſlaves, whilſt fourteen thouſand and forty citizens were confirmed in their privileges, and recognized as true Athenians. It was thought very ſtrange, that the author and promoter of this law ſhould himſelf deſire to have it repealed. But the Athenians were moved to compaſſion at the domeſtic calamities of Pericles; ſo that they permitted him to enter his baſtard, in his own name, in the regiſter of the citizens of his tribe.

A little after he himſelf was infected with the peſtilence. Being extremely ill, and ready to breathe his laſt, the principal citizens, and ſuch of his friends as

(*a*) A. M. 3575. Ant. J. C. 429.

* *Plutarch does not name this king. Perhaps it was Inarus, ſon to Pſammetichus king of Lybia, who had cauſed part of the Egyptians to take up arms againſt Artaxerxes, and to whom the Athenians, above thirty years before, had ſent ſuccours againſt the Perſians.* Thucyd. l. 1. p. 68.

had not forſaken him, diſcourſing together in his bed-chamber about his rare merit, they ran over his exploits, and computed the number of his victories; for whilſt he was generaliſſimo of the Athenians, he had erected for the glory of their city nine trophies, in memory of as many battles gained by him. They did not imagine that Pericles heard what they were ſaying, becauſe he ſeemed to have loſt his ſenſes; but it was far otherwiſe, for not a ſingle word of their diſcourſe had eſcaped him; when, breaking ſuddenly from his ſilence; "I am ſurprized, ſays he, "that you ſhould "treaſure up ſo well in your memories, and extol ſo "highly a ſeries of actions, in which fortune had ſo "great a ſhare, and which are common to me, with "ſo many other generals; and at the ſame time ſhould "forget the moſt glorious circumſtance in my life; I "mean, *my never having cauſed a ſingle citizen to put* "*on mourning.*" Excellent words! which very few in high ſtations can declare with truth. The Athenians were deeply afflicted at his death.

The reader has doubtleſs obſerved, from what has been ſaid of Pericles, that in him were united moſt qualities which conſtitute the great man; as thoſe of the admiral, by his great skill in naval affairs; of the great captain, by his conqueſts and victories; of the high-treaſurer, by the excellent order in which he put the finances; of the great politician, by the extent and juſtneſs of his views, by his eloquence in public deliberations, and by the dexterity and addreſs with which he tranſacted affairs; of a miniſter of ſtate, by the methods he employed to increaſe trade and promote the arts in general: in fine, of father of his country, by the happineſs he procured to every individual, and which he always had in view, as the true ſcope and end of his adminiſtration.

But I muſt not omit another characteriſtic which was peculiar to him. He acted with ſo much wiſdom, moderation, diſintereſtedneſs and zeal for the public good; he diſcovered, in all things, ſo great a ſuperiority

ſuperiority of talents, and gave ſo exalted an idea of his experience, capacity and integrity, that he acquired the confidence of all the Athenians; and fixed (in his own favour) during forty years that he governed the Athenians, their natural ficklenefs and inconſtancy. He ſuppreſſed that jealouſy, which an extreme fondneſs for liberty had made them entertain againſt all citizens diſtinguiſhed by their merit and great authority. But the moſt ſurprizing circumſtance is, he gained this great aſcendant merely by perſuaſion, without employing force, mean artifices, or any of thoſe arts which a mean politician excuſes in himſelf, upon the ſpecious pretence, that the neceſſity of the public affairs, and reaſons of ſtate make them neceſſary.

(*b*) Anaxagoras died the ſame year as Pericles. Plutarch relates a circumſtance concerning him, that happened ſome time before, which muſt not be omitted. He ſays, that this philoſopher, who had voluntarily reduced himſelf to exceſſive poverty, in order that he might have the greater leiſure to purſue his ſtudies; finding himſelf neglected, in his old age, by Pericles, who, in the multiplicity of the public affairs, had not always time to think of him; * wrapped his cloak about his head, and threw himſelf on the ground, in the fixed reſolution to ſtarve himſelf. Pericles hearing of this accidentally, ran with the utmoſt haſte to the philoſopher's houſe, in the deepeſt affliction. He conjured him, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt moving terms, not to throw his life away; adding, that it was not Anaxagoras but himſelf that was to be lamented, if he was ſo unfortunate as to loſe ſo wiſe and faithful a friend; one who was ſo capable of giving him wholſome counſels, with regard to the preſſing occaſions of the ſtate. Anaxagoras then, uncovering a little his head, ſpoke thus to him: *Pericles, thoſe who uſe a lamp*

(*b*) Plut. in Pericl. p. 162.

* *It was the cuſtom for thoſe to cover their heads with their cloaks, who were reduced to deſpair, and reſolved to die.*

take care to feed it with oil. This was a gentle, and at the ſame time a ſtrong and piercing reproach. Pericles ought to have ſupplied his wants unaſked. Many lamps are extinguiſhed in this manner in a country, by the criminal negligence of thoſe who ought to ſupply them.

SECT. III. *The Lacedæmonians beſiege Platææ. Mitylene is taken by the Athenians. Platææ ſurrenders. The plague breaks out again in Athens.*

FOURTH AND FIFTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

(c) THE moſt memorable tranſaction of the following years, was, the ſiege of Platææ by the Lacedæmonians, This was one of the moſt famous ſieges in antiquity, on account of the vigorous efforts of both parties; but eſpecially for the glorious reſiſtance made by the beſieged, and their bold and induſtrious ſtratagem, by which ſeveral of them got out of the city, and by that means eſcaped the fury of the enemy. The Lacedæmonians beſieged this place in the beginning of the third campaign. As ſoon as they had pitched their camp round the city, in order to lay waſte the places adjacent to it, the Platæans ſent ſome deputies to Archidamus, who commanded on that occaſion, to repreſent, that he could not attack them with the leaſt ſhadow of juſtice, becauſe that, after the famous battle of Platææ, Pauſanias the Grecian general, offering up a ſacrifice in their city to Jupiter the deliverer, in preſence of all the allies, had given them their freedom to reward their valour and zeal; and therefore, that they ought not to be diſturbed in the enjoyment of their liberties, ſince it had been granted them by a Lacedæmonian. Archidamus anſwered, that their demand would be very reaſonable, had they not joined with the Athenians, the profeſſed enemies to the liberty of Greece; but that, if they

(c) A. M. 3576. Ant. J. C. 428. Thucyd. l. 2. p. 147—151. Diod. l. 22. p. 102—109.

would

would diſengage themſelves from their preſent alliance, or at leaſt remain neuter, they then ſhould be left in the full enjoyment of their privileges. The deputies replied, that they could not poſſibly come to any agreement, without firſt ſending to Athens, whither their wives and children were retired. The Lacedæmonians permitted them to ſend thither; when the Athenians promiſing ſolemnly to ſuccour them to the utmoſt of their power, the Platæans reſolved to ſuffer the laſt extremities rather than ſurrender; and accordingly they informed the Lacedæmonians, from their walls, that they could not comply with what was deſired.

Archidamus then, after calling upon the gods to witneſs, that he did not firſt infringe the alliance, and was not the cauſe of the calamities which might befal the Platæans, for having refuſed the juſt and reaſonable conditions offered them, prepared for the ſiege. He ſurrounded the city with a circumvallation of trees, which were laid long-ways, very cloſe together, with their boughs interwoven, and turned towards the city, to prevent any perſon from going out of it. He afterwards threw up a platform to ſet the batteries on; in hopes that, as ſo many hands were employed, they ſhould ſoon take the city. He therefore cauſed trees to be felled on mount Cithæron, and interwove them with faſcines, in order to ſupport the terraſs on all ſides; he then threw into it wood, earth, and ſtones; in a word, whatever could help to fill it up. The whole army worked night and day, without the leaſt intermiſſion, during ſeventy days; one half of the ſoldiers repoſing themſelves, whilſt the reſt were at work.

The beſieged obſerving that the work began to riſe, they threw up a wooden wall upon the walls of the city oppoſite to the platform, in order that they might always out-top the beſiegers; and filled the hollow of this wooden wall, with the bricks they took from the rubbiſh of the neighbouring houſes; ſo that the wall

of timber ſerved in a manner as a defence to keep the wall from falling, as it was carrying up. It was covered, on the outſide, with hides both raw and dry, in order to ſhelter the works and the workmen from the fires diſcharged againſt it. In proportion as it roſe, the platform was raiſed alſo, which in this manner was carried to a great height. But the beſieged made a hole in the oppoſite wall, in order to carry off the earth that ſuſtained the platform; which the beſiegers perceiving, they put large paniers filled with mortar, in the place of the earth which had been removed, becauſe theſe could not be ſo eaſily carried off. The beſieged therefore, finding their firſt ſtratagem defeated, made a mine under ground as far as the platform, in order to ſhelter themſelves, and to remove from it the earth and other materials of which it was compoſed, and which they gave from hand to hand, as far as the city. The beſiegers were a conſiderable time without perceiving this, till at laſt they found that their work did not go forward, and that the more earth they laid on, the weaker it grew. But the beſieged judging that the ſuperiority of numbers would at length prevail; without amuſing themſelves any longer at this work, or carrying the wall higher on the ſide towards the battery, they contented themſelves with building another, within, in the form of a half-moon, both ends of which joined to the wall; in order that the beſieged might retire behind it when the firſt wall ſhould be forced; and ſo oblige the enemy to make freſh works.

In the mean time the beſiegers having ſet up their machines (doubtleſs after they had filled up the ditch, though Thucydides does not ſay this) ſhook the city wall in a very terrible manner, which, though it alarmed the citizens very much, did not however diſcourage them. They employed every art that fortification could ſuggeſt againſt the enemy's batteries. They prevented the effect of the battering rams, by

ropes

ropes * which turned aſide their ſtrokes. They alſo employed another artifice; the two ends of a great beam were made faſt by long iron chains to two large pieces of timber, ſupported at due diſtance upon the wall in the nature of a ballance; ſo that whenever the enemy played their machine, the beſieged lifted up this beam, and let it fall back on the head of the battering ram, which quite deaden'd its force, and conſequently made it of no effect.

The beſiegers finding the attack did not go on ſucceſsfully, and that a new wall was raiſed againſt their platform, deſpaired of being able to ſtorm the place, and therefore changed the ſiege into a blockade. However, they firſt endeavoured to ſet fire to it, imagining that the town might eaſily be burnt down, as it was ſo ſmall, whenever a ſtrong wind ſhould riſe; for they employed all the artifices imaginable, to make themſelves maſter of it as ſoon as poſſible, and with little expence. They therefore threw faſcines into the intervals between the walls of the city and the intrenchment with which they had ſurrounded them; and filled theſe intervals in a very little time, becauſe of the multitude of hands employed by them; in order to ſet fire, at the ſame time, to different parts of the city. They then lighted the fire with pitch and ſulphur, which in a moment made ſuch a prodigious blaze that the like was never ſeen. This invention was very near carrying the city, which had baffled all others: For the beſieged could not make head at once againſt the fire and the enemy in ſeveral parts of the town; and had the weather favoured the beſiegers, as they flattered themſelves it would, it had certainly been taken: But hiſtory informs us, that an exceeding heavy rain fell, which extinguiſhed the fire.

This laſt effort of the beſiegers having been defeated as ſucceſsfully as all the reſt, they now turned the ſiege

* *The end (downward) of theſe ropes formed a variety of ſlip-knots, with which they catched the head of the battering-ram, which they raiſed up by the help of the machine.*

into a blockade, and ſurrounded the city with a brick wall, ſtrengthened on each ſide with a deep foſſé. The whole army was engaged ſucceſſively in this work, and when it was finiſhed, they left a guard over half of it; the Bœotians offering to guard the reſt, upon which the Lacedæmonians returned to Sparta, about the month of October. There were now, in Platææ, but four hundred inhabitants, and fourſcore Athenians; with an hundred and ten women to dreſs their victuals, and no other perſon, whether freeman or ſlave; all the reſt having been ſent to Athens before the ſiege.

During the campaign, ſome engagements were fought both by ſea and land, which I omit, becauſe of no importance.

(*d*) The next ſummer, which was the fourth year of the war, the people of Lesbos, the citizens of Methymne excepted, reſolved to break their alliance with the Athenians. They had deſigned to rebel before the war was declared, but the Lacedæmonians would not receive them at that time. The citizens of Methymne ſent advice of this to the Athenians, aſſuring them, that if an immediate ſuccour was not ſent, the iſland would be inevitably loſt. The affliction of the Athenians, who had ſuſtained great loſſes by the war and the plague, was greatly increaſed, when news was brought of the revolt of ſo conſiderable an iſland, whoſe forces, which were quite freſh, would now join the enemy, and reinforce them on a ſudden by the addition of a powerful fleet. The Athenians therefore ſent forty gallies deſigned for Peloponneſus, which accordingly ſailed for Mitylene. The inhabitants, tho' in great conſternation becauſe they were quite unprepared, however put on an appearance of bravery, and ſailed out of the port with their ſhips; however, being repulſed, they propoſed an accommodation, which the Athenians liſtened to, from an apprehenſion that they were not ſtrong enough to reduce the iſland to their allegiance. A ſuſpenſion of arms was therefore

(*d*) Thucyd. l. 3. p. 174—207. Diod. l. 12. p. 108, 109.

agreed

agreed upon, during which the Mitylenians ſent ambaſſadors to Athens. The fear of not obtaining their demands, made them ſend others to Lacedæmonia, to deſire ſuccours. This was not ill judged, the Athenians ſending them an anſwer which they had no reaſon to interpret in their favour.

The ambaſſadors of Mitylene, after a dangerous voyage, being arrived in Lacedæmonia, the Spartans deferred giving them audience, till the ſolemnization of the Olympic games, in order that the allies might hear the complaints they had to make. I ſhall repeat their whole ſpeech on that occaſion, as it may ſerve at once, to give a juſt idea of Thucydides's ſtile, and of the ſeveral ſtates with regard to the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. "We are ſenſible, ſaid the ambaſſa-
" dors, that it is the cuſtom to uſe deſerters well at
" firſt, becauſe of the ſervice they do thoſe whom
" they fly to; but to deſpiſe them afterwards, as trai-
" tors to their country and friends. This is far from
" being unjuſt, when they have no inducement to
" ſuch a change; when the ſame union ſubſiſts, and
" the ſame aids reciprocally granted. But it is far
" otherwiſe between us and the Athenians; and we
" intreat you not to be prejudiced againſt us, be-
" cauſe, after having been treated mildly by the Athe-
" nians during the peace, we now renounce their al-
" liance when they are unfortunate. For being come
" hither to demand admittance into the number of
" your friends and allies, we ought to begin our own
" juſtification, by ſhowing the juſtice and neceſſity of
" our procedure; it being impoſſible for a true friend-
" ſhip to be eſtabliſhed between individuals, or a ſolid
" alliance between cities, unleſs both are founded on
" virtue, and uniformity of principles and ſentiments.

" To come to the point: the treaty we concluded
" with the Athenians, was not to enſlave Greece,
" but to free it from the yoke of the Barbarians; and
" it was concluded after the retreat of the Perſians,
" when you renounced the command. We adhered

" to

" to it with pleaſure, ſo long as the Athenians con-
" tinued to entertain juſt deſigns; but, when we ſaw
" that they diſcontinued the war they were carrying
" on againſt the enemy, merely to oppreſs the allies,
" we could not but ſuſpect their conduct. And, as
" it was extremely difficult, in ſo great a diverſity of
" intereſts and opinions, for all of them to continue in
" ſtrict union; and ſtill harder to make head againſt
" them, when alone and ſeparated; they have ſub-
" jected, by inſenſible degrees, all the allies, except
" the inhabitants of Chios, and our people; and uſed
" our own forces for this end. For, at the ſame time
" that they left us ſeemingly at our liberty, they ob-
" liged us to follow them; though we could no longer
" rely on their words, and had the ſtrongeſt reaſon to
" fear the like treatment. And indeed, what pro-
" bability is there, after their enſlaving all the other
" ſtates, that they ſhould ſhow a regard to us only,
" and admit us upon the foot of equals, if they may
" become our maſters whenever they pleaſe; eſpeci-
" ally as their power increaſes daily, in proportion as
" ours leſſens? A mutual fear between confederates,
" is a ſtrong motive to make an alliance laſting, and
" to prevent unjuſt and violent attempts, by its keep-
" ing all things in an equilibrium. Their leaving us
" the enjoyment of our liberties, was merely becauſe
" they could not intrench upon them by open force,
" but only by that equity and ſpecious moderation
" they have ſhown us. Firſt, they pretended to
" prove from their moderate conduct in regard to us,
" that, as we are free, we ſhould not have marched
" in conjunction with them againſt the other allies,
" had they not given them juſt grounds for com-
" plaint. Secondly, by attacking the weakeſt firſt,
" and ſubduing them one after another, they enabled
" themſelves, by their ruin, to ſubject the moſt power-
" ful without difficulty, who at laſt would be left a-
" lone and without ſupport: whereas, had they be-
" gun by invading us, at the time that the allies were

" poſſeſſed

" poſſeſſed of all their troops, and were able to make
" ſome ſtand, they could not ſo eaſily have compleat-
" ed their deſigns. Beſides, as we had a large fleet,
" which would ſtrengthen conſiderably whatever party
" we ſhould declare for, this was a check upon them.
" Add to this, that the high regard we have always
" ſhown for their republic, and the endeavours we
" have uſed to gain the favour of thoſe who com-
" manded it, have ſuſpended our ruin. But we had
" been undone, had not this war broke out; which
" the fate of others leaves no room to doubt.

" What friendſhip then, what laſting alliance can
" be concluded with thoſe who never are friends and
" allies but when force is employed to make them
" continue ſuch? For, as they were obliged to careſs
" us during the war, to prevent our joining with the
" enemy; we were conſtrained to treat them with
" the ſame regard in time of peace, to prevent their
" falling upon us. That which love produces in other
" places, was with us the effect of fear. It was this
" circumſtance that made an alliance ſubſiſt ſome time,
" which both parties were determined to break upon
" the very firſt favourable occaſion: Let therefore no
" one accuſe us for the advantage we now take. We had
" not always the ſame opportunity to ſave, as they had
" to ruin us; but were under a neceſſity of waiting
" one, before we could venture to declare ourſelves.

" Such are the motives which now oblige us to ſol-
" licit your alliance; the equity and juſtice of which
" appear very ſtrong to us, and conſequently call
" upon us to provide for our ſafety: We ſhould have
" claimed your protection before, had you been ſoon-
" er inclined to afford it us; for we offered ourſelves
" to you, even before the war broke out: We are
" now come, at the perſuaſion of the Bœotians your
" allies, to diſengage ourſelves from the oppreſſors of
" Greece, and join our arms with its defenders; and
" to provide for the ſecurity of our ſtate, which is
" now in imminent danger. If any thing can be ob-

" jected

" jected to our conduct, it is, our declaring ſo preci-
" pitately, with more generoſity than prudence, and
" without having made the leaſt preparations. But
" this alſo ought to engage you to be the more ready
" in ſuccouring us; that you may not loſe the op-
" portunity of protecting the oppreſſed, and aveng-
" ing yourſelves on your enemies. There never was
" a more favourable conjuncture than that which now
" offers itſelf; a conjuncture, when war and peſtilence
" have conſumed their forces, and exhauſted their
" treaſure: not to mention that their fleet is divided,
" by which means they will not be in a condition to
" reſiſt you, ſhould you invade them at the ſame time
" by ſea and land. For, they either will leave us to
" attack you, and give us an opportunity of ſuccour-
" ing you; or they will oppoſe us all together, and
" then you will have but half their forces to deal
" with.

" For the reſt, let no one imagine that you will
" expoſe yourſelves to dangers for a people incapable
" of doing you ſervice. Our country indeed lies at a
" conſiderable diſtance from you, but our aid is near
" at hand. For the war will be carried on, not in
" Attica, as is ſuppoſed, but in that country whoſe
" revenues are the ſupport of Attica, and we are not
" far from it. Conſider alſo, that in abandoning us,
" you will increaſe the power of the Athenians by the
" addition of ours; and that no ſtate will then dare to
" take up arms againſt them. But in ſuccouring us,
" you will ſtrengthen yourſelves with a fleet which you
" ſo much want; you will induce many other people,
" after our example, to join you; and you will take
" off the reproach caſt upon you, of abandoning thoſe
" who have recourſe to your protection, which will
" be no inconſiderable advantage to you during the
" courſe of the war.

" We therefore implore you, in the name of Ju-
" piter Olympius, in whoſe temple we now are, not
" to fruſtrate the hopes of the Greeks, nor reject ſup-

" pliants,

" pliants, whoſe preſervation may be highly advanta-
" gious, and whoſe ruin may be infinitely pernicious
" to you. Show yourſelves ſuch now, as the idea
" entertain'd of your generoſity, and the extreme dan-
" ger to which we are reduced, may demand; that is,
" the protectors of the afflicted, and the deliverers of
" Greece."

The allies, ſtruck with theſe reaſons, admitted them into the alliance of Peloponneſus. An incurſion into the enemy's country was immediately reſolved, and that the allies ſhould rendezvous at Corinth with two thirds of their forces. The Lacedæmonians arrived firſt, and prepared engines for tranſporting the ſhips from the gulf of Corinth into the ſea of Athens, in order to invade Attica both by ſea and land. The Athenians were no leſs active on their ſide; but the allies, being employed in their harveſt, and beginning to grow weary of the war, were a long time before they met.

During this interval, the Athenians, who perceived that all theſe preparations were made againſt them, from a ſuppoſition that they were very weak; to undeceive the world, and ſhow that they alone were able to ſupport a fleet without the aid of Leſbos, put to ſea a fleet of an hundred ſail, which they mann'd with citizens as well as foreigners; not exempting a ſingle citizen, except ſuch only as were obliged to ſerve on horſeback, or whoſe revenue amounted to five hundred meaſures of corn. After having ſhewed themſelves before the Iſthmus of Corinth, the more to diſplay their power, they made deſcents into whatever parts of Peloponneſus they pleaſed.

The world never ſaw a finer fleet. The Athenians guarded their own country, and the coaſts of Eubœa and Salamis with a fleet of an hundred ſhips: they cruiſed round Peloponneſus with another fleet of the like number of veſſels, without including their fleet before Leſbos and other places. The whole amounted to upwards of two hundred and fifty gallies.

The

The expences of this powerful armament entirely exhauſted their treaſure, which had been very much drained before, by that of the ſiege of Potidæa.

The Lacedæmonians, greatly ſurprized at ſo formidable a fleet, which they no ways expected, returned with the utmoſt expedition to their own country, and only ordered forty gallies to be fitted out for the ſuccour of Mitylene. The Athenians had ſent a reinforcement thither, conſiſting of a thouſand heavy-armed troops, by whoſe aſſiſtance they made a contravallation, with forts in the moſt commodious places; ſo that it was blocked up, both by ſea and land, in the beginning of winter. The Athenians were in ſuch great want of money for carrying on this ſiege, that they were reduced to aſſeſs themſelves, which they had never done before, and by this means two hundred * taients were ſent to it.

(*a*) The people of Mitylene being in want of all things, and having waited to no purpoſe for the ſuccours which the Lacedæmonians had promiſed them, ſurrendered, upon condition that no perſon ſhould be put to death or impriſoned, till the ambaſſadors, whom they ſhould ſend to Athens, were returned; and that, in the mean time, the troops ſhould be admitted into the city. As ſoon as the Athenians had got poſſeſſion of the city, ſuch of the factious Mityleneans as had fled to the altars for refuge, were conveyed to Tenedos, and afterwards to Athens. There the affair of the Mityleneans was debated. As their revolt had greatly exaſperated the people, becauſe not preceded by any ill treatment, and it ſeemed a mere effect of their hatred for the Athenians, in the firſt tranſports of their rage, they reſolved to put all the citizens to death indiſcriminately, and to make all the women and children ſlaves; and immediately they ſent a galley to put the decree in execution.

But night gave them leiſure to make different re-

(*a*) A. M. 3577. Ant. J. C. 427.

* *Two hundred thouſand crowns, about* 45000 l. *ſterling.*

flections,

flections. This ſeverity was judged too cruel, and carried farther than conſiſted with juſtice. They imaged to themſelves the fate of that unhappy city, entirely abandoned to ſlaughter, and repented their having involved the innocent with the guilty. This ſudden change of the Athenians gave the Mitylenean ambaſſadors ſome little glimmerings of hope; and they prevailed ſo far with the magiſtrates, as to have the affair debated a ſecond time. Cleon, who had ſuggeſted the firſt decree, a man of a fiery temper, and who had great authority over the people, maintained his opinion with great vehemence and heat. He repreſented, that it was unworthy a wiſe government to change with every wind, and to annul in the morning what they had decreed the night before; and that it was highly important to take an exemplary vengeance of the Mityleneans, in order to awe the reſt of their allies who were every where ready to revolt.

Diodorus, who had contradicted Cleon in the firſt aſſembly, now oppoſed his reflections more ſtrongly than before. After deſcribing, in a tender and pathetic manner, the deplorable condition of the Mitylenеans, whoſe minds (he ſaid) muſt neceſſarily be on the rack, whilſt they were expecting a ſentence that was to determine their fate; he repreſented to the Athenians, that the fame of their mildneſs and clemency had always reflected the higheſt honour on them, and diſtinguiſhed them gloriouſly from all other nations: he obſerved, that the citizens of Mitylene had been drawn involuntarily into the rebellion, a proof of which was, their ſurrendring the city to them, the inſtant it was in their power to do it: they therefore, by this decree, would murder their benefactors, and conſequently be both unjuſt and ungrateful, in puniſhing the innocent with the guilty. He obſerved farther, that ſuppoſing the Mityleneans in general were guilty, it would however be for the intereſt of the Athenians to diſſemble, in order that the rigorous puniſhment they had decreed might not exaſperate the

reſt

reſt of the allies; and that the beſt way to put a ſtop to the evil, would be, to leave room for repentance, and not plunge people into deſpair, by the abſolute and irrevocable refuſal of a pardon. His opinion therefore was, that they ſhould examine very deliberately the cauſe of thoſe factious Mityleneans who had been brought to Athens, and pardon all the reſt.

The aſſembly was very much divided, ſo that Diodorus carried it only by a few votes. A ſecond galley was therefore immediately fitted out. It was furniſhed with every thing that might accelerate its courſe; and the ambaſſadors of Mitylene promiſed a great reward to the crew, provided they arrived time enough. They therefore did not quit their oars, even when they took ſuſtenance, but eat and drank as they rowed, and took their reſt alternately; and, very happily for them, the wind was favourable. The firſt galley had got a day and night's ſail before them; but as thoſe on board carried ill news, they did not make great haſte. Its arrival before the city had ſpread the utmoſt conſternation in every part of it: but it increaſed infinitely, when the decree, by which all the citizens were ſentenced to die, was read in a full aſſembly. Nothing was now heard in all places but cries and loud laments. The moment that the ſentence was going to be put in execution, advice came that a ſecond galley was arrived. Immediately the cruel maſſacre was ſuſpended. The aſſembly was again convened; and the decree which granted a pardon was liſtened to with ſuch a ſilence and joy, as is much eaſier conceived than expreſſed.

All the factious Mityleneans, though upwards of a thouſand, were put to death. The city was afterwards diſmantled, the ſhips delivered up; and the whole iſland, the city of Methymne excepted, was divided into three thouſand parts or portions, three hundred of which were conſecrated to the ſervice of the gods; and the reſt divided by lot, among ſuch Athenians as were ſent thither, to whom the natives of the country gave

gave a revenue of two * minæ for every portion; on which condition they were permitted to keep poſſeſſion of the iſland, but not as proprietors. The cities which belonged to the Mityleneans on the coaſt of Aſia, were all ſubjected by the Athenians.

(*b*) During the winter of the preceding campaign, the inhabitants of Platææ, having loſt all hopes of ſuccour, and being in the utmoſt want of proviſions, formed a reſolution to cut their way through the enemy: but half of them, ſtruck with the greatneſs of the danger, and the boldneſs of the enterprize, entirely loſt courage when they came to the execution; but the reſt (who were about two hundred and twenty ſoldiers) perſiſted in their reſolution, and eſcaped in the following manner.

Before I begin the deſcription of their eſcape, it will be proper to inform my readers, in what ſenſe I uſe certain expreſſions I ſhall employ in it. In ſtrictneſs of ſpeech, the line or fortification which is made round a city when beſieged, to prevent ſallies, is called *contravallation*; and that which is made to prevent any ſuccours from without, is named *circumvallation*. Both theſe fortifications were uſed in this ſiege; however, for brevity ſake, I ſhall uſe only the former term.

The contravallation conſiſted of two walls, at ſixteen foot diſtance one from the other. The ſpace between the two walls being a kind of platform or terraſs, ſeemed to be but one ſingle building, and compoſed a range of cazerns or barracks, where the ſoldiers had their lodgings. Lofty towers were built around it at proper diſtances, extending from one wall to the other, in order that they might be able to defend themſelves at the ſame time againſt attack from within or without. There was no going from one cazern to another without croſſing thoſe towers; and on the top of the wall was a parapet on both ſides,

(*b*) Thucyd. l. 3. p. 185—188.

* *The Attic mina was worth an hundred drachms, that is, fifty French livres.*

where

where a guard was commonly kept; but in rainy weather, the ſoldiers uſed to ſhelter themſelves in the towers, which ſerved in the nature of guard-houſes. Such was the contravallation, on both ſides of which was a ditch, the earth of which had been employed in making the bricks of the wall.

The beſieged firſt took the height of the wall, by counting the rows of bricks which compoſed it; and this they did at different times, and employed ſeveral men for that purpoſe, in order that they might not miſtake in the calculation. This was the eaſier, becauſe as the wall ſtood but at a ſmall diſtance, every part of it was very viſible. They then made ladders of a proper length.

All things being now ready for executing the deſign, the beſieged left the city one night when there was no moon, in the midſt of a ſtorm of wind and rain. After croſſing the firſt ditch, they drew near to the wall undiſcovered, through the darkneſs of the night; not to mention that the noiſe made by the rain and wind prevented their being heard. They marched at ſome diſtance from one another, to prevent the claſhing of their arms, which were light, in order that thoſe who carried them might be the more active; and one of their legs was naked, to keep them from ſliding ſo eaſily in the mire. Thoſe who carried the ladders laid them in the ſpace between the towers, where they knew no guard was poſted, becauſe it rained. That inſtant twelve men mounted the ladders, armed with only a coat of mail and a dagger, and marched directly to the towers, ſix on each ſide. They were followed by ſoldiers armed only with javelins, that they might mount the eaſier; and their ſhields were carried after them to be uſed in the charge.

When moſt of theſe were got to the top of the wall, they were diſcovered by the falling of a tile, which one of their comrades, in taking hold of the parapet, had thrown down. The alarm was immediately given from the towers, and the whole camp approached the

wall

wall without diſcovering the occaſion of the outcry, from the gloom of the night, and the violence of the ſtorm. Beſides which, thoſe who had ſtaid behind in the city, beat an alarm at the ſame time in another quarter, to make a diverſion; ſo that the enemy did not know which way to turn themſelves, and were afraid to quit their poſts. But a corps de reſerve, of three hundred men, who were kept for any unforeſeen accident that might happen, quitted the contravallation, and ran to that part where they heard the noiſe; and torches were held up towards Thebes, to ſhow that they muſt run that way. But thoſe in the city, to render the ſignal of no uſe, made others at the ſame time in different quarters, having prepared them on the wall for that purpoſe.

In the mean time, thoſe who had mounted firſt having poſſeſſed themſelves of the two towers which flanked the interval where the ladders were ſet; and having killed thoſe who guarded them, poſted themſelves there to defend the paſſage, and keep off the beſiegers. Then ſetting ladders from the top of the wall againſt the two towers, they cauſed a good number of their comrades to mount, in order to keep off, by the diſcharge of their arrows, as well thoſe who were advancing to the foot of the wall, as the others who were haſtening from the neighbouring towers. Whilſt this was doing, they had time to ſet up ſeveral ladders, and to throw down the parapet, that the reſt might come up with greater eaſe. As faſt as they came up, they went down on the other ſide, and drew up near the foſsé on the outſide, to ſhoot at thoſe who appeared. After they were paſſed over, the men who were in the towers came down laſt, and made to the foſsé to follow after the reſt.

That inſtant the guard of three hundred, with torches, came up. However, as the Platæans ſaw their enemies by this light, better than they were ſeen by them, they took a ſurer aim, by which means the laſt croſſed the ditch, without being attacked in their paſſage:

paſſage: however, this was not done without difficulty, becauſe the ditch was froze over, and the ice would not bear, on account of the thaw and heavy rains. The violence of the ſtorm was of great advantage to them.

After all were paſſed, they took the road towards Thebes, the better to conceal their retreat; becauſe it was not likely that they had fled towards a city of the enemy's. Immediately they perceived the beſiegers, with torches in their hands, purſuing them in the road that led to Athens. After keeping that of Thebes about ſix or ſeven * ſtadia, they turned ſhort toward the mountain, and reſumed the route of Athens, whither two hundred and twelve arrived, out of two hundred and twenty who had quitted the place; the reſt having returned back to it through fear, one archer excepted, who was taken on the ſide of the foſsé of contravallation. The beſiegers, after having purſued them to no purpoſe, returned to their camp.

In the mean time, the Platæans who remained in the city, ſuppoſing that all their companions had been killed, (becauſe thoſe who were returned, to juſtify themſelves, affirmed they were,) ſent a herald to demand the dead bodies; but being told the true ſtate of the affair, he withdrew.

(*c*) About the end of the following campaign, which is that wherein Mitylene was taken, the Platæans being in abſolute want of proviſions, and unable to make the leaſt defence, ſurrendred upon condition that they ſhould not be puniſhed till they had been tried and adjudged in form of juſtice. Five commiſſioners came for this purpoſe from Lacedæmon; and theſe, without charging them with any crime, barely aſked them whether they had done any ſervice to the Lacedæmonians and the allies in this war. The Platæans were much ſurprized, as well as puzzled at this queſtion; and were ſenſible, that it had been ſuggeſted

(*c*) Thucyd. l. 3. p. 208—220. Diod. l. 12. p. 109.

* *Upwards of a quarter of a league.*

by

by the Thebans, their profeſſed enemies, who had vowed their deſtruction. They therefore put the Lacedæmonians in mind of the ſervices they had done to Greece in general, both at the battle of Artemiſium, and that of Platææ; and particularly in Lacedæmonia, at the time of the earthquake, which was followed by the revolt of their ſlaves. The only reaſon (they declared) of their having joined the Athenians afterwards, was, to defend themſelves from the hoſtilities of the Thebans, againſt whom they had implored the aſſiſtance of the Lacedæmonians to no purpoſe: That if that was imputed to them for a crime, which was only their misfortune, it ought not however entirely to obliterate the remembrance of their former ſervices. "Caſt your eyes, ſaid they, on the "monuments of your anceſtors which you ſee here, "to whom we annually pay all the honours which "can be rendered to the manes of the dead. You "thought fit to intruſt their bodies with us, as we "were eye-witneſſes of their bravery: And yet "you will now give up their aſhes to their murther-"ers, in abandoning us to the Thebans, who fought "againſt them at the battle of Platææ. Will you en-"ſlave a province where Greece recovered its liberty? "Will you deſtroy the temples of thoſe gods, to whom "you owe the victory? Will you aboliſh the memo-"ry of their founders, who contributed ſo greatly to "your ſafety? On this occaſion, we may venture to "ſay, our intereſt is inſeparable from your glory; and "you cannot deliver up your antient friends and bene-"factors to the unjuſt hatred of the Thebans, without "eternal infamy to yourſelves.

One would conclude, that theſe juſt remonſtrances ſhould have made ſome impreſſion on the Lacedæmonians; but they were byaſſed more by the anſwer the Thebans made, and which was expreſſed in the moſt haughty and bitter terms againſt the Platæans; and beſides, they had brought their inſtructions from Lacedæmon. They ſtood therefore to their firſt queſtion,

Whether the Platæans had done them any ſervice ſince the war; and making them paſs one after another, as they ſeverally anſwered, No, he was immediately butchered, and not one eſcaped. About two hundred were killed in this manner; and twenty-five Athenians, who were among them, met with the ſame unhappy fate. Their wives, who had been taken priſoners, were made ſlaves. The Thebans afterwards peopled their city with exiles from Megara and Platææ; but the year after they demoliſhed it entirely. It was in this manner the Lacedæmonians, in the hopes of reaping great advantages from the Thebans, ſacrificed the Platæans to their animoſity, ninety-three years after their firſt alliance with the Athenians.

(*d*) In the ſixth year of the war of Peloponneſus, the plague broke out anew in Athens, and again ſwept away great numbers.

SECT. IV. *The Athenians poſſeſs themſelves of Pylus, and are afterwards beſieged in it. The Spartans are ſhut up in the little iſland of Sphacteria. Cleon makes himſelf maſter of it. Artaxerxes dies.*

THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

I Paſs over ſeveral particular incidents of the ſucceeding campaigns, which differ very little from one another; the Lacedæmonians making regularly every year incurſions into Attica, and the Athenians into Peloponneſus: I likewiſe omit ſome ſieges in different places: (*e*) That of Pylus, a little city of Meſſenia, only four * hundred furlongs from Lacedæmon, was one of the moſt conſiderable. The Athenians, headed by Demoſthenes, had taken that city, and fortified themſelves very ſtrongly in it: this was the ſeventh year of the war. The Lacedæmonians left Attica

(*d*) A. M. 3578. Ant. J. C. 426. Thucyd. l. 8. p. 232.
(*e*) A. M. 3579. Ant. J. C. 425. Thucyd. l. 4. p. 253—280. Diod. l. 12. p. 112—114.

* *Twenty French leagues.*

immediately,

immediately, in order to go and recover, if poſſible, that place, and accordingly they attacked it both by ſea and land. Braſidas, one of their leaders, ſignalized himſelf here by the moſt extraordinary acts of bravery. Oppoſite to the city was a little iſland called Sphacteria, whence the beſieged might be greatly annoyed, and the entrance of the harbour ſhut up. They therefore threw a choſen body of Lacedæmonians into it; making, in all, four hundred and twenty, excluſive of the Helots. A battle was fought at ſea, in which the Athenians were victorious, and accordingly erected a trophy. They ſurrounded the iſland; and ſet a guard in every part of it, to prevent any of the inhabitants from going out, or any proviſions from being brought in to them.

The news of the defeat being come to Sparta, the magiſtrate thought the affair of the utmoſt importance, and therefore came himſelf upon the ſpot, in order that he might be better able to take proper meaſures; when concluding that it would be impoſſible for him to ſave thoſe who were in the iſland, and that they at laſt muſt neceſſarily be ſtarved out, or be taken by ſome other means, he propoſed an accommodation. A ſuſpenſion of arms was concluded, in order to give the Lacedæmonians time to ſend to Athens; but upon condition that in the mean time they ſhould ſurrender up all their gallies, and not attack the place either by ſea or land, till the return of the ambaſſadors: That if they complied with theſe conditions, the Athenians would permit them to carry proviſions to thoſe who were in the iſland, at the * rate of ſo much for the maſter, and half for the ſervant; and that the whole ſhould be done publickly, and in ſight of both armies: That, on the other ſide, the Athenians ſhould be allowed to keep guard round the iſland, to prevent any thing from going in or out of it, but

* *For the maſters, two Attick chœnices of flour, making about four pounds and a half, two cotyles, or half pints of wine, and a piece of meat: with half this quantity for the ſervants.*

ſhould not attack it in any manner: That in caſe this agreement ſhould be infringed in the leaſt, the truce would be broke; otherwiſe, that it ſhould continue in full force till the return of the ambaſſadors, whom the Athenians obliged themſelves, by the articles, to convey backwards and forwards; and that then the Lacedæmonians ſhould have their ſhips reſtored, in the ſame condition in which they had been delivered up. Such were the articles of the treaty. The Lacedæmonians began to put it in execution, by ſurrendring about threeſcore ſhips; after which they ſent ambaſſadors to Athens.

Being admitted to audience before the people, they began by ſaying, that they were come to the Athenians to ſue for that peace, which they themſeles were, a little before, in a condition to grant: That they now might acquire the glory of having reſtored the tranquillity of all Greece, as the Lacedæmonians conſented to their being arbitrators in this treaty: That the danger to which their citizens were expoſed in the iſland, had determined them to take ſuch a ſtep as could not but be very grating to Lacedæmonians: However, that their affairs were far from being deſperate, and therefore, that now was the time to eſtabliſh, between the two republicks, a firm and ſolid friendſhip; becauſe the affairs of both were ſtill fluctuating, and fortune had not yet declared abſolutely in favour of either: That the gods frequently abandon thoſe whom ſucceſs makes proud, by ſhifting the ſcene, and rendering them as unfortunate as they before had been happy: That they ought to conſider, that the fate of arms is very uncertain; and that the means to eſtabliſh a laſting peace, is not to triumph over an enemy by oppreſſing him, but to agree to a reconciliation on juſt and reaſonable terms: For then, conquered by generoſity and not by violence, his future thoughts being all employed, not on revenge, but on gratitude, he is delighted, and thinks it his duty, to obſerve his engagements with inviolable fidelity.

The

The Athenians had now an happy opportunity for terminating the war, by a peace which would have been as glorious to them, as advantageous to all Greece. But Cleon, who had a great aſcendant over the people, prevented its taking effect. They therefore anſwered, by his advice, that thoſe who were in the iſland ſhould firſt ſurrender at diſcretion; and afterwards be carried to Athens, on the condition of being ſent back from it, as ſoon as the Lacedæmonians ſhould have reſtored the cities, &c. which the Athenians had been forced to give up by the laſt treaty; and that theſe things being done, a firm and laſting peace ſhould be concluded. The Lacedæmonians demanded that deputies ſhould be appointed, and that the Athenians ſhould engage to ratify what they ſhould conclude. But Cleon exclaimed againſt this propoſal, and ſaid, it was plain they did not deal fairly, ſince they would not tranſact with the people, but with particular men, whom they might eaſily bribe; and that, if they had any thing to offer, they ſhould do it immediately. The Lacedæmonians, finding there was no poſſibility for them to treat with the people, without adviſing with their allies; and that if any thing had been granted by them to their prejudice, they muſt be reſponſible for it, went away without concluding any thing; fully perſuaded that they muſt not expect equitable treatment from the Athenians, in the preſent ſtate of their affairs and diſpoſition from proſperity.

As ſoon as they were returned to Pylus, the ſuſpenſion ceaſed: But when the Lacedæmonians came to demand back their ſhips, the Athenians refuſed to give them up, upon pretence that the treaty had been infringed in ſome particulars of little conſequence. The Lacedæmonians inveighed ſtrongly againſt this refuſal, as being a manifeſt perfidy; and immediately prepared for war with greater vigour and animoſity than before. A haughty carriage in ſucceſs, and want of faith in the obſervation of treaties, never fail, at laſt, to in-

volve a people in great calamities. This will appear by what follows.

The Athenians continued to keep a ſtrict guard round the iſland, to prevent any proviſions from being brought into it, and hoped they ſhould ſoon be able to ſtarve out the inhabitants. But the Lacedæmonians engaged the whole country in their intereſt by the views of gain, laying a heavy tax upon proviſions, and giving ſuch ſlaves their freedom as ſhould run any into it. Proviſions were therefore now brought, (at the hazard of mens lives) from all parts of Peloponneſus. There were even divers, who ſwam from the coaſt to the iſland, oppoſite to the harbour, and drew after them goats-ſkins filled with pounded linſeed, and poppies mixed with honey.

Thoſe who were beſieged in Pylus were reduced to almoſt the like extremities, being in want both of water and proviſions. When advice was brought to Athens, that their countrymen, ſo far from reducing the enemy by famine, were themſelves almoſt ſtarved; it was feared, that as it would not be poſſible for the fleet to ſubſiſt during the winter, on a deſert coaſt which belonged to the enemy, nor to lie at anchor in ſo dangerous a road, the iſland muſt by that means be leſs ſecurely guarded, which would give the priſoners an opportunity of eſcaping. But the circumſtance they chiefly dreaded was, leſt the Lacedæmonians, after their countrymen were once extricated from their danger, ſhould refuſe to hearken to any conditions of peace; ſo that they now repented their having refuſed it when offered them.

Cleon ſaw plainly that theſe complaints would terminate in him. He therefore began by aſſerting, that it was all a falſe report concerning the extreme want of proviſions, to which the Athenians, both within and without Pylus, were ſaid to be reduced. He next exclaimed, in preſence of the people, againſt the ſupineneſs and inactivity of the leaders who beſieged the iſland, pretending, that were they to exert the leaſt

bravery,

bravery, they might ſoon take the iſland; and that had he commanded, he would ſoon have taken it. Upon this he was immediately appointed to command the expedition; Nicias, who was before elected, reſigning voluntarily that honour to him, either through weakneſs, for he was naturally timid, or out of a political view, in order that the ill ſucceſs which it was generally believed Cleon would meet with in this enterprize, might loſe him the favour of the people. But now Cleon was greatly ſurprized as well as embarraſſed; for he did not expect that the Athenians would take him at his word, he being a finer talker than ſoldier, and much more able with his tongue than his ſword. However, he deſired leave to wave the honour they offered him, for which he alledged ſeveral excuſes: But finding that the more he declined the command, the more they preſſed him to accept it, he changed his note; and ſupplying his want of courage with rodomontade, he declared before the whole aſſembly, with a firm and reſolute air, that he would bring, in twenty days, thoſe of the iſland priſoners, or loſe his life. The whole aſſembly, on hearing thoſe words, ſet up a laugh, for they knew the man.

Cleon however, contrary to the expectation of every body, made good his words. He and Demoſthenes (the other chief) landed in the iſland, attacked the enemy with great vigour, drove them from poſt to poſt, and gaining ground perpetually, at laſt forced them to the extremity of the iſland. The Lacedæmonians had ſtormed a fort that was thought inacceſſible. There they drew up in battle-array, faced about to that ſide only where they could be attacked, and defended themſelves like ſo many lions. As the engagement had held the greateſt part of the day, and the ſoldiers were oppreſſed with heat and wearineſs, and parched with thirſt, the general of the Meſſenians, directing himſelf to Cleon and Demoſthenes, ſaid, that all their efforts would be to no purpoſe, unleſs they charged their enemies rear; and promiſed, if they

would give him but ſome troops armed with miſſive weapons, that he would endeavour to find a paſſage. Accordingly, he and his followers climbed up certain ſteep and craggy places which were not guarded, when coming down unperceived into the fort, he appeared on a ſudden at the backs of the Lacedæmonians, which entirely damped their courage, and afterwards compleated their overthrow. They now made but a very feeble reſiſtance; and being oppreſſed with numbers, attacked on all ſides, and dejected through fatigue and deſpair, they began to give way: but the Athenians ſeized on all the paſſes to cut off their retreat. Cleon and Demoſthenes, finding that ſhould the battle continue, not a man of them would eſcape, and being deſirous of carrying them alive to Athens, they commanded their ſoldiers to deſiſt; and cauſed proclamation to be made by a herald, for them to lay down their arms and ſurrender at diſcretion. At theſe words, the greateſt part lowered their ſhields, and clapped their hands in token of approbation. A kind of ſuſpenſion of arms was agreed upon; and their commander deſired leave might be granted him, to diſpatch a meſſenger to the camp, to know the reſolution of the generals. This was not allowed, but they called heralds from the coaſt; and after ſeveral meſſages, a Lacedæmonian advanced forward, and cried aloud, that they were permitted to treat with the enemy, provided they did not ſubmit to diſhonourable terms. Upon this, they held a conference; after which they ſurrendred at diſcretion, and were kept till the next day. The Athenians then raiſing a trophy, and reſtoring the Lacedæmonians their dead, embarked for their own country, after diſtributing the priſoners among the ſeveral ſhips, and committing the guard of them to the captain of the gallies.

In this battle an hundred and twenty-eight Lacedæmonians fell, out of four hundred and twenty, which was their number at firſt; ſo that there ſurvived not quite three hundred, an hundred and twen-

ty

ty of whom were Spartans, that is, inhabitants of the city of Sparta. The ſiege of the iſland, (to compute from the beginning of it, including the time employed in the truce) had laſted threeſcore and twelve days. They all now left Pylus; and Cleon's promiſe, though ſo vain and raſh, was found literally true. But the moſt ſurprizing circumſtance was, the capitulation that had been made; for it was believed that the Lacedæmonians, ſo far from ſurrendring their arms, would die ſword in hand.

Being come to Athens, they were ordered to remain priſoners till a peace ſhould be concluded, provided the Lacedæmonians did not make any incurſions into their country, for that then they ſhould all be put to death. They left a garriſon in Pylus. The Meſſenians of Naupactus, who had formerly poſſeſſed it, ſent thither the flower of their youth, who very much infeſted the Lacedæmonians by their incurſions; and as theſe Meſſenians ſpoke the language of the country, they prevailed with a great number of ſlaves to join them. The Lacedæmonians, dreading a greater evil, ſent ſeveral deputations to Athens, but to no purpoſe; the Athenians being too much elated with their proſperity, and eſpecially their late ſucceſs, to liſten to any terms.

(*f*) In the ſeventh year of the Peloponneſian war, Artaxerxes ſent to the Lacedæmonians an ambaſſador named Artaphernes, with a letter written in the Aſſyrian language, in which he ſaid, that he had received many embaſſies from them, but the purport of them all differed ſo widely, that he could not comprehend in any manner what it was they requeſted: that in this uncertainty, he had thought proper to ſend a Perſian, to acquaint them, that if they had any propoſal to make, they ſhould ſend a perſon in whom they could confide along with him, from whom he might be exactly informed in what they deſired. This ambaſſador, arriving at Eion on the river Strymon in

(*f*) Thucyd. l. 4. p. 285, 286.

Thrace, was there taken priſoner, about the cloſe of this year, by one of the admirals of the Athenian fleet, who ſent him to Athens. He was treated with the utmoſt civility and reſpect; the Athenians being extremely deſirous of recovering the favour of the king his maſter.

The year following, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit the Athenians to put to ſea, they ſent the ambaſſador back in one of their ſhips at the public expence; and appointed ſome of their citizens to wait upon him to the court of Perſia, in quality of ambaſſadors. Upon landing at Epheſus, they were informed that Artaxerxes was dead: when the Athenian ambaſſadors, thinking it not adviſable to proceed farther after this news, took leave of Artaphernes, and returned to their own country.

BOOK

BOOK THE EIGHTH.

THE ANTIENT HISTORY OF THE Perſians *and* Grecians.

Sequel of the hiſtory of the Perſians and Greeks, and of the Peloponneſian war, in the reigns of Xerxes II, of Sogdianus, and of Darius Nothus.

CHAPTER I.

THIS chapter contains the thirteen years of the Peloponneſian war, to the nineteenth inclusively.

SECT. I. *The very ſhort reigns of Xerxes* II. *and Sogdianus. They are ſucceeded by Darius Nothus. He puts a ſtop to the inſurrection of Egypt, and that of Media. He beſtows on Cyrus, his youngeſt ſon, the ſupreme command of all Aſia minor.*

(g) ARTAXERXES died about the beginning of the forty-ninth year of his reign. Xerxes, who ſucceeded him, was the only ſon which the queen his wife brought him: but he had ſeventeen others by

(g) A. M. 3579. Ant. J. C. 425. Ctef. c. 47—51. Died. l. 12. p. 115.

his concubines, among whom was Sogdianus, (who is called Secondianus by Cteſias) Ochus and Arſites. (*b*) Sogdianus in concert with Pharnacias one of Xerxes's eunuchs, came inſidiouſly, one feſtival day, to the new king, who, after drinking too immoderately, was retired to his chamber, in order to give the fumes of the wine he had drank time to evaporate; where he killed him without any difficulty, after he had reigned but forty-five days; and was declared king in his ſtead.

He was ſcarce on the throne, but he put to death Bagorazus, the moſt faithful of all his father's eunuchs. It was he who had been appointed to ſuperintend the interment of Artaxerxes, and of the queen, Xerxes's mother, who died the ſame day with her royal conſort. After having depoſited the two bodies in the mauſolæum, where the kings of Perſia were interred, he found, at his return, Sogdianus on the throne, who did not receive him favourably, upon account of ſome difference with him in the life-time of his father. But the new king did not ſtop here; not long after he took an opportunity to quarrel with him, on ſome trifling circumſtance relating to the obſequies of his father, and cauſed him to be ſtoned.

By theſe two murders, that of his brother Xerxes and of Bagorazus, he became the horror of the army and nobility, ſo that he did not think himſelf ſafe on a throne, to which he had forced his way by ſuch horrid murders. He ſuſpected that his brothers harboured the like deſign; and Ochus, to whom his father had left the government of Hyrcania, was the chief object of his ſuſpicion. Accordingly he ſent for him, with the intention of getting him murdered aſſoon as he arrived. However Ochus, who ſaw thro' his deſign, delayed coming upon various pretences; which he continued till he advanced at the head of a ſtrong army, which he openly declared he would em-

(*b*) A. M. 3580. Ant. J. C. 424.

ploy,

ploy, to revenge the death of his brother Xerxes. This declaration brought over to him a great number of the nobility, and ſeveral governors of the provinces, they being juſtly diſſatisfied at Sogdianus's cruelty and ill-conduct. They put the tiara on Ochus's head, and proclaimed him king. Sogdianus, ſeeing himſelf abandoned in this manner, was as mean and cowardly in the ſlight defence he made to maintain his crown, as he had before been unjuſt and barbarous in uſurping it. Contrary to the advice of his beſt friends, and the wiſeſt perſons who ſtill adhered to him, he concluded a treaty with his brother, who getting him into his hands, cauſed him to be thrown into aſhes, where he died a cruel death. (*i*) This was a kind of puniſhment peculiar to the Perſians, and exerciſed only on great criminals. One of the largeſt towers was filled to a certain height with aſhes. The criminal then was thrown headlong from the top of the tower into them; after which, the aſhes were by a wheel turned perpetually round him, till he was ſuffocated. Thus this wicked prince loſt his life and empire, which he enjoyed ſix months and fifteen days.

(*k*) Ochus, by the death of Sogdianus, now ſaw himſelf poſſeſſed of the empire. As ſoon as he was well ſettled in it, he changed his name from Ochus to that of Darius. To diſtinguiſh him, hiſtorians add the epithet Νόθος, ſignifying baſtard. He reigned nineteen years.

Arſites, ſeeing in what manner Sogdianus had ſupplanted Xerxes, and had himſelf been dethroned by Ochus, meditated to ſerve the latter in the ſame manner. Though he was his brother by the father's as well as mother's ſide, he openly revolted againſt him, and was aſſiſted in it by Artyphius ſon of Megabyzus. Ochus, whom hereafter we ſhall always call Darius, ſent Artaſyras, one of his generals, againſt

(*i*) Val. Max. l. 9. c. 2. 2 Maccab. c. xiii. (*k*) A. M. 3581. Ant. J. C. 423.

Artyphius;

Artyphius; and himſelf, at the head of another army, marched againſt Arſites. Artyphius, with the Grecian troops in his pay, defeated twice the general ſent againſt him. But engaging a third time, the Greeks were corrupted, and he himſelf was beat, and forced to ſurrender, upon his being flattered with hopes that a pardon would be granted him. The king would have had him put to death, but was diverted from that reſolution by queen Paryſatis, Darius's ſiſter and queen. She alſo was the daughter of Artaxerxes, but not by the ſame mother as Darius: ſhe was an intriguing, artful woman, and the king her huſband was governed by her on moſt occaſions. The counſel ſhe now gave was perfidious to the laſt degree. She adviſed him to exerciſe his clemency towards Artyphius, and ſhow him kind uſage, in order that his brother might hope, when he heard of his treating a rebellious ſervant with ſo much generoſity, that he himſelf ſhould meet, at leaſt, with as mild treatment, and thereby be prompted to lay down his arms. She added, that when once he ſhould have ſeized that prince, he might diſpoſe of him and Artyphius as he pleaſed. Darius followed her counſel, which proved ſucceſsful. Arſites being informed of the gentle uſage which Artyphius met with, concluded that, as he was the king's brother, he ſhould conſequently meet with ſtill more indulgent treatment; and with this hope he concluded a treaty, and ſurrendred himſelf. Darius was very much inclined to ſave his life: but Paryſatis, by inculcating to him, that he ought to puniſh this rebel to ſecure himſelf, at laſt prevailed with him to put his brother to death, and accordingly he was ſuffocated in aſhes with Artyphius. However, Darius had a violent ſtruggle with himſelf, before he could give orders for this ſacrifice; having a very tender affection for his brother. He afterwards put ſome other perſons to death, which executions did not procure him the tranquillity he had expected from them: for his reign was afterwards diſturbed with

ſuch

uch violent commotions, that he enjoyed but little repoſe.

(*l*) One of the moſt dangerous commotions was occaſioned by the rebellion of Piſuthnes, who, being governor of Lydia, wanted to throw off his allegiance to the Perſian empire, and make himſelf king in his province. What flattered him with the hopes of ſucceeding in this attempt, was, his having raiſed a conſiderable body of Grecian troops, under the command of Lycon the Athenian. Darius ſent Tiſſaphernes againſt this rebel, and gave him, with a conſiderable army, the commiſſion of governor of Lydia, of which he was to diſpoſſeſs Piſuthnes. Tiſſaphernes, who was an artful man, and capable of acting in all characters, found means of tampering with the Greeks under Piſuthnes; and by dint of preſents and promiſes, brought over the troops with their general to his party. Piſuthnes, who, by this deſertion was unable to carry on his deſigns, ſurrendred, upon his being flattered with the hopes of obtaining his pardon; but the inſtant he was brought before the king, he was ſentenced to be ſuffocated in aſhes, and accordingly met with the ſame fate as the reſt of the rebels. But his death did not put an end to all troubles; (*m*) for Amorges his ſon, with the remainder of his army, ſtill oppoſed Tiſſaphernes; and for two years laid waſte the maritime provinces of Aſia minor, till he at laſt was taken by the Greeks of Peloponneſus, in Iaſus, a city of Ionia, and delivered up by the inhabitants to Tiſſaphernes, who put him to death.

(*n*) Darius was involved in freſh troubles by one of his eunuchs. This kind of officers had, for many years, engroſſed all power in the court of Perſia; and we ſhall find by the ſequel of this hiſtory, that they always governed abſolutely in it. (*o*) We may know their character, and the danger to which they expoſe

(*l*) A. M. 3590. Ant. J. C. 414. Cteſ. c. 51. Thucyd. l. 8. p. 554—567, 568. (*m*) Thucyd. l. 8. p. 568. (*n*) Cteſ. c. 52. (*o*) Vopiſ. in vit. Aurelian. Imper.

princes,

princes, by the picture which Diocleſian, after he had reſigned the empire, and reduced himſelf to a private ſtation of life, drew of freedmen, who had gained a like aſcendant over the Roman emperors. "Four "or five perſons", ſays he, "who are cloſely united, "and reſolutely determined to impoſe on a prince, "may do it very eaſily. They never ſhew things to "him but in ſuch a light as they are ſure will pleaſe. "They conceal whatever would contribute to en-"lighten him: and as they only beſiege him conti-"nually, he cannot be informed of any thing but "through their canal, and does nothing but what they "think fit to ſuggeſt to him. Hence it is, that he "beſtows employments on thoſe he ought to exclude "from them; and, on the other ſide, removes from "offices ſuch perſons as are moſt worthy of filling "them. In a word, the beſt prince is often ſold "by theſe men, though he be ever ſo vigilant, and "even ſuſpicious of them." *Quid multa? Ut Diocletianus ipſe dicebat, bonus, cautus, optimus venditur imperator.*

In this manner was Darius's court governed. Three eunuchs had uſurped all power in it; * an infallible mark that a government is bad, and the prince of little merit. But one of thoſe three eunuchs, whoſe name was Artoxares, preſided over, and governed the reſt. He had found Darius's weak ſide, by which he inſinuated himſelf into his confidence. He had ſtudied all his paſſions, to know how to indulge them, and govern his prince by their means. He plunged him continually in pleaſures and amuſements, to engroſs his whole authority to himſelf. In fine, under the name and protection of queen Paryſatis, to whoſe will and pleaſure he was the moſt devoted of ſlaves, he diſpoſed of all the affairs of the empire, and nothing was tranſacted but by his orders. Intoxicated by the ſupreme authority which the favour of his ſovereign gave him,

* Scis præcipuum eſſe indicium non magni principis, magnos libertos. *Plin. ad Trajan.*

he

he reſolved to make himſelf king, inſtead of being prime miniſter; and accordingly formed a deſign to get Darius out of the way, and afterwards aſcend the throne. However, his plot being diſcovered, he was ſeized and delivered up to Paryſatis, who put him to a moſt ignominious and cruel death.

(*p*) But the greateſt misfortune which happened in Darius's reign, was the revolt of the Egyptians. This terrible blow fell out the ſame year with Piſuthnes's rebellion. But Darius could not reduce Egypt as he had done that rebel. (*q*) The Egyptians, weary of the Perſian government, flocked from all parts to Amyrtæus of Sais, who at laſt was come out of the fens where he had defended himſelf, from the ſuppreſſion of the revolt of Inarus. The Perſians were drove out, and Amyrtæus proclaimed king of Egypt, where he reigned ſix years.

After having eſtabliſhed himſelf ſecurely on the throne, and entirely expelled the Perſians out of Egypt, he prepared to purſue them as far as Phœnicia, and had already concerted meaſures with the Arabians, to attack them in that country. News of this being brought the king of Perſia, he recalled the fleet which he had promiſed the Lacedæmonians, to employ it in the defence of his own dominions.

Whilſt Darius was carrying on the war in Egypt and Arabia, the Medes rebelled; however, they were defeated, and reduced to their allegiance by force of arms. To puniſh them for this revolt, their yoke (till then eaſy enough) was made heavier: a fate that rebellious ſubjects always experience, when the government, which they endeavoured to throw off, gains the upper hand.

(*r*) Darius's arms ſeem to have had the like ſucceſs againſt the Egyptians. Amyrtæus dying after he had reigned ſix years, (he poſſibly was killed in a battle) Herodotus obſerves, it was by the aſſiſtance of the

(*p*) Euſeb. in Chron. (*q*) Thucyd. l. 1. p. 72, 73.
(*r*) Herod. l. 3. c. 15.

Perſians

Perſians that Pauſiris his ſon ſucceeded him in the throne. To effect this, they muſt either have been maſters of Egypt, or their party the ſtrongeſt in that kingdom.

(s) After having cruſhed the rebels in Media, and reſtored the affairs of Egypt to their former ſituation, Darius gave Cyrus, the youngeſt of his ſons, the ſupreme command of all the provinces of Aſia minor: an important commiſſion, by which he commanded all the provincial governors in that part of the empire.

I thought it neceſſary to anticipate times, and draw together the facts which relate to the kings of Perſia; to prevent my being often obliged to interrupt the hiſtory of the Greeks, to which I now return.

SECT. II. *The Athenians make themſelves maſters of the iſland of Cythera. Expeditions of Braſidas into Thrace. He takes Amphipolis. Thucydides the hiſtorian is baniſhed. A battle is fought near Delium, where the Athenians are defeated.*

THE EIGHTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

THE three or four campaigns which followed the reduction of the ſmall iſland of Sphacteria, were diſtinguiſhed by very few conſiderable events.

(t) The Athenians under Nicias, took the little iſland of Cythera, ſituated on the coaſt of Lacedæmonia, near cape Malea, and from thence they infeſted the whole country.

(u) Braſidas, on the other ſide, marched towards Thrace. The Lacedæmonians were induced by more than one motive to undertake this expedition; imagining they ſhould oblige the Athenians, who had fallen upon them in their country, to divide their forces. The inhabitants of it invited them thither, and offered

(s) A. M. 3597. Ant. J. C. 407. Ant. J. C. 424. Thucyd. l. 4. p. 286. p. 304—311. Diod. l. 12. p. 117, 118.

(t) A. M. 3580.
(u) Thucyd. l. 4.

to

to pay the army. In fine, they were extremely glad to embrace that opportunity, to rid themſelves of the Helots, whom they expected to riſe in rebellion, from the taking of Pylus. They had already made away with two thouſand of them in a moſt horrid manner. Upon the ſpecious pretence of rewarding merit even in ſlaves, but, in reality, to get rid of a body of men whoſe courage they dreaded, they cauſed proclamation to be made, that ſuch of the Helots as had done the greateſt ſervice to the ſtate in the laſt campaigns, ſhould enter their names in the public regiſters, in order for their being made free. Accordingly two thouſand gave in their names. They were carried in proceſſion through the temples, with chaplets of flowers on their heads, as if they were really to be ſet at liberty. After this ceremony, they all diſappeared, and were never heard of more. We have here an inſtance, in what manner an umbrageous policy, and power when filled with jealouſy and diſtruſt, excite men to the commiſſion of the blackeſt crimes, without ſcrupling to make even religion itſelf, and the authority of the gods, ſubſervient to their dark deſigns.

They therefore ſent ſeven hundred Helots with Braſidas, whom they had appointed to head this enterprize. This general brought over ſeveral cities, either by force or intelligence, and ſtill more by his wiſdom and moderation. The chief of theſe were Acanthus and Stagyra, which were two colonies from Andros. (*u*) He alſo marched afterwards towards Amphipolis, an Athenian colony, on the river Strymon. The inhabitants immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to † Thucydides the Athenian general, who was then in Thaſus, a little iſland of the Ægæan ſea, half a day's journey from Amphipolis. He inſtantly ſet ſail with ſeven ſhips that were near him, to ſecure the place before Braſidas could ſeize it; or, at worſt, to get into Eion, which lay very near Amphipolis. Bra-

(*u*) Ibid. p. 320—324.

† *The ſame who wrote the hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war.*

ſidas,

ſidas, who was afraid of Thucydides, from his great credit in all that country, where he was poſſeſſed of ſome gold-mines, made all the diſpatch imaginable, to get thither before him; and offered ſuch advantageous conditions to the beſieged, who did not expect ſuccours ſo ſoon, that they ſurrendred. Thucydides arrived the ſame evening at Eion; and had he failed to come that day, Braſidas would have taken poſſeſſion of it the next morning by day-break. Although Thucydides had made all imaginable diſpatch, the Athenians however charged him with being the cauſe of the taking of Amphipolis, and accordingly baniſhed him.

The Athenians were greatly afflicted at the loſs of that city, as well becauſe they drew great revenues from it, and timber to build their ſhips, as becauſe it was a kind of gate for entering Thrace. They were afraid that all their allies in that neighbourhood would revolt; eſpecially as Braſidas diſcovered great moderation and juſtice, and continually gave out, that he came with no other view but to free the country. He declared to the ſeveral nations, that at his leaving Sparta, he had taken an oath in preſence of the magiſtrates, to leave all thoſe the enjoyment of their liberties, who would conclude an alliance with him; and that he ought to be conſidered as the moſt abandoned of men, ſhould he employ oaths to enſnare their credulity. "For," according to Braſidas, "a fraud "cloaked with a ſpecious pretence, reflects infinitely "greater diſhonour on perſons in high ſtations, than "open violence; becauſe the latter is the effect of the "power which fortune has put into our hands; and "the former is founded wholly on perfidy, which is "the peſt of ſociety. Now I," ſaid he, "ſhould do a "great diſſervice to my country, beſides diſhonouring "it eternally, if, by procuring it ſome ſlight advanta-"ges, I ſhould ruin the reputation it enjoys of being "juſt and faithful to its promiſes; which renders it "much more powerful than all its forces united toge-"ther, becauſe it acquires it the eſteem and confi-

"dence

"dence of other ſtates." Upon ſuch noble and equitable principles as theſe Braſidas always formed his conduct; believing, that the ſtrongeſt bulwark of a nation is juſtice, moderation, integrity; and the firm perſuaſion which their neighbours and allies entertain, that they are not ſo baſe as to harbour a deſign to uſurp their dominions, or deprive them of their liberty. By this conduct he brought over a great number of the enemies allies.

(x) The Athenians, under the command of Demoſthenes and Hippocrates, had entered Bœotia, expecting that ſeveral cities would join them, the moment they ſhould appear. The Thebans marched out to meet them near Delium. A conſiderable engagement enſued, in which the Athenians were defeated and put to flight. (y) Socrates was in this battle; and Laches, who accompanied that great man in it, gives the following teſtimony of him in Plato; that had the reſt of the army behaved as gallantly as Socrates, the Athenians would not have ſuſtained ſo great a loſs before Delium. He was borne away by the crouds who fled, and was on foot; Alcibiades, who was on horſeback, when he ſaw him, rode up to him, and did not ſtir from him, but defended him with the utmoſt bravery from the enemy who were purſuing him.

After the battle, the victors beſieged the city. Among other engines employed by them to batter it, they uſed one of a very extraordinary kind. This was a long piece of timber, cut into two parts, and afterwards made hollow and joined again, ſo that its ſhape reſembled very much that of a flute. At one of the ends was fixed a long iron tube, to which a cauldron hung; ſo that by blowing a large pair of bellows at the other end of the piece of timber, the wind being carried from thence into the tube, lighted a great fire, with pitch and brimſtone, that lay in the cauldron. This engine being carried on carts as far as

(x) Thucyd. l. 4. p. 311—319. (y) Plat. in Lach. p. 181. In conviv. p. 221. Plut. in Alcib. p. 195.

the

the rampart, to that part where it was lin'd with ſtakes and faſcines, threw out ſo great a flame, that the rampart being immediately abandoned, and the paliſades burnt, the city was eaſily taken.

SECT. III. *A twelve-months truce is agreed upon between the two ſtates. Cleon and Braſidas die. A treaty of peace for fifty years, concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians.*

NINTH, TENTH AND ELEVENTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

(z) THE loſſes and advantages on both ſides were pretty equal; and the two nations began to grow weary of a war, which put them to great expence, and did not procure them any real advantage. A truce, for a year, was therefore concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. The former reſolved on it, in order to check the progreſs of Braſidas's conqueſts; to ſecure their cities and fortreſſes; and afterwards to conclude a general peace, in caſe they judged it would be of advantage to them. The latter were induced to it, in order that by the ſweets of repoſe, peace might become deſirable to their enemy; and to get out of their hands ſuch of their citizens as the Athenians had taken priſoners in the iſland of Sphacteria; and which they could never expect to do, if Braſidas extended his conqueſts farther. The news of this accommodation ſenſibly afflicted Braſidas, as it ſtopped him in the midſt of his career, and diſconcerted all his projects. He could not even prevail with himſelf to abandon the city of Scione, which he had taken two days before, but without knowing that a truce was concluded. He went ſtill farther; and did not ſcruple to take Mende, a little city not far from Scione, that ſurrendred to him as the former had done, which was a direct violation of the treaty: but Braſi-

(z) Thucyd. l. 4. p. 328—333. Diod. l. 12. p. 120. A. M. 3581. Ant. J. C. 423.

das

das pretended he had other infractions to object to the Athenians.

It will naturally be ſuppoſed, that they were far from being pleaſed with this conduct of Braſidas. Cleon, in all public aſſemblies, was for ever inflaming the minds of the Athenians, and blowing up the fire of war. (*a*) His great ſucceſs in the expedition of Sphacteria had raiſed his credit infinitely with the people: he now was grown inſupportably proud, and his audaciouſneſs was not to be reſtrained. He had a vehement, impetuous, and furious kind of eloquence, which prevailed over the minds of his auditors, not ſo much by the ſtrength of his arguments, as by the boldneſs and fire of his ſtile and utterance. It was Cleon who firſt ſet the example of bawling in aſſemblies, where the greateſt decorum and moderation had till then been obſerved; of throwing his robe behind him, to give him the more liberty to diſplay his arms; of ſtriking his thigh; and of running up and down the roſtra whilſt he was making his ſpeech. In a word, he firſt introduced among the orators, and all thoſe who were in public employments, an ungovernable licentiouſneſs, and a contempt of decency; a licentiouſneſs and contempt, which ſoon introduced terrible irregularities and confuſion in public affairs.

(*b*) Thus two men, each on his own ſide, oppoſed the tranquillity of Greece, and raiſed, but in a very different way, an invincible obſtacle to its peace. Theſe were Cleon and Braſidas. The former, becauſe the war ſcreened his vices and malverſations; and the latter, becauſe it added a new luſtre to his virtues. And indeed, it gave Cleon an opportunity of committing enormous oppreſſions, and Braſidas of performing great and noble actions. But their death, which happened about the ſame time, made way for a new accommodation.

(*c*) The Athenians had appointed Cleon to com-

(*a*) Plut. in. vit. Niciæ, p. 528. (*b*) Ibid. (*c*) A. M. 3582. Ant. J. C. 422. Thucyd. l. 3. p. 342—351. Diod. l. 12. p. 121, 122.

maud

mand the troops which were to oppoſe Braſidas, and reduce thoſe cities that had revolted from their allegiance. The Athenians were ſolicitous for none of them ſo much as Amphipolis; and Braſidas threw himſelf into that city, in order to defend it. Cleon had written to Perdiccas king of Macedonia, and to the king of the Odomantes, to furniſh him with as many troops as poſſible, and with the utmoſt expedition. He waited for them, and had reſolved not to march immediately towards the enemy: but finding his ſoldiers, who had followed him involuntarily and with regret, grow weary of continuing ſo long unactive, and begin to compare his cowardice and inexperience with the ability and valour of Braſidas, he could no longer bear their contempt and murmurs; and imagining himſelf a great captain by his taking Sphacteria, he now fancied the ſame good fortune would attend him at Amphipolis. He therefore approached it, as he ſaid, to take a view of the place, and till ſuch time as all his forces ſhould be come up; not that he thought he wanted them for carrying that city, or that he doubted in any manner his ſucceſs, (for he was perſuaded that no one would dare to oppoſe him,) but only to enable him to inveſt the place on all ſides, and afterwards to take it by ſtorm. Accordingly he incamped before Amphipolis; when viewing very leiſurely its ſituation, he fondly ſuppoſed that it would be in his power to retire whenever he pleaſed, without drawing the ſword; for not a man came out, or appeared on the walls; and all the gates of the city were kept ſhut, ſo that Cleon began to repent his not having brought the engines, imagining that he wanted only theſe to make himſelf maſter of the city. Braſidas, who was perfectly well acquainted with Cleon's diſpoſition and character, ſtudiouſly affected an air of fear and reſerve, to increaſe his temerity, and the good opinion he had of himſelf: beſides, he knew that Cleon had brought with him the flower of the Athenian forces, and the choiceſt troops of Lemnos and of Imbrus. Accord-

ingly Cleon, deſpiſing an enemy who did not dare to appear before him, but ſhut himſelf up in a cowardly manner in the city, went boldly from place to place, without precaution or obſerving any diſcipline among his ſoldiers. Braſidas, whoſe intention was to attack him on a ſudden before all his forces ſhould be come up, thought this the critical juncture. He had concerted proper meaſures, and given the orders neceſſary. Accordingly he made a ſudden ſally on the Athenians, which ſurprized and diſconcerted them exceedingly. Immediately the left wing drew off from the main body and fled. Braſidas then turned the whole force of his arms againſt the right wing, which gave him a warm reception. Here he was wounded and diſabled, upon which his ſoldiers carried him off, unperceived by the Athenians. As for Cleon, not having reſolved to fight, he fled, and was killed by a ſoldier who happened to meet him. The troops he commanded defended themſelves for ſome time, and ſuſtained two or three attacks without giving ground, but at laſt they were univerſally broke and routed. Braſidas was then carried into the city, where he ſurvived his victory but a few moments.

The whole army being returned from the purſuit, ſtripped the dead, and afterwards ſet up a trophy. After which all the allies under arms ſolemnized the funeral obſequies of Braſidas in a public manner; and the inhabitants of Amphipolis celebrated funeral honours every year to his memory, as to a hero, with games, combats, and ſacrifices. They conſidered him as their founder; and to ſecure this title the better to him, they demoliſhed all the monuments of him * who had really been ſo; ſo that they might not appear to owe their eſtabliſhment to an Athenian, and at the ſame time make their court to the Lacedæmonians, on whom they depended wholly for their ſecurity. The Athenians, after having carried off, with the conſent of the victors, their dead, returned to Athens, du-

* *Agnon the Athenian.*

ring

ring which the Lacedæmonians ſettled the affairs of Amphipolis.

(*d*) A ſaying is aſcribed to the mother of Braſidas, which ſtrongly intimates the Spartan character. As ſome perſons were applauding, in her preſence, the fine qualities and exalted actions of her ſon, and declared him ſuperior to all other generals: *You are miſtaken*, ſays ſhe, *my ſon was a valiant man, but Sparta has many citizens braver than him.* A mother's generoſity, in thus preferring the glory of the ſtate to that of her ſon, was admired, and did not go unrewarded; for the Ephori paid her public honours.

(*e*) After this laſt engagement, in which the two perſons who were the greateſt obſtacles to the peace loſt their lives, both nations ſeemed more inclined to an accommodation, and the war was ſuſpended in a manner on both ſides. The Athenians, from the loſs of the battles of Delium and Amphipolis, which had very much brought down their haughtineſs, were undeceived with regard to the opinion they had hitherto entertained of their own ſtrength, that had made them refuſe the advantagious offers of their enemies. Beſides, they were afraid of the revolt of their allies, who, being diſcouraged by their loſſes, might thereby be induced to abandon them, as ſeveral had already done. Theſe reflections made them ſtrongly repent their not having concluded a treaty, after the advantages they had gained at Pylus. The Lacedæmonians, on the other ſide, no longer flattered themſelves with the hopes of being able to ruin the Athenians by laying waſte their country; and were beſides dejected and terrified by their loſs in the iſland, the greateſt they had ever ſuſtained. They alſo conſidered, that their country was depopulated by the garriſon of Pylus and Cythera; that their ſlaves deſerted; that they had reaſon to dread a more conſiderable revolt; and that as the truce they had concluded with the inhabitants of Argos was near expiring, they had

(*d*) Diod. p. 122. (*e*) Thucyd. l. 5. p. 351—354.

reaſon to be apprehenſive of being abandoned by ſome of their allies of Peloponneſus, as they accordingly were. Theſe ſeveral motives, enforced by the deſire they had of recovering the priſoners, the greateſt part of whom were the moſt conſiderable citizens of Sparta, made them deſire a peace.

Thoſe who were moſt ſollicitous for having it concluded, and whoſe intereſt it was chiefly to wiſh it, were the chiefs of the two ſtates, *viz.* Pliſtonax king of Lacedæmonia, and Nicias general of the Athenians. The former was lately returned from baniſhment, to which he had been ſentenced, on acount of his being ſuſpected to have received a bribe, in order to draw off his troops from the Athenian territories; and to this precipitate retreat was aſcribed ſeveral misfortunes which followed after it. He alſo was charged with having corrupted by gifts the prieſteſs of Delphos, who had commanded the Spartans, in the name of the god, to recal him from his exile. Pliſtonax was therefore deſirous of peace, in order to put an end to the reproaches, which, on account of the perpetual calamities of the war, were daily revived. As for Nicias, the moſt fortunate general of his age, he was afraid leſt ſome unhappy accident ſhould eclipſe his glory; and he wiſhed to enjoy the fruits of peace in eaſe and tranquillity, and that his country might poſſeſs the ſame happineſs.

(*f*) Both ſtates began by agreeing to a ſuſpenſion of arms for twelve months, during which, being every day together, and taſting the ſweets of ſecurity and repoſe, and the pleaſure of correſponding with their friends and with foreigners, they grew paſſionately deſirous of leading an eaſy, undiſturbed life, remote from the alarms of war, and the horrors of blood and ſlaughter. They heard with the utmoſt demonſtrations of joy the chorus's of their tragedies ſing, *May ſpiders henceforward weave their cobwebs on our lances and ſhields!* And they remembred with pleaſure him who ſaid, *Thoſe who ſleep in the arms of peace, do not*

(*f*) Thucyd. l. 5. p. 354. Plut. in Nic. p. 528, 529.

ſtart from it at the ſound of the trumpet; and nothing interrupts their ſlumbers but the peaceful crowing of the cock.

(*g*) The whole winter was ſpent in conferences and interviews, in which each party propoſed their rights and pretenſions. (*h*) At laſt, a peace was concluded and ratified for fifty years, one of the chief articles of which was, that they ſhould reciprocally reſtore the priſoners on each ſide. This treaty was concluded ten years and ſome days from the firſt declaration of the war. The Bœotians and Corinthians were exceedingly diſguſted at it, and for that reaſon uſed their utmoſt endeavours to excite freſh troubles. (*i*) But Nicias perſuaded the Athenians and Lacedæmonians to give the laſt hand to this peace, by concluding an alliance offenſive and defenſive, which would render them more formidable to thoſe who ſhould deſire to break with them, and more aſſured with regard to each other. The Athenians, in conſequence of this treaty, at laſt reſtored the priſoners they had taken in the iſland of Sphacteria.

SECT. IV. *Alcibiades begins to appear. His character. He oppoſes Nicias in every thing, and breaks the treaty he had concluded. The baniſhment of Hyperbolus puts an end to the Oſtraciſm.*

TWELFTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

(*k*) ALCIBIADES began now to advance himſelf in the ſtate, and appear in the public aſſemblies. Socrates had attached himſelf to him for many years, and adorned his mind with a great variety of the nobleſt erudition.

The ſtrict intimacy between Alcibiades and Socrates is one of the moſt remarkable circumſtances in his life. This philoſopher obſerving excellent natural qualities in him, which were greatly heightned by the

(*g*) Diod. l. 13. p. 122. (*h*) A. M. 3583. Ant. J. C. 421.
(*i*) Thucyd. l. 5. p. 358, 359. (*k*) Plut. in Alcib. p. 192, 194.

beauty

beauty of his perſon, beſtowed incredible pains in cultivating ſo valuable a plant, leſt being neglected, it ſhould wither as it grew, and abſolutely degenerate. And indeed, Alcibiades was expoſed to numberleſs dangers; the greatneſs of his extraction, his vaſt riches, the authority of his family, the credit of his guardians, his perſonal talents, his exquiſite beauty; and, ſtill more than theſe, the flattery and complaiſance of all who approached him. One would have concluded, ſays Plutarch, that fortune had ſurrounded and inveſted him with all theſe pretended advantages as with ſo many ramparts and bulwarks, to render him inacceſſible and invulnerable to all the darts of philoſophy; thoſe ſalutary darts which ſtrike to the very heart, and leave in it the ſtrongeſt incitements to virtue and ſolid glory. But thoſe very obſtacles redoubled the zeal of Socrates.

Notwithſtanding the ſtrong endeavours that were uſed to divert this young Athenian from a correſpondence which alone was capable of ſecuring him from ſo many ſnares, he devoted himſelf entirely to it. As he had abundance of wit, he was fully ſenſible of Socrates's extraordinary merit; and could not reſiſt the charms of his ſweetly-inſinuating eloquence, which at that time had a greater aſcendant over him than the allurements of pleaſure. He was ſo zealous a diſciple of that great maſter, that he followed him wherever he went, took the utmoſt delight in his converſation, was extremely well pleaſed with his principles, received his inſtructions and even his reprimands with wonderful docility, and would be ſo moved with his diſcourſes, as even to ſhed tears and abhor himſelf; ſo weighty was the force of truth in the mouth of Socrates, and in ſo ugly and odious a light did he expoſe the vices to which Alcibiades abandoned himſelf.

Alcibiades, in thoſe moments when he liſtned to Socrates, differed ſo much from himſelf, that he appeared quite another man. However, his headſtrong, fiery temper, and his natural fondneſs for pleaſure, which was heightned and inflamed by the diſcourſes and advice of

young people, soon plunged him into his former irregularities, and tore him, as it were, from his master; who was obliged to run after him as after a slave who had escaped. This vicissitude of flights and returns, of virtuous resolutions and relapses into vice, continued a long time; but still Socrates was not disgusted by his levity, and always flattered himself with the hope of bringing him back to his duty. And hence certainly arose the strong mixture of good and evil, that always appeared in his conduct; the instructions which his master had given him, sometimes prevailing; and at other times, the fire of his passions hurrying him in a manner against his own will, into things of a quite opposite nature.

This intimacy, which continued as long as they lived, did not pass uncensured. But some persons * of great learning pretend, that these censures and suspicions, when duly examined, quite disappear; and that they ought to be considered as the effect of the malice of the enemies of both. Plato, in one of his dialogues, gives us a conversation between Socrates and Alcibiades, by which the genius and character of the latter may be known, who henceforward will have a very great share in the affairs of the republic of Athens. I shall make a very short extract from it in this place, which I hope will not displease my readers.

(*l*) In this dialogue, Socrates is introduced conversing with Alcibiades, who at that time was under the guardianship of Pericles. He was then very young, and had been educated like the rest of the Athenians; that is, he had been taught polite literature, and to play on instruments, and had practised wrestling and other bodily exercises. It does not appear that Pericles had hitherto taken much pains in Alcibiades's education (a fault too common in the greatest men) since he had put him under the tutorage of Zopyrus, a

(*l*) Plut. in Alcib. I.

* *Abbé Fraguier justifies Socrates in one of his dissertations.* Mem. of the Academy of Belles Lettres, Tom. 4. p. 372.

Thracian,

Thracian, a man far advanced in years, and who, of all Pericles's ſlaves, both from his turn of mind and age, was the leaſt qualified to educate this young Athenian. And indeed Socrates told Alcibiades, that ſhould he compare him with the youths of Lacedæmonia, who diſplayed a ſpirit of valour, a greatneſs of ſoul, a ſtrong deſire of glory, a love of labour, attended with gentleneſs, modeſty, temperance, and a perfect obedience to the laws and diſcipline of Sparta, he would ſeem a mere child to them. Nevertheleſs, his high birth, his riches, the great families he was related to, and the authority of his guardian; all theſe things had conſpired to make him exceedingly vain and haughty. He was full of eſteem for himſelf, and of contempt for all others. He was preparing to enter upon the adminiſtration of the public affairs, and promiſed himſelf no leſs than to eclipſe entirely the glory of Pericles, and to attack the king of Perſia, even upon his throne. Socrates ſeeing him going to mount the roſtra, in order to give the people ſome advice relating to the public affairs, demonſtrates to him, by various queſtions, and by Alcibiades's anſwers, that he is quite ignorant of the affairs about which he is going to ſpeak, as he had never ſtudied them himſelf, nor been informed in them by others. After making Alcibiades confeſs this, he paints in the ſtrongeſt colours, the abſurdity of his conduct, and makes him fully ſenſible of it. What, ſays Socrates, would Ameſtris (the mother of Artaxerxes who then reigned in Perſia) ſay, were ſhe to hear, that there is a man now in Athens who is meditating war againſt her ſon, and even intends to dethrone him? She doubtleſs would ſuppoſe him to be ſome veteran general, a man of intrepid courage, of great wiſdom, and the moſt conſummate experience; that he is able to raiſe a mighty army, and march it wherever he pleaſes; and, at the ſame time, that he has long before taken the proper meaſures for putting ſo vaſt a deſign in execution. But were ſhe to hear that there are none of theſe circum-

fiances, and that the perſon in queſtion is not twenty years old; that he is utterly ignorant of public affairs; has not the leaſt knowledge of war, and no credit with the citizens or the allies; would it be poſſible for her to refrain from laughing at the folly and extravagance of ſuch an enterprize? This nevertheleſs, ſays Socrates (directing himſelf to Alcibiades) is your picture; and unhappily reſembles moſt of thoſe who thruſt themſelves into the public employments. Socrates however excepts Pericles on this occaſion; his ſolid merit and exalted reputation being acquired by his cloſe ſtudy, during a long courſe of years, of every thing capable of forming his mind, and of qualifying him for public employments. Alcibiades could not deny that this was his caſe; he was aſhamed of his conduct, and bluſhing to ſee himſelf ſo void of merit, he asks how he muſt act for the attainment of it. Socrates, being unwilling to diſcourage his pupil, tells him, that as he is ſo young, theſe evils might be remedied, and afterwards continually gave him the wiſeſt counſels. He had entire leiſure to improve from them; as upwards of twenty years paſſed between this converſation, and his engaging in public affairs.

Alcibiades was of a convertible genius, that would take any impreſſion which the difference of times and circumſtances might require, ſtill veering either to good or evil, with the ſame facility and ardour; and ſhifting almoſt in an inſtant from one extreme to its oppoſite, ſo that people applied to him what Homer obſerves of the land of Egypt, *That it produces a great number of very excellent medicinal drugs, and at the ſame time as many poiſons.* (*m*) It might be ſaid of Alcibiades, that he was not one ſingle man, but (if ſo bold an expreſſion might be uſed) a compound of ſeveral men; either ſerious or gay; auſtere or affable; an imperious maſter, or a groveling ſlave; a friend to virtue and the virtuous, or abandoned to vice and vicious

(*m*) Quemvis hominem ſecum attulit ad nos. *Juvenal.*

men;

men; capable of ſupporting the moſt painful fatigues and toils, or inſatiably deſirous of voluptuous delights.

(*n*) His irregularities and diſſolute conduct were become the talk of the whole city; and Alcibiades would very willingly have put a ſtop to theſe reports, but without changing his courſe of life, as appears from a ſaying of his. He had a very handſome dog, of a prodigious ſize, which had coſt him threeſcore and ten minæ, * or three thouſand five hundred French livres. By this we find that a fondneſs for dogs was of great antiquity. Alcibiades cauſed his tail, which was the greateſt beauty he had about him, to be cut off. His friends cenſured him very much on that account, and ſaid, that the whole city blamed him very much for ſpoiling the beauty of ſo handſome a creature. *This is the very thing I want*, replied Alcibiades with a ſmile. *I would have the Athenians diſcourſe about what I have done to my dog, that they may not entertain themſelves with ſaying worſe things of me.*

(*o*) Among the various paſſions that were diſcovered in him, the ſtrongeſt and moſt prevailing was a haughty turn of mind, which would force all things to ſubmit to it, and could not bear a ſuperior or even an equal. Although his birth and uncommon talents ſmoothed the way to his attaining the higheſt employments in the republic; there was nothing however to which he was ſo fond of owing the credit and authority he wanted to gain over the people, as to the force of his eloquence, and the perſuaſive grace of his orations. To this his intimacy with Socrates might be of great ſervice.

(*p*) Alcibiades, with ſuch a caſt of mind as we have here deſcribed, was not born for repoſe, and had ſet every engine at work to traverſe the treaty lately con-

(*n*) Plut. in Alcib. p. 195. (*o*) Τὸ φιλόνεικον, καὶ τὸ φιλόπρωτον, Plut. in Alcib. p. 195, 196. (*p*) A. M. 3584. Ant. J. C. 420. Thucyd. l. 5. p. 368—378. Plut. in Alcib. p. 197, 198.

* *About* 160 *l. ſterling. The Attic mina was worth an hundred drachmas, and the drachma ten pence, French money.*

cluded between the two ſtates; but not ſucceeding in his attempt, he endeavoured to prevent its taking effect. He was diſguſted at the Lacedæmonians, becauſe they directed themſelves only to Nicias, of whom they had a very high opinion; and, on the contrary, ſeemed to take no manner of notice of him, though his anceſtors had enjoyed the rights of hoſpitality among them.

The firſt thing he did to infringe the peace was this; having been informed that the people of Argos only wanted an opportunity to break with the Spartans, whom they equally hated and feared, he flattered them ſecretly with the hopes that the Athenians would ſuccour them, by ſuggeſting to them that they were ready to break a peace which was no way advantageous to them.

And indeed the Lacedæmonians were not very careful to obſerve the ſeveral conditions of it religiouſly, having concluded an alliance wirh the Bœotians, in direct oppoſition to the deſign and tenor of the treaty; and having ſurrendred up the fort of Panacton to the Athenians, not fortified and in the condition it was in at the concluding of the treaty, as they had ſtipulated to do, but quite diſmantled. Alcibiades obſerving the Athenians to be extremely exaſperated at this breach of faith, did his utmoſt to widen the difference; and taking this opportunity to embarraſs Nicias, he made him odious to the people, by cauſing them to entertain a ſuſpicion of his being too ſtrongly attached to the Lacedæmonians; and by charging him with crimes which were not altogether improbable, though they were abſolutely falſe.

This new attack quite diſconcerted Nicias; but happily for him there arrived, at that very inſtant, ambaſſadors from Lacedæmonia, who were inveſted with full powers to put an end to all the diviſions. Being introduced into the council or ſenate, they ſet forth their complaints, and made their demands, which every one of the members thought very juſt and reaſonable.

ſonable. The people were to give them audience the next day. Alcibiades, who was afraid they would ſucceed with them, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to engage the ambaſſadors in a conference with him. He repreſented to them, that the council always behaved with the utmoſt moderation and humanity towards thoſe who addreſſed them; but that the people were haughty and extravagant in their pretenſions; that ſhould the ambaſſadors mention full powers, they (the people) would not fail to take advantage of this circumſtance, and oblige them to agree to whatever they ſhould take it into their heads to ask. He concluded with aſſuring them, that he would aſſiſt them with all his credit, in order to get Pylus reſtored to them; to prevent the alliance with the people of Argos, and to get that with them renewed: and he confirmed all theſe promiſes with an oath. The ambaſſadors were extremely well pleaſed with this conference, and greatly admired the profound policy and vaſt abilities of Alcibiades, whom they looked upon as an extraordinary man; and, indeed, they were not miſtaken in their conjecture.

On the morrow, the people being aſſembled, the ambaſſadors were introduced. Alcibiades asked them, in the mildeſt terms, the ſubject of their embaſſy, and the purport of the powers with which they were inveſted. They immediately anſwered, that they were come to propoſe an accommodation, but were not impowered to conclude any thing. Theſe words were no ſooner ſpoke, but Alcibiades exclaims againſt them; declares them to be treacherous knaves; calls upon the council as witneſs to the ſpeech they had made the night before; and deſires the people not to believe or hear men who ſo impudently advanced falſhoods, and ſpoke and prevaricated ſo unaccountably, as to ſay one thing one day, and the very reverſe the next.

Words could never expreſs the ſurprize and confuſion with which the ambaſſadors were ſeized, who,

gazing wildly on one another, could not believe either their eyes or ears. Nicias, who did not know the treacherous ſtratagem of Alcibiades, could not conceive the motive of this change, and tortured his brain to no purpoſe to find out the reaſon of it. The people were that moment going to ſend for the ambaſſadors of Argos, in order to conclude the league with them; when a great earthquake came to the aſſiſtance of Nicias, and broke up the aſſembly. It was with the utmoſt difficulty he prevailed ſo far, in that of next day, as to have a ſtop put to the proceedings, till ſuch time as ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to Lacedæmon. Nicias was appointed to head them; but they returned without having done the leaſt good. The Athenians then repented very much their having delivered up, at his perſuaſion, the priſoners they had taken in the iſland, and who were related to the greateſt families in Sparta. However, though the people were highly exaſperated at Nicias, they did not proceed to any exceſſes againſt him, but only appointed Alcibiades their general; made a league with the inhabitants of Mantinea and Elis, who had quitted the party of the Lacedæmonians, in which the Argives were included, and ſent troops to Pylus, to lay waſte Laconia. In this manner they again involved themſelves in the war which they were ſo lately deſirous of avoiding.

(*a*) Plutarch, after relating the intrigue of Alcibiades, adds: "No one can approve the methods he "employed to ſucceed in his deſign; however, it "was a maſter-ſtroke, to diſunite and ſhake almoſt "every part of Peloponneſus in this manner, and "raiſe up, in one day, ſo many enemies againſt the "Lacedæmonians." In my opinion, this is too ſoft a cenſure of ſo knaviſh and perfidious an action, which, how ſucceſsful ſoever it might have been, was notwithſtanding horrid in itſelf, and of a nature never to be ſufficiently deteſted.

(*a*) In Alcib. p. 193.

The

(*b*) There was in Athens a citizen, Hyperbolus by name, a very wicked man, whom the comic poets generally made the object of their raillery and invectives. He was hardned in evil, and become insensible to infamy, by renouncing all sentiments of honour, which could only be the effect of a soul abandoned entirely to vice. Hyperbolus was not agreeable to any one; and yet the people made use of him to humble those in high stations, and involve them in difficulties. Two citizens, Nicias and Alcibiades, engrossed at that time all authority in Athens. The dissolute life of the latter shocked the Athenians, who besides dreaded his audacity and haughtiness. On the other side, Nicias, by always opposing, without the least reserve, their unjust desires; and by obliging them to take the most useful measures, was become very odious to them. One would have imagined, that as the people were thus alienated from both, they would not have failed to put the ostracism in force against one of them. Of the two parties which prevailed at that time in the city, one, which consisted of the young men who were eager for war, the other of the old men who were desirous of peace; the former endeavoured to procure the banishment of Nicias, and the latter of Alcibiades. Hyperbolus, whose only merit was his impudence, in hopes of succeeding, which soever of them should be removed, declared openly against them, and was eternally exasperating the people against both. However, the two factions being afterwards reconciled, he himself was banished by (and put an end to) the ostracism, which seemed to have been demeaned, in being employed against a man of so base a character; for hitherto there was a kind of honour and dignity annexed to this punishment. Hyperbolus was therefore the last who was sentenced by the ostracism; as Hipparchus, a near relation of Pisistratus the tyrant, had been the first.

(*b*) Plut. in Alcib. p. 196, 197. In Nic. p. 530, 531.

SECT.

SECT. V. *Alcibiades engages the Athenians in the war of Sicily.*

SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

(*c*) I Paſs over ſeveral inconſiderable events, to haſten to the relation of that of the greateſt importance, the expedition of the Athenians into Sicily, to which they were eſpecially excited by Alcibiades. This is the ſixteenth year of the Peloponneſian war.

(*d*) Alcibiades had gained a ſurprizing aſcendant over the minds of the people, though they were perfectly well acquainted with his character. For his great qualities were united with ſtill greater vices, which he did not take the leaſt pains to conceal. He paſſed his life in ſuch an exceſs of luxury and voluptuouſneſs, as was a ſcandal to that city. Nothing was ſeen in his houſe but feſtivals, rejoicings, and parties of pleaſure and debauchery. He ſhewed very little regard to the cuſtoms of his country, and leſs to religion and the gods. All perſons of ſenſe and judgment, beſides the ſtrong averſion they had for his irregularities, dreaded exceedingly the conſequences of his audacity, profuſion, and utter contempt of the laws, which they conſidered as ſo many ſteps by which Alcibiades would riſe to tyrannical power.

Ariſtophanes, in one of his comedies *, ſhows admirably well, in a ſingle verſe, the diſpoſition of the people with regard to him; *They hate Alcibiades*, ſays he, *and yet cannot do without him.* And indeed, the prodigious ſums he ſquandred on the people; the pompous games and ſhows he exhibited to pleaſe them; the magnificent and almoſt incredible preſents which he made the city; the grace and beauty of his whole perſon; his eloquence, his bodily ſtrength, joined to

(*c*) Thucyd. l. 8. p. 350—409. A. M. 3583. Ant. J. C. 416.
(*d*) Plut. in Alcib. p. 198—200. In Nic. p. 531.

* *The Frogs. Act* 5. *Scene* 4.

his

his courage and experience; in a word, this aſſemblage of great qualities made the Athenians wink at his faults, and bear them patiently, always endeavouring to leſſen and ſcreen them under ſoft and favourable names; for they called them ſports, polite paſtimes, and indications of his humanity and good nature.

Timon the man-hater, moroſe and ſavage as he was, formed a better judgment of this conduct of Alcibiades. Meeting him one day as he was coming out of the aſſembly, vaſtly pleaſed at his having been gratified in all his demands, and to ſee the greateſt honours paid him by the people in general, who were attending him in crouds to his houſe; ſo far from ſhunning him as he did all other men, on the contrary he ran to meet him, and ſtretching out his hand to him in a friendly way; *Courage, my ſon*, ſays he, *thou doſt right in puſhing thy fortune, for thy advancement will be the ruin of all theſe people.* The war of Sicily will ſhow that Timon was not miſtaken.

The Athenians, from the time of Pericles, had meditated the conqueſt of Sicily. However, that wiſe guide had always endeavoured to check this ambitious and wild project. He uſed frequently to inculcate to them, that by living in peace, by ſupporting their fleet, by contenting themſelves with the conqueſts they had already gained, and by not engaging in hazardous enterprizes, they would raiſe their city to a flouriſhing condition, and be always ſuperior to their enemies. The authority he had at that time over the people, though it kept them from invading Sicily, could not ſuppreſs the deſire they had to conquer it, and their eyes were continually upon that iſland. (*e*) Some time after Pericles's death, the Leontines being invaded by the Syracuſans, had ſent a deputation to Athens, to demand aid. They were originally of Chalcis, an Athenian colony. The chief of the deputies was Gorgias, a famous rhetorician, who was

(*e*) Diod. l. 12. p. 99.

reputed

reputed the moſt eloquent man of his times. His elegant and florid diction, heightned by ſhining figures which he firſt employed, charmed the Athenians, who were prodigiouſly affected with the beauties and graces of eloquence. Accordingly the alliance was concluded, and they ſent ſhips to Rhegium to the aid of the Leontines. The year following they ſent a greater number. Two years after they ſent a new fleet, ſomething ſtronger than the former; but the Sicilians having put an end to all their diviſions, by the advice of Hermocrates, the fleet was ſent back; and the Athenians, not being able to prevail with themſelves to pardon their generals for not conquering Sicily, ſent two of them, Pythodorus and Sophocles, into baniſhment; and ſentenced the third, Eurymedon, to pay a heavy fine; their proſperity having blinded them to ſo prodigious a degree, that they were perſuaded no power was able to reſiſt them. They made ſeveral attempts afterwards, and, upon pretence of ſending from time to time arms and ſoldiers to ſuch cities as were unjuſtly treated or oppreſſed by the Syracuſans, they by that means were preparing to invade them with a greater force.

But the perſon who moſt inflamed this ardor was Alcibiades, by his feeding the people with ſplendid hopes, with which he himſelf was for ever filled, or rather intoxicated. He was every night, in his dreams, taking Carthage, ſubduing Africa, croſſing from thence into Italy, and poſſeſſing himſelf of all Peloponneſus; looking upon Sicily not as the ſcope and end of this war, but as the beginning and the firſt ſtep of the exploits he revolved in his mind. All the citizens favoured his views, and without enquiring ſeriouſly into matters, were inchanted with the mighty hopes he gave them. This expedition was the only topic of all converſations. The young men, in the places where the public exerciſes were performed, and the old men in their ſhops and elſewhere, were employed in nothing but in drawing the plan of Sicily; in diſcourſing

on

on the nature and quality of the ſea with which it is ſurrounded ; on its good harbours, and flat ſhores towards Africa: For theſe people, infatuated by the ſpeeches of Alcibiades, were (like him) perſuaded that they ſhould make Sicily only their place of arms and their arſenal, from whence they ſhould ſet out for the conqueſt of Carthage, and make themſelves maſters of all Africa and the ſea, as far as the pillars of Hercules.

(*f*) It is related that neither Socrates nor Methon the aſtronomer believed that this enterprize would be ſucceſsful; the former, being inſpired, as he inſinuated, by his familiar ſpirit, who always warned him of the evils with which he was threatened ; and the other, directed by his reaſon and good ſenſe, which, pointing out what he had to apprehend in reſpect to the future, induced him to act the madman on this occaſion ; and to demand, in conſideration of the unhappy condition to which he was reduced, that the Athenians would not force away his ſon, and would diſpenſe with his carrying arms.

SECT. VI. *Account of the ſeveral people who inhabited Sicily.*

BEFORE I enter on the relation of the war of Sicily, it will not be improper to give a plan of the country, and of the nations who inhabited it : Thucydides begins in the ſame manner.

(*g*) It was firſt inhabited by the Leſtrygones and the Cyclopes, of whom we do not know any particulars, except what we are told by the poets. The moſt antient, after theſe, were the Sicani, who called themſelves the original inhabitants of this country, tho' they are thought to have come into it from the neighbourhood of a river in Spain, called Sicanus, whoſe name they gave to the iſland, which before was called Trinacria : theſe people were afterwards confined to the weſtern

(*f*) Plut. in Alcib. p. 199. In Nic. p. 532. (*g*) Thucyd. l. 6. p. 410—413.

part

part of the iſland. Some Trojans, after the burning of their city, came and ſettled near them, and built Erix and * Egeſta, who all aſſumed the name of Elymæi; and were afterwards joined by ſome inhabitants of Phocis, at their return from the ſiege of Troy. Thoſe who are properly called Sicilians came from Italy in very great numbers; and having gained a conſiderable victory over the Sicani, confined them to a corner of their iſland, about three hundred years before the arrival of the Greeks; and in Thucydides's time, they ſtill inhabited the middle part of the iſland and the northern coaſt. From them the iſland was called Sicily. The Phœnicians alſo ſpread themſelves along the coaſt, and in the little iſlands which border upon it, for the convenience of trade: but after the Greeks began to ſettle there, they retired into the country of the Elymæi, in order to be nearer Carthage, and abandoned the reſt. It was in this manner the Barbarians firſt ſettled in Sicily.

(*b*) With regard to the Greeks, the firſt of them who croſſed into Sicily were the Chalcidians of Eubœa, under Theocles who founded Naxos. The year after, which, according to Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, was the third of the xviith Olympiad, Archias the Corinthian laid the foundations of Syracuſe. Seven years after, the Chalcidians founded Leontium and Catana, after having drove out the inhabitants of the country, who were Sicilians. Other Greeks, who came from Megara a city of Achaia, about the ſame time, founded Megara, called Hyblæa, or barely Hybla, from Hyblon a Sicilian king, by whoſe permiſſion they ſettled in his dominions. It is well known that the Hyblæan honey was very famous among the antients. An hundred years after, the inhabitants of that city built Selinonta. Gela, built on a river of the ſame name, forty-five years after the founding of Syracuſe, founded Agrigentum about an hundred and eight years after,

(*b*, A. M. 3294. Ant. J. C. 710.

* *It is called Segeſta by the Romans,*

Zancle,

Zancle, called afterwards Meſſana or Meſſene by Anaxilas tyrant of Rhegium, who was of Meſſene a city of Peloponneſus, had ſeveral founders, and at different periods. The Zanclians built the city of Himera; the Syracuſans built Acre, Caſmene, and Camarina. Theſe are moſt of the nations, whether Greeks or Barbarians, who ſettled in Sicily.

SECT. VII. *The people of Egeſta implore aid of the Athenians. Nicias oppoſes, but to no purpoſe, the war of Sicily. Alcibiades carries that point. They both are appointed generals with Lamachus.*

(*i*) ATHENS was in the diſpoſition above related, when ambaſſadors were ſent from the people of Egeſta, who, in quality of their allies, came to implore their aid againſt the inhabitants of Selinunta, who were aſſiſted by the Syracuſans. It was the ſixteenth year of the Peloponneſian war. They repreſented, among other things, that ſhould they be abandoned, the Syracuſans, after ſeizing their city as they had done that of Leontium, would poſſeſs themſelves of all Sicily, and not fail to aid the Peloponneſians who were their founders; and, that they might put them to as little charge as poſſible, they offered to pay the troops that ſhould be ſent to ſuccour them. The Athenians, who had long waited for an opportunity to declare themſelves, ſent deputies to Egeſta to enquire into the ſtate of affairs, and to ſee whether there was money enough in the treaſury to defray the expence of ſo great a war. The inhabitants of that city had been ſo artful, as to borrow from the neighbouring nations a great number of gold and ſilver vaſes, worth an immenſe ſum of money; and of theſe they made a ſhow when the Athenians arrived. (*k*) The deputies returned with thoſe of Egeſta, who carried threeſcore talents in ingots, as a month's pay for the gallies

(*i*) A. M. 3588. Ant. J. C. 416. Thucyd. l. 6. p. 413—415. Diod. l. 12. p. 129, 130. Plut. in Alcib. p. 200. In Nic. p. 531.
(*k*) A. M. 3589. Ant. J. C. 415.

which

which they demanded; and a promiſe of larger ſums, which, they ſaid, were ready both in the public treaſury and in the temples. The people, ſtruck with theſe fair appearances, the truth of which they did not give themſelves the leiſure to examine; and ſeduced by the advantageous reports which their deputies made, in the view of pleaſing them; immediately granted the Egeſtans their demand, and appointed Alcibiades, Nicias and Lamachus to command the fleet; with full power, not only to ſuccour Egeſta, and reſtore the inhabitants of Leontium to their city; but alſo to regulate the affairs of Sicily, in ſuch a manner as might beſt ſuit the intereſts of the republic.

Nicias was appointed one of the generals, to his very great regret; for, beſides other motives which made him dread that command, he ſhunned it becauſe Alcibiades was to be his collegue. But the Athenians promiſed themſelves greater ſucceſs from this war, ſhould they not reſign the whole conduct of it to Alcibiades, but temper his ardor and audacity with the coldneſs and wiſdom of Nicias.

(*l*) Five days after, to haſten the execution of the decree, and make the neceſſary preparations, a ſecond aſſembly was held. Nicias, who had had time enough to reflect deliberately on the affair propoſed, and was ſtill better convinced of the difficulties and dangers which would enſue from it; thought himſelf obliged, to ſpeak with ſome vehemence againſt a project, the conſequences of which he foreſaw might be very fatal to the republic. He ſaid, "That it was ſurprizing "ſo important an affair ſhould have been determined, "the moment almoſt it was taken into deliberation: "That without once enquiring into matters, they "had given credit to whatever was told them by "foreigners, who were very laviſh of their promiſes; "and whoſe intereſt it was to offer mighty things, in "order to extricate themſelves from their imminent "danger. After all, what advantage (ſays he) can

(*l*) Thucyd. l. 6. p. 415—423.

"accrue

" accrue from thence to the republic? Have we ſo
" few enemies at our doors, that we need go in ſearch
" of others at a diſtance from us? Will you act
" wiſely, to hazard your preſent poſſeſſions, on the
" vain hopes of an uncertain advantage? To medi-
" tate new conqueſts, before you have ſecured your
" antient ones? To ſtudy nothing but the aggran-
" dizing of your ſtate, and quite neglect your own
" ſafety? Can you depend in any manner on a truce,
" which you yourſelves know is very precarious;
" which you are ſenſible has been infringed more than
" once; and which the leaſt defeat on our ſide may
" ſuddenly change into an open war? You are not
" ignorant how the Lacedæmonians have always been,
" and ſtill continue, diſpoſed with regard to us. They
" deteſt our government as different from theirs; it
" is with grief and diſdain they ſee us poſſeſſed of the
" empire of Greece; they conſider our glory as their
" ſhame and confuſion; and there is nothing they
" would not attempt, to humble a power which ex-
" cites their jealouſy, and keeps them perpetually in
" fear. Theſe are our real enemies, and it is they
" we ought to guard againſt. Will it be a proper
" time to make theſe reflections, when (after having
" divided our troops, and our arms will be employ-
" ed elſewhere, and unable to reſiſt them,) we ſhall
" be attacked at once by all the forces of Peloponne-
" ſus? We do but juſt begin to breathe, after the ca-
" lamities in which war and the plague had plunged
" us; and we are now going to plunge ourſelves into
" greater danger. If we are ambitious of carrying our
" arms into diſtant countries, would it not be more
" expedient to march and reduce the rebels of Thrace,
" and other nations who are ſtill wavering, and un-
" fixed in their allegiance, than to fly to the ſuccour
" of the inhabitants of Egeſta, about whoſe welfare
" we ought to be very indifferent? And will it ſuit
" our intereſt, to attempt to revenge their injuries,
" at a time that we do not diſcover the leaſt reſent-

" ment for thoſe we ourſelves receive? Let us leave " the Sicilians to themſelves, and not engage in their " quarrels, which it is their buſineſs to decide. As " the inhabitants of Egeſta undertook the war with- " out us, let them extricate themſelves from it as " well as they can. Should any of our generals ad- " viſe you to this enterprize, from an ambitious or " ſelf-intereſted view; merely to make a vain parade " of his ſplendid equipages, or to raiſe money to ſup- " port his extravagance; be not guilty of ſo much " imprudence as to ſacrifice the intereſt of the re- " public to his or permit him to involve it in the " ſame ruin with himſelf. An enterprize of ſo much " importance ought not to be committed wholly to " the conduct of a young man. Remember it is pru- " dence, not prejudice and paſſion, that gives ſucceſs " to affairs." Nicias concluded with declaring it his opinion, that it would be proper to deliberate again on the affair, in order to prevent the fatal conſequences with which their taking raſh reſolutions might be attended.

It was plain he had Alcibiades in view, and that his enormous luxury was the object of his cenſure. And indeed he carried it to an incredible height; and laviſhed prodigious ſums of money, on horſes, equipages and moveables; not to mention the delicacy and ſumptuouſneſs of his table. He diſputed the prize in the olympic games with ſeven ſets of chariot horſes, which no private man had ever done before him; and he was crowned more than once on that occaſion. Extraordinary reſources were neceſſary for ſupporting ſuch luxury; and as avarice often ſerves as a reſource to ambition, there were ſome grounds to believe, that Alcibiades was no leſs ſollicitous for conquering Sicily and Carthage, (which he pretended to poſſeſs afterwards as his own) to enrich his family, than to render it glorious. It is natural to ſuppoſe, that Alcibiades did not let this ſpeech of Nicias go unanſwered.

" This,

" This, ſays Alcibiades, is not the firſt time that " merit has excited jealouſy, and glory been made the " object of envy. That very thing which is im- " puted to me for a crime, is, I will preſume to ſay " it, the honour of my country, and ought to gain " me applauſe. The ſplendor in which I live; the " great ſums I expend, particularly in the public aſ- " ſemblies; beſides their being juſt and lawful, at the " ſame time give foreigners a greater idea of the glory " of Athens; and ſhow, that it is not in ſuch want " of money as our enemies imagine. But this is not " our preſent buſineſs. Let the world form a judg- " ment of me, not from paſſion and prejudice, but " from my actions. Was it an inconſiderable ſervice " I did the republic, in bringing over, (in one day) " to its alliance, the people of Elis, of Mantinea and " of Argos, that is, the chief ſtrength of Peloponne- " ſus? Make uſe therefore, to aggrandize your em- " pire, of Alcibiades's youth and folly, (ſince his ene- " mies give it that name,) as well as of the wiſdom " and experience of Nicias; and do not repent, from " vain and idle fears, your engaging in an enterprize " publickly reſolved upon, and which may redound " infinitely both to your glory and advantage. The " cities of Sicily, weary of the unjuſt and cruel go- " vernment of their princes, and ſtill more of the ty- " rannical authority which Syracuſe exerciſes over " them, wait only for a favourable opportunity to " declare themſelves; and are ready to open their " gates to whomſoever ſhall offer to take off the yoke " under which they have ſo long groaned. Though " the citizens of Egeſta, in quality of your allies, " ſhould not have a right to your protection; yet the " glory of Athens ought to engage you to ſupport " them. Republicks aggrandize themſelves by ſuc- " couring the oppreſſed, and not by living unactive. " In the preſent ſtate of your affairs, the only way " to diſpirit your enemies, and ſhow that you are not " afraid of them, will be, to harraſs one nation, to

" check the progreſs of another, to keep them all em-
" ployed, and carry your arms into diſtant countries.
" Athens was not formed for eaſe; and it was not
" by inactivity that your anceſtors raiſed it to the
" height in which we now ſee it. For the reſt, what
" hazards will you run by engaging in the enterprize
" in queſtion? If it ſhould be crowned with ſucceſs,
" you will then poſſeſs yourſelves of all Greece; and
" ſhould it not anſwer your expectations, your fleet
" will give you an opportunity of retiring whenever
" you pleaſe. The Lacedæmonians indeed may make
" an incurſion into our country; but, beſides that it
" would not be in our power to prevent it though
" we ſhould not invade Sicily, we ſtill ſhall preſerve
" the empire of the ſea, in ſpite of them; a circum-
" ſtance which makes our enemies entirely deſpair of
" ever being able to conquer us. Be not therefore
" byaſſed by Nicias's reaſons. The only tendency of
" them is to ſow the ſeeds of diſcord between the
" young and old men, who can do nothing without
" one another; ſince it is wiſdom and courage, coun-
" ſel and execution, that give ſucceſs to all enter-
" prizes: and this in which we are going to imbark,
" cannot but turn to your advantage."

(*m*) The Athenians, flattered and pleaſed with Alcibiades's ſpeech, perſiſted in their firſt opinion. Nicias, on the other ſide, did not depart from his; but at the ſame time did not dare to oppoſe Alcibiades any further. Nicias was naturally of a ſoft and timid diſpoſition. He was not, like Pericles, maſter of that lively and vehement eloquence, which, like a torrent, bears down all things in its way. And indeed, the latter, on ſeveral occaſions and at ſeveral times, had never failed to check the wild ſtarts of the populace, who, even then, meditated the expedition into Sicily; becauſe he was always inflexible, and never ſlackened the reins of that authority and kind of ſovereignty

(*m*) Plut. in præc. de ger. rep. p. 802.

which

which he had acquired over the people; whereas * Nicias, both by acting and ſpeaking in an eaſy, gentle manner, ſo far from winning over the people, ſuffered himſelf to be forcibly and involuntarily carried away: and accordingly he at laſt yielded to the people, and accepted the command in a war which he plainly foreſaw would be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences.

Plutarch makes this reflection in his excellent treatiſe, where, ſpeaking of the qualities requiſite in a ſtateſman, he ſhows how very neceſſary eloquence and inflexible conſtancy and perſeverance are to him.

Nicias, not daring to oppoſe Alcibiades any longer openly, endeavoured to do it indirectly, by ſtarting a great number of difficulties, drawn eſpecially from the great expence of this expedition. He declared, that ſince they were reſolved upon war, they ought to carry it on in ſuch a manner as might ſuit the exalted reputation to which Athens had attained: That a fleet was not ſufficient to oppoſe ſo formidable a power as that of the Syracuſans and their allies: that they muſt raiſe an army, compoſed of good horſe and foot, if they deſired to act in a manner worthy of ſo grand a deſign: That beſides their fleet, which was to make them maſters at ſea, they muſt have a great number of tranſports, to carry proviſions perpetually to the army, which otherwiſe could not poſſibly ſubſiſt in an enemy's country: That they muſt carry vaſt ſums of money with them, without waiting for that promiſed them by the citizens of Egeſta, who perhaps were ready in words only, and very probably might break their promiſe: That they ought to weigh and examine the diſparity there was between themſelves and their enemies with regard to the conveniences and wants of the army; the Syracuſans being in their own country, in the midſt of powerful allies, diſpoſed by inclination as well as engaged by intereſt, to aſſiſt them with men,

* Καθάπερ ἀμβλεῖ καλινῷ τῷ λόγῳ πειρώμενον ἀποτρέφειν τὸ δῆμον, ἢ κατέχειν.

arms,

arms, horſes, and proviſions; whereas the Athenians would carry on the war in a remote country poſſeſſed by their enemies, where, in the winter, news could not be brought them in leſs than four months time; a country, where all things would oppoſe the Athenians, and nothing be procured but by force of arms: That it would reflect the greateſt ignominy on the Athenians, ſhould they be forced to abandon their enterprize, and thereby become the ſcorn and contempt of their enemies, by their neglecting to take all the precautions which ſo important a deſign required: That as for himſelf, he was determined not to go, unleſs he was provided with all things neceſſary for the expedition, becauſe the ſafety of the whole army depended on that circumſtance; and that he would not rely on caprice, or the precarious engagements of the allies.

(*n*) Nicias had flattered himſelf, that this ſpeech would cool the ardor of the people, whereas it only enflamed it the more. Immediately the generals had full powers given them to raiſe as many troops, and fit out as many gallies as they ſhould judge neceſſary; and the levies were accordingly carried on in Athens and other places, with inexpreſſible activity.

SECT. VIII. *The Athenians prepare to ſet ſail. Siniſter omens. The ſtatues of Mercury are mutilated. Alcibiades is accuſed, and inſiſts upon his being tried, but his requeſt is not granted. Triumphant departure of the fleet.*

(*o*) WHEN all things were ready for their departure, and they were preparing to ſail, there happened ſeveral bad omens, which filled the minds of the people with trouble and diſquietude. The * women

(*n*) Diod. l. 13. p. 134. (*o*) A. M. 3589. Ant J. C. 415. Thucyd. l. 6. p. 428. Plut. in Alcib. p. 200, 201.

* *This ſuperſtitious rite had extended even to God's people.* And behold there ſat women weeping for Tammuz. Ezek. viii. 14. N. B.

men were at that time celebrating the feſtival of Adonis, during which the whole city was in mourning, and full of images repreſenting dead perſons and funeral proceſſions; and every part echoed with the cries and groans of the women who followed thoſe ſtatues with lamentations of that kind. Whence it was feared, that this gay and magnificent armament would ſoon loſe all its ſplendor, and † wither away like a flower.

The general affliction was increaſed by another accident. The ſtatues of Mercury, which ſtood at the entrance of private houſes and temples, were all mutilated in one night, and particularly in the face; and although a great reward was promiſed to any perſon who ſhould diſcover the authors of ſo audacious a crime, no one was accuſed. The citizens could not forbear conſidering this uncommon event, not only as an unlucky omen, but as a contrivance of ſome factious men, who harboured very ill deſigns. Some young people had already been accuſed of committing much the like crime in the midſt of their cups; and particularly of having wantonly mimicked the ceremonies and myſteries of Ceres and Proſerpine; with Alcibiades, who repreſented the high-prieſt, at their head. (*p*) It highly concerns all thoſe in exalted ſtations, to be extremely careful of every ſtep they take, and not to give the leaſt opportunity to the moſt inveterate malice to cenſure them. They ought to call to mind, ſays Plutarch, that the eyes of all men are upon their conduct, and that they are ever eagle-ey'd on theſe occaſions; that not only their outward actions paſs the moſt ſevere ſcrutiny, but that they penetrate to their moſt private apartments, and there take the ſtricteſt notice of their diſcourſes, their diverſions,

(*p*) Plut. in præc. de rep. p. 800.

N. B. *The Latin verſion of the bible, which Mr. Rollin follows, ſays,* weeping for Adonis; *which is the ſame as Tammuz, the Hebrews calling Adonis by that name.*

† *The hiſtorian alludes to the plants and flowers that were carried in that ceremony, and which went by the name of Adonis's gardens.*

and the moſt ſecret things tranſacted by them. It was this dread of the piercing eye of the people, that kept Themiſtocles and Pericles perpetually on their guard, and obliged them to refrain from moſt of thoſe pleaſures in which others indulged themſelves.

As for Alcibiades, he did not know what it was to lay himſelf under any reſtraints; and accordingly, as his character was ſo well known, people were perſuaded he very probably had been concerned in what had happened. His luxury, libertiniſm and irreligion, gave an air of probability to this charge, and the accuſer was not afraid of telling his name. This attack ſtaggered the conſtancy and reſolution of Alcibiades; but hearing the ſoldiers and ſailors declare that they were induced to engage in this expedition by no other motive but their affection for Alcibiades; and that, ſhould the leaſt injury be done him, they would all leave the ſervice; he took heart, and appeared at his trial on the day appointed for that purpoſe. His enemies, upon pretence that it was neceſſary for the fleet to ſet ſail, got the judgment ſuperſeded. It was to no purpoſe for Alcibiades to inſiſt upon being tried, in caſe he was guilty, and not be ruined in his abſence; and to repreſent, that it would be the moſt ſhocking and barbarous injuſtice to oblige him to embark for ſo important an expedition, without firſt making due enquiry into the accuſations and horrid ſlanders which were caſt upon him, the bare thoughts of which would keep him in perpetual fear and anxiety. However, none of theſe remonſtrances proved effectual, and the fleet was ordered to ſet out.

(q) They accordingly prepared to ſet ſail, after having appointed Corcyra the rendezvous for moſt of the allies, and ſuch ſhips as were to carry the proviſions, &c. All the citizens, as well as foreigners in Athens, flocked by day-break to the port of Pyræus. The former attended their children, relations, friends or companions, with a joy overcaſt with a little ſor-

(q) Thucyd. p. 430—432. Diod. l. 13. p. 135.

row,

row, upon their bidding adieu to perſons that were as dear to them as life, who were ſetting out on a far diſtant and very dangerous expedition, from which it was uncertain whether they ever would return, tho' they flattered themſelves with the hopes that it would be ſucceſsful. The foreigners came thither to feed their eyes with a ſight which was highly worthy their curioſity; for no ſingle city in the world had ever fitted out ſo gallant a fleet. Thoſe indeed which had been ſent againſt Epidaurus and Potidæa, were as conſiderable with regard to the number of ſoldiers and ſhips; but then they were not equipped with ſo much magnificence, neither was their voyage ſo long, nor their enterprize ſo important. Here were ſeen a land and a naval army, provided with the utmoſt care, and at the expence of particular perſons as well as of the public, with all things neceſſary, on account of the length of the voyage, and the duration of the war. The city furniſhed an hundred empty gallies, that is, threeſcore light ones, and forty to tranſport the ſoldiers heavily armed. Every mariner received daily a drachma, or ten-pence (French) for his pay, excluſively of what the captains of ſhips gave the * rowers of the firſt bench. Add to this, the pomp and magnificence that was diſplayed univerſally; every one ſtriving to eclipſe the reſt, and each captain endeavouring to make his ſhip the lighteſt, and at the ſame time the gaieſt in the whole fleet. I ſhall not take notice of the choice of the ſoldiers and ſeamen, who were the flower of the Athenians; nor of their emulation with regard to the beauty and neatneſs of their arms and equipage; any more than of their officers who had laid out conſiderable ſums purely to diſtinguiſh themſelves, and to give foreigners an advantageous idea of their perſons and circumſtances; ſo that this ſight had the air of a tournament, in which the utmoſt magnificence is diſplayed, rather than of a warlike expe-

* *They were called* Θρανῖται. *They had longer oars than the reſt, and conſequently more trouble in rowing.*

dition. But the boldneſs and greatneſs of the deſign ſtill exceeded its expence and ſplendor.

When the ſhips were loaded, and the troops got on board, the trumpet ſounded, and ſolemn prayers were offered up for the ſucceſs of the expedition; gold and ſilver cups were filling every where with wine, and the accuſtomed libations were poured out; the people who lined the ſhore ſhouting at the ſame time, and lifting up their hands to heaven, to wiſh their fellow-citizens a good voyage and ſucceſs. And now, the hymn being ſung, and the ceremonies ended, the ſhips ſailed one after another out of the harbour; after which they ſtrove to outſail one another, till the whole fleet met at Ægina. From thence it made for Corcyra, where the army of the allies was aſſembling with the reſt of the fleet.

SECT. IX. *Syracuſe is alarmed. The Athenian fleet arrives in Sicily.*

(r) ADVICE of this expedition coming to Syracuſe from all quarters, it was thought ſo improbable, that at firſt no body would believe it. But as it was more and more confirmed every day, the Syracuſans began to think ſeriouſly of making the neceſſary preparations; and ſent deputations to every part of the iſland, to aſk aſſiſtance of ſome, and ſend ſuccours to others. They garriſoned all the caſtles and forts in the country; reviewed all the ſoldiers and horſes; examined the arms in the magazines; and ſettled and prepared all things, as if the enemy had been in their country.

In the mean time the fleet ſailed in three ſquadrons, each under the command of its particular general. It conſiſted of an hundred and thirty-ſix ſhips, an hundred whereof belonged to Athens, and the reſt to the allies. On board theſe ſhips were five thouſand heavy-armed ſoldiers, two thouſand two hundred of whom were Athenian citizens, *viz.* fifteen hundred of thoſe

(r) Thucyd. l. 6. p. 432—445. Diod. l. 13. p. 135, 136.

who

who had eſtates, and ſeven hundred * who had none, but were equally citizens; the reſt conſiſted of allies. With regard to the light infantry, there were eighty archers of Crete, and four hundred of other countries; ſeven hundred Rhodian ſlingers, and an hundred and twenty exiles of Megara. There was but one company of horſe, conſiſting of thirty troopers, who had embarked on board a veſſel proper for tranſporting cavalry. Both the fleet and the land-forces were afterwards increaſed conſiderably. Thirty veſſels carried the proviſions and cooks, with maſons, carpenters, and their ſeveral tools; the whole followed by an hundred ſmall veſſels for the ſervice, excluſive of merchant-ſhips, of which there were great numbers. All this fleet had ſailed together for Corcyra. Having met with but an indifferent reception from the people of Tarentum and Locris, they ſailed with a favourable wind for Rhegium, where they made ſome ſtay. The Athenians were very urgent with the inhabitants of Rhegium to ſuccour thoſe of Leontium, who came originally from Chalcis as well as themſelves: but theſe anſwered, that they were determined to ſtand neuter, and to undertake nothing but in concert with the reſt of Italy. Here they debated on the manner in which it was neceſſary to carry on the war, and waited for the coming up of thoſe ſhips that had been ſent out to make diſcoveries of a proper place for landing, and to enquire whether the citizens of Egeſta had got their money ready. Upon their return they brought advice that they had but thirty talents in the treaſury. This Nicias had foreſeen, but no regard had been paid to his ſalutary counſels.

(s) He did not fail, the inſtant this news was brought, to expatiate on the counſel he had given in Athens; to ſhow the wrong ſtep they had taken in engaging in this war; and to amplify the fatal conſequences which might be expected from it: in all

(s) Plut. in Nic. p. 532.

* *Theſe were called* θῆτες.

which he acted very imprudently. It was extremely judicious in Nicias to oppose it in the beginning, and to set every engine at work to crush if possible this ill-fated project. But as it was resolved, and he himself had accepted of the command, he ought not to be perpetually looking backward, nor to have repeated incessantly, that this war had been undertaken in opposition to all the maxims of prudence; and, by that means, to cool the ardour of his two collegues in the command, to dispirit the soldiers, and blunt that edge of confidence and ardor, which assure the success of great enterprizes. The Athenians, on the contrary, ought to have advanced boldly towards the enemy; should have attacked them with vigour, and have spread an universal terror, by a sudden and unexpected descent.

But Nicias acted in a quite different manner. His opinion, in the council of war, was, that they should sail for Selinunta, which had been the first occasion of this expedition; and then, if the citizens of Egesta performed their promise, and gave a month's pay to the army, to proceed forward; or otherwise, to oblige them to furnish provisions for the sixty gallies they had demanded, and continue in that road till they should have concluded a peace with the citizens of Selinunta, either by force of arms or some other way. He said, that they afterwards should return to Athens, after having thus made a parade of their forces, and the assistance they gave their allies; unless they should have an opportunity of making some attempt in favour of the Leontines, or of bringing over some city into their alliance.

Alcibiades answered, that it would be inglorious, after their sailing out with so noble a fleet, to return without doing any thing; and that they should first endeavour to conclude an alliance with the Greeks and Barbarians, in order to divide them from the Syracusans, and procure troops and provisions from them; and especially to send a deputation to Messina, which

was

was a kind of key to Sicily, and its harbour capacious enough to hold all the fleet. He declared farther, that after seeing who were their friends and who their enemies, and strengthning themselves by the addition of a new reinforcement, they then should attack either Selinunta or Syracuse; in case the one should refuse to conclude a peace with Egesta, and the other not permit the Leontines to return to their city.

Lamachus offered a third opinion, which perhaps was the most prudent; that was, to sail directly for Syracuse, before its citizens had time to recover from their surprize, or prepare for their defence. He observed, that the sudden arrival of an armed force always strikes the greatest terror; and that when enemies are allowed time to reflect and make preparations, it also revives their courage; whereas, when they are suddenly attacked, and still in confusion, they are generally overcome; that as they would be masters of the open country, they should not be in want of any thing, but on the contrary, would oblige the Sicilians to declare for them: That at last they should settle in Megara, which was quite desert, and a near neighbour to Syracuse, and there lay up their fleet in safety. However, his counsel not being followed, he agreed to that of Alcibiades: Accordingly they sailed for Sicily, where Alcibiades took Catana by surprize.

SECT. X. *Alcibiades is recalled. He flies, and is sentenced to die as an outlaw. He retires to Sparta. Flexibility of his genius and disposition.*

(t) THIS was the first and last exploit performed by Alcibiades in this expedition, he being immediately recalled by the Athenians, in order to be tried upon the accusation against him. For, from the departure of the fleet, his enemies, who had no regard to the welfare of their country; and who, upon the specious pretence of religion, which is often made a cloak to cover the darkest designs, meditated nothing

(t) Thucyd. l. 6. p. 446—450. Plut. in Alcib. p. 202.

but ſatiating their hatred and revenge; his enemies, I ſay, taking advantage of his abſence, had proceeded in the affair with greater vigour than ever. All thoſe againſt whom informations were lodged, were thrown into priſon, without ſo much as being ſuffered to be heard, and that too on the evidence of the moſt profligate and abandoned citizens; as if, ſays Thucydides, it was not as great a crime to puniſh the innocent, as to ſuffer the guilty to eſcape. One of the informers was proved to be perjured by his own words; having declared that he ſaw and knew one of the accuſed by moon-light; whereas it appeared, that there was no moon at that time. But notwithſtanding this manifeſt perjury, the populace were as furious as ever. The remembrance of the tyranny of the Piſiſtratides made them apprehenſive of the like fate; and ſtrongly poſſeſſed with this fear, they would not give ear to any thing.

At laſt, they ſent out the * ſhip of Salamin, ordering the captain not to carry off Alcibiades by force, for fear of raiſing a tumult in the army; but only to order him to return to Athens, to pacify the people by his preſence. Alcibiades obeyed the order, and went immediately on board his galley; but the inſtant he was arrived at Thurium, and had got on ſhore, he diſappeared, and eluded the purſuit of thoſe who ſought after him. Being asked, whether he would not rely on his country, with regard to the judgment it might paſs on him: "I would not," ſays he, "rely on my "mother, for fear leſt ſhe ſhould inadvertently miſtake "a † black bean for a white one." The galley of Salamin returned back without the commander, who was aſhamed of his having ſuffered his prey to eſcape him in that manner. Alcibiades was ſentenced to die for his contumacy. His whole eſtate was confiſcated, and

* *This was a ſacred veſſel, appointed to fetch criminals.*

† *The judges made uſe of beans in giving their ſuffrages, and the black bean denoted condemnation.*

all

all prieſts and prieſteſſes were commanded to curſe him. Among the latter was one Theano, who alone had the courage to oppoſe this decree, ſaying, † *That ſhe had been appointed prieſteſs, not to curſe but to bleſs.* Some time after, news being brought him that the Athenians had condemned him to die, *I ſhall make them ſenſible,* ſays he, *that I am alive.*

(u) Much about this time Diagoras of Melia was proſecuted at Athens. He had ſettled himſelf in the latter city, where he taught atheiſm, and was brought to a trial for his doctrine. *(x)* Diagoras eſcaped the puniſhment which would have been inflicted on him, by flying from the city; but he could not wipe off the ignominy of the ſentence which condemned him to death. The Athenians had ſo great an abhorrence for the impious principles inculcated by him, that they even ſet a price upon his head, and promiſed a reward of a talent to any man who ſhould bring him dead or alive.

(y) About twenty years before, a like affair had happened to Protagoras, for having only treated the ſame queſtion by way of problem. He had ſaid in the beginning of one of his books: "Whether the gods do "or do not exiſt, is a queſtion which I know not "whether I ought to affirm or deny: for our under-"ſtandings are too much clouded, and the life of man "is too ſhort, for the ſolution of ſo nice and difficult "a point." But the Athenians could not bear to have a ſubject of this nature made a doubt; and for this reaſon, they ordered proclamation to be made by the public cryer, for all perſons who had any copies of this book, to bring them to the magiſtrates: after which they were burnt as infamous pieces, and the author was baniſhed, for ever, from all the territories of the Athenians.

(u) Joſeph. contr. App. (x) Diod. l. 13. p. 137.
(y) Diog. Laert. in Protag. Joſeph. contr. App. Cic. l. 1. de nat. deor. n. 62.

† Φάσκουσα ἐυχῶν ὀυ κατάρων ἱέρειαν γεγονέναι.

Diagoras and Protagoras had been the diſciples of Democritus, who firſt invented the philoſophy of atoms. I ſhall ſpeak of him in another place.

(z) From the departure of Alcibiades, Nicias had poſſeſſed the whole authority: for Lamachus his colleague, though a man of bravery and experience, was however in no credit becauſe of his extreme poverty, for which he was deſpiſed by the ſoldiers. But the Athenians were not always in this way of thinking; for we have ſeen that Ariſtides, poor as he was, was not leſs eſteemed and reſpected on that account: but in this laſt expedition, the people in general had imbibed a paſſion for luxury and magnificence; the natural conſequence of which is, a love of riches. As Nicias, therefore, governed all affairs ſolely, all his actions were of the ſame caſt with his diſpoſition, that is, of a ſlow and fearful kind: he ſuffered every thing to languiſh, ſometimes either by lying ſtill and undertaking nothing, ſometimes by only ſailing along the coaſt, or loſing time in conſulting and deliberating; all which ſoon ſuppreſſed, on one ſide, the ardour and confidence the troops expreſſed at firſt; and on the other, the fear and terror with which the enemy had been ſeized, at the ſight of ſo terrible an armament. He beſieged Hybla; and though it was but a ſmall city, he was however obliged to raiſe the ſiege ſome days after, which brought him into the higheſt contempt. He retired at laſt to Catana, after having performed but one exploit, *viz.* the ruining of Hycara, a ſmall town inhabited by Barbarians, from which place it is ſaid, that Lais the curtezan, at that time very young, was ſold with the reſt of the captives, and carried to Peloponneſus.

(a) In the mean time, Alcibiades having left Thurium, was arrived at Argos; and as he quite deſpaired of ever being recalled home, he ſent a meſſenger to the Spartans, deſiring leave to reſide among them, under

(z) Thucyd. p. 452, 453. Plut. in Nic. p. 533. (a) Plut. in Alcib. p. 230.

their

their guard and protection. He promiſed in the moſt ſolemn manner, that if they would conſider him as their friend, he would perform greater ſervice for their ſtate, than he before had done injuries to it. The Spartans received him with open arms; and ſoon after his arrival in their city, he gained the love and eſteem of all its inhabitants. He charmed and even inchanted them, by his conforming himſelf ſo eaſily to their way of living. Such people as ſaw Alcibiades ſhave himſelf to the ſkin, bathe in cold water; eat of the coarſe, heavy cakes which were their uſual food, and be ſo well ſatisfied with their black broth; could not perſuade themſelves, that a man who ſubmitted ſo chearfully to this kind of life, had ever kept cooks in his palace; had uſed eſſences and perfumes; had wore the rich ſtuffs of Miletus; in a word, that he had hitherto lived in the midſt of voluptuouſneſs and profuſion of all things. But flexibility was the characteriſtic that chiefly diſtinguiſhed Alcibiades. Cameleon like, he could aſſume all ſhapes and colours, to win the favour of thoſe among whom he reſided. He immediately aſſumed their manners, and adapted himſelf to their taſte, as if they had been natural in him; and though he inwardly had an averſion to them, he could however cover his diſguſt with an eaſy, ſimple and unconſtrained air. With ſome he had all the graces and vivacity of the gayeſt youth, and with others all the gravity of old age. In Sparta, he was laborious, frugal and auſtere; in Ionia, enjoyment, idleneſs and pleaſure, made up his whole life: in Thrace, he was always on horſeback or carouzing: and when he reſided with Tiſſaphernes the ſatrap, he exceeded all the magnificence of the Perſians in luxury and profuſion.

But he was not barely ſatisfied with gaining the eſteem of the Lacedæmonians. He inſinuated himſelf ſo far into the affection of Timea, the wife of king Agis, that he had a ſon by her, who, in public, went by the name of Leotychides; though his mother,

in

in private, and among her women and female friends, did not bluſh to call him Alcibiades; ſo violent was her paſſion for that Athenian. Agis was informed of this intrigue, and therefore refuſed to own Leotychides for his ſon; for which reaſon he was afterwards excluded the throne.

SECT. XI. *Deſcription of Syracuſe.*

AS the ſiege of Syracuſe is one of the moſt conſiderable in the Grecian hiſtory; the particular circumſtances of which I thought proper to relate for that reaſon, in order to give my readers an idea of the manner of beſieging by the antients; I judged it neceſſary, before I enter into that detail, to give the reader a deſcription and plan of the city of Syracuſe; in which he will alſo find the different fortifications, both of the Athenians and Syracuſans, mentioned in this ſiege.

(*b*) Syracuſe ſtood on the eaſtern coaſt of Sicily. Its vaſt extent, its advantageous ſituation, the conveniency of its double harbour; its fortifications built with the utmoſt care and labour, and the multitude and wealth of its inhabitants, made it one of the greateſt, the moſt beautiful, and moſt powerful among the Grecian cities. * We are told its air was ſo pure and ſerene, that there was no day in the year, how cloudy ſoever it might be, in which the ſun did not diſplay its beams.

(*c*) It was built by Archias the Corinthian, a year after Naxos and Megara had been founded on the ſame coaſt.

When the Athenians beſieged this city, it was divided into three parts, *viz.* the iſland, Achradina and Tyche. Thucydides mentions only theſe three diviſions.

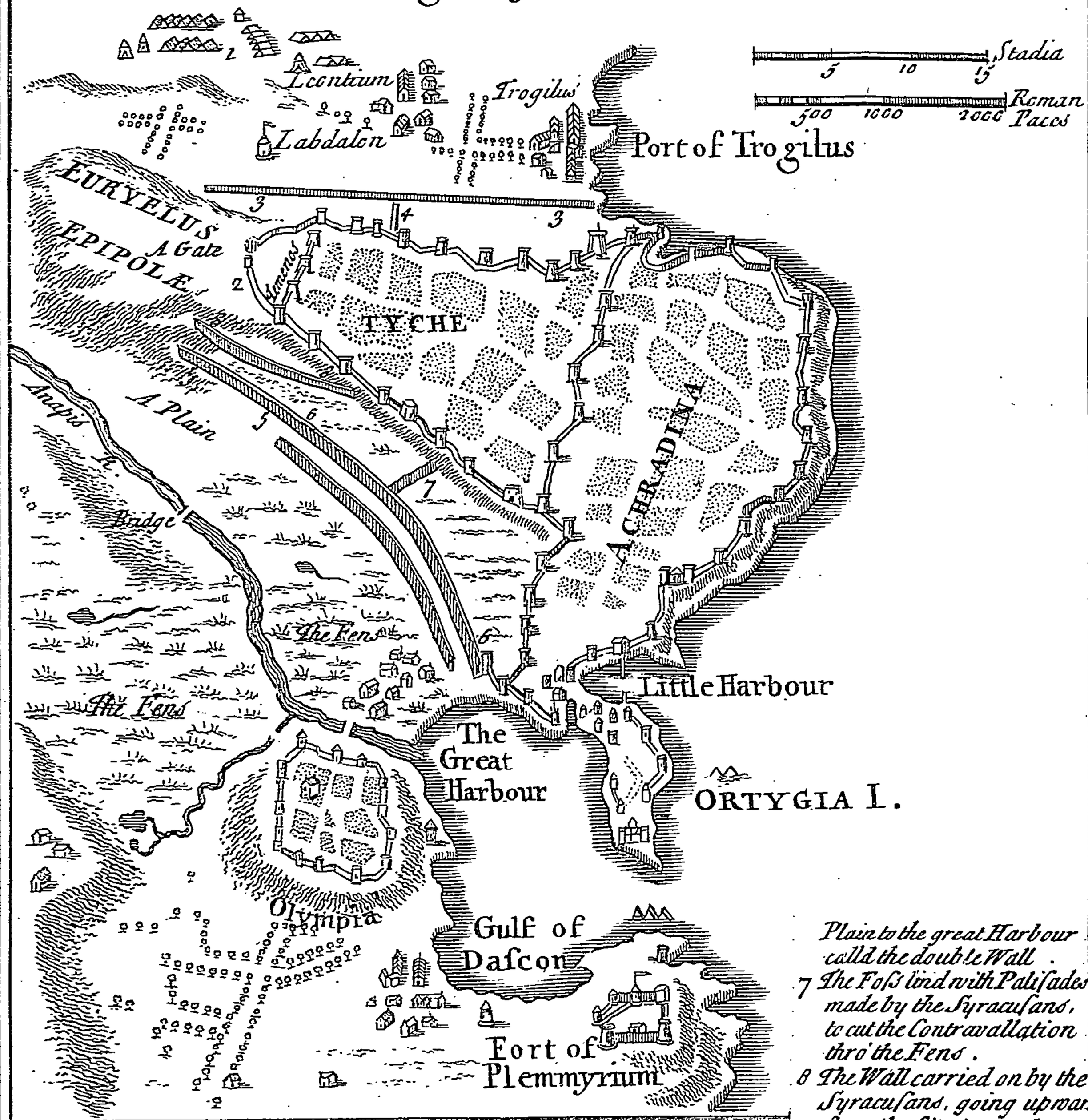
(*b*) Cic. Verr. 6. n. 117—119. 709. Strab. l. 6. p. 269.

(*c*) A. M. 3295. Ant. J. C.

* Urbem Syracuſas elegerat, cujus hic ſitus atque hæc natura eſſe loci cœlique dicitur, ut nullus unquam dies tam magna turbulentaque tempeſtate fuerit, quin aliquo tempore ſolem ejus diei homines viderent. *Cic. Verr.* 7. n. 26.

Two

A PLAN OF THE CITY OF SYRACUSE Besieged by the Athenians



The Fortifications of the Athenians and Syracusans

1 *The fortified Camp of the Athenians*

2 *The Wall that faces Epipolæ in its whole extent built by the Syracusans to surround Temenos.*

3 *Contravallation which the Athenians attempt to carry from the Foot of Epipolæ along the Northern Wall of Tyche as far as Trogilus.*

4 *The traverse Wall drawn by the Syracusans to cut the Contravallation of the Athenians.*

5 *Western Contravallation of the Athenians from the hills of Epipolæ downwards calld the single Wall:*

6 *Continuation of the western Contravallation of the Athenians from the Plain to the great Harbour calld the double Wall.*

7 *The Foss lind with Palisades made by the Syracusans, to cut the Contravallation thro' the Fens.*

8 *The Wall carried on by the Syracusans, going upward from the City towards Epipolæ against the single Wall built by the Athenians.*

ſouth, and was very well inhabited. It had a famous gate called Hexapylum, which led into the country, and was ſituated to the north of the city.

EPIPOLÆ was a hill without the city, which it commanded. It was ſituated between Hexapylum and the point of Euryelus, towards the north and weſt. It was exceedingly ſteep in ſeveral places, and for that reaſon of very difficult acceſs. At the time of the ſiege in queſtion, it was not ſurrounded with walls; and the Syracuſans defended it with a body of troops, againſt the attacks of the enemy. Euryelus was the paſs or entrance which led to Epipolæ. On the ſame hill of Epipolæ was a fort called Labdalon or Labdalum.

It was not till long after, (under Dionyſius the tyrant,) that Epipolæ was ſurrounded with walls, and incloſed within the city, of which it formed a fifth part, but was thinly inhabited. A fourth diviſion had been added before, called NEAPOLIS, that is, the new city, which covered Tyche.

(*f*) The river Anapis ran at almoſt half a league diſtance from the city. The ſpace between them was a large and beautiful plain, terminated by two fens or moors, the one called Syraco, whence the city was named, and the other Lyſimelia. This river emptied itſelf into the great harbour. Near its mouth, ſouthward, was a kind of caſtle called Olympia, from the temple of Jupiter Olympius ſtanding there, and in which were great riches. It was five hundred paces from the city.

Syracuſe had two harbours, very near one another, and ſeparated only by the iſle, *viz.* the great harbour, and the ſmall one called otherwiſe Laccus. According to the * deſcription which the Roman orator gives of them, both were ſurrounded with buildings as parts of the city.

(*f*) Plut. in Dionyſ. vit. p. 970.

* Portus habet prope in ædificatione aſpectuque urbis incluſos. *Cic. Verr.* 6. n. 117.

The

The greateſt harbour was a little above † five thouſand paces, or two leagues in circumference. It had a gulph called Daſcon. The entrance of this port was but five hundred paces wide. It was formed, on one ſide, by the point of the iſland Ortygia; and on the other, by the little iſland and cape of Plemmyrium, which was commanded by a fort or caſtle of the ſame name.

Above Achradina was a third port, called the harbour of Trogilus.

SECT. XII. *Nicias, after ſome engagements, beſieges Syracuſe. Lamachus is killed in a battle. The city is reduced to the greateſt extremities.*

EIGHTEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

(g) AT the end of the ſummer, news was brought Nicias that the Syracuſans, having reſumed courage, intended to march againſt him. Already their cavalry advanced with an air of inſolence to attack him even in his camp; and aſked with a loud laugh, whether he was come into Sicily to ſettle in Catana. Theſe ſevere reproaches rouzed him a little, ſo that he reſolved to ſail for Syracuſe. The enterprize was bold and dangerous. Nicias could not, without running the utmoſt hazard, attempt to land in preſence of an enemy who waited for him with the greateſt reſolution; and would not fail to charge him, the inſtant he ſhould offer to make a deſcent. Nor was it ſafer for him to march his troops by land, becauſe, as he had no cavalry, that of the Syracuſans which was very numerous, upon the firſt advice they ſhould have of their march, would come to blows, and overpower him by the ſuperiority of forces.

To extricate himſelf from this perplexity, and ena-

(g) Thucyd. l. 6. p. 453—461. Plut. in Nic. p. 533, 534. Diod. l. 137, 138.

† *According to Strabo, it is eighty ſtadia in circumference, which is twice its real extent; a plain proof that this paſſage of Strabo is corrupt.* Cluver. p. 167.

ble himſelf to ſeize without oppoſition upon an advantageous poſt, which a Syracuſan exile had diſcovered to him, Nicias had recourſe to ſtratagem. He cauſed a falſe piece of news to be given to the enemy, *viz.* that by means of a conſpiracy which was to take effect on a certain day, they might ſeize on his camp, and poſſeſs themſelves of all the arms and baggage. The Syracuſans, on this promiſe, marched towards Catana, and pitch'd their camp near Leontium. The moment the Athenians had advice of this, they embarked with all their troops and ammunition; and in the evening ſteered for Syracuſe. They arrived by day-break in the great harbour; landed near Olympia, in the place which had been pointed out to them, and there fortified themſelves. The enemy finding themſelves ſhamefully over-reached, returned immediately to Syracuſe; and, in the greateſt rage, drew up in battle-array ſome days after, before the walls of the city. Nicias marched out of the trenches, and a battle was fought. Victory was a long time doubtful, but a very heavy ſhower of rain, accompanied with thunder and lightning, coming unexpectedly, the Syracuſans, who were unexperienced, and the greateſt part of them having never carried arms before, were frighted at the tempeſt, whilſt their enemies laughed at it, as the mere effect of the ſeaſon; and regarded nothing but the enemy, who were much more to be dreaded than the ſtorm. The Syracuſans, after making a long and vigorous reſiſtance, were forced to give way. The Athenians could not purſue them far, becauſe their horſe, which was ſtill in a body and had not been defeated, covered their retreat. The Syracuſans retreated in good order into the city, after having thrown a body of troops into the temple of Olympia to prevent its being plundered.

This temple ſtood pretty near the camp of the Athenians, who were very deſirous of taking it, becauſe it abounded with gold and ſilver offerings, which the piety of kings and nations had conſecrated. Nicias

having delayed ſending troops to ſeize it, loſt the opportunity, and gave the Syracuſans time to throw into it, as was before obſerved, a detachment to defend it. It was thought he did this on purpoſe, and out of reverence to the gods; becauſe, had the ſoldiers plundered this temple, the public would not have reaped any benefit by it, and himſelf only had been accuſed of the ſacrilege.

After the battle, the Athenians, who were not yet in a condition to attack Syracuſe, retired with their fleet to Naxos and Catana to winter there, with deſign to return in the beginning of the next ſpring, and lay ſiege to the city. To do this, they wanted money, proviſions, and particularly horſe, of which they were abſolutely deſtitute. The Athenians depended upon obtaining part of theſe ſuccours from the people of Sicily, whom they ſuppoſed would join them, the inſtant they ſhould hear of their victory; and at the ſame time they ſent an expreſs to Athens, to ſollicit the like aid. They alſo addreſſed the Carthaginians for their alliance; and ſent deputies to ſome cities of Italy, ſituated on the coaſt of the Tuſcan ſea, which had promiſed to aſſiſt them.

The Syracuſans were far from deſponding. Hermocrates, who, of all their leaders, was moſt diſtinguiſhed for his valour, his judgment and experience, repreſented to them, in order to raiſe their hopes, that they had not been wanting in courage but in conduct; that the enemies, though very brave, owed their victory to their good fortune rather than to their merit; that the having a multitude of leaders, (they were fifteen in number) from which confuſion and diſobedience are inſeparable, had done them prejudice; that it would be abſolutely neceſſary for them to chuſe experienced generals, to keep the reſt in their duty, and exerciſe their forces continually during the winter ſeaſon. This advice being followed, Hermocrates and two more were elected generals; after which they ſent deputies to Corinth and Lacedæmon to renew the alliance,

liance, and at the ſame time to engage them to make a diverſion, in order to oblige, if poſſible, the Athenians to recal their troops out of Sicily, or at leaſt to prevent their ſending a reinforcement thither. The fortifying of Syracuſe was the chief object of their care. Accordingly they took into the city, by a wall, all the tract of land towards Epipolæ, from the northern extremity of Tyche, deſcending weſtward towards the quarter or diviſion of the city called afterwards Neapolis, in order to remove the enemy to a greater diſtance, and to give them more trouble in making their contravallation, by obliging them to give a larger extent to it. This part, in all probability, had been neglected, becauſe it ſeemed to be ſufficiently defended by its rugged and ſteep ſituation. They alſo garriſoned Megara and Olympia, and drove ſtakes into all thoſe parts of the ſea-ſhore, where the enemy might eaſily make a deſcent. Hearing afterwards that the Athenians were at Naxos, they went and burnt the camp of Catana, and retired, after laying waſte the country adjacent to it.

(*b*) The ambaſſadors of Syracuſe being arrived among the Corinthians, aſked ſuccour of them as having been their founders, which was immediately granted; and at the ſame time they ſent an embaſſy to the Lacedæmonians, to invite them to declare in their favour. Alcibiades enforced their demand with all his credit and eloquence, which his reſentment againſt Athens inflamed prodigiouſly. He adviſed and exhorted the Lacedæmonians to appoint Gylippus their general, and ſend him into Sicily; and at the ſame time to invade the Athenians, in order to make a powerful diverſion. In the third place, he counſelled them to fortify Decelia in Attica, which quite compleated the ruin of the city of Athens, it not being able ever to recover that blow: For by this fort, the Lacedæmonians made themſelves maſters of the coun-

(*b*) Thucyd. l. 6. p. 471—482. Plut. in Alcib. p. 203. In Nic. p. 534, 535. Diod. l. 13. p. 138.

try,

try, by which the Athenians were deprived of their ſilver mines of Laurium, and of the revenues of their lands; nor could they be ſuccoured by their neighbours, Decelia becoming the aſylum of all the male-contents and partizans of Sparta.

(*i*) Nicias had received ſome ſuccours from Athens. It conſiſted of two hundred and fifty horſemen, whom the Athenians ſuppoſed would be furniſhed with horſes in Sicily, (the troops bringing only the furniture) and of thirty horſe-archers, with three hundred talents, that is, three hundred thouſand French crowns *. Nicias now began to prepare for action. He was accuſed of often letting ſlip opportunities, by his loſing time in deliberating, arguing and concerting meaſures; however, when once he entered upon action, he was as bold and vigorous in executing, as he before had been ſlow and timorous in undertaking, as he ſhowed on the preſent occaſion.

The Syracuſans hearing that the Athenians had a reinforcement of cavalry, and would ſoon march and lay ſiege to their city; and knowing they could not poſſibly approach it, or make a contravallation, unleſs they ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of the hill of Epipolæ which commanded Syracuſe, they reſolved to guard the avenue to it, which was the only paſs by which the enemy could get up to it, every other part being rugged and inacceſſible. Marching therefore down into the meadow or plain, bordered by the river Anapis, and reviewing their troops there, they appointed ſeven hundred foot, under the command of Diomilus, to guard that important poſt; and commanded them to repair to it, at the firſt ſignal which ſhould be given for that purpoſe. But Nicias conducted his deſign with ſo much prudence, expedition, and ſecrecy, that they had not time to do this. He ſailed from Catana with all his fleet, without the enemy's having the leaſt ſuſpicion of his deſign. Being arrived at the port of

(*i*) A. M. 3590. Ant. J. C. 414.

* *About* 67000 l. *ſterling*.

Trogilus

Trogilus near Leontium, which is but a quarter of a league (ſix or ſeven furlongs) from Epipolæ, he put his land-forces on ſhore, after which he retired with his fleet to Thapſus, a ſmall peninſula of Syracuſe, the entrance to which he ſhut up with a ſtaccado.

The land-forces marched with the utmoſt expedition to ſeize on Epipolæ, by the paſs of Euryelus, before the enemy, who were in the plains of Anapis at above a league's diſtance, had the leaſt notice of their arrival. At the firſt news of this, the ſeven hundred ſoldiers under the command of Diomilus, advanced forward in confuſion, but were eaſily defeated; and three hundred of them, with their leader, left dead in the field. The Athenians, after ſetting up a trophy, built a fort in Labdalon, on the ſummit of Epipolæ, in order to ſecure their baggage and moſt valuable effects in it, whenever they ſhould be forced to fight, or work at the contravallation.

Soon after, the inhabitants of Egeſta ſent the Athenians three hundred horſe, to which ſome of their Sicilian allies added a hundred more, that with the two hundred and fifty ſent before by the Athenians, and who had furniſhed themſelves with horſes in Sicily, made a body of ſix hundred and fifty horſe.

The plan laid down by Nicias, in order for taking Syracuſe, was, to ſurround all the city on the land-ſide with a ſtrong contravallation, in order to cut off all communication with the place from without, in hopes no doubt that his fleet would afterwards enable him to prevent the Syracuſans from receiving any ſuccours or proviſions by ſea.

Having left a garriſon in Labdalon, he came down from the hill, advanced towards the northern extremity of Tyche, and halting there, he employed the whole army in throwing up a line of contravallation, to ſhut up their city northward from Tyche as far as Trogilus, ſituate on the ſea-ſide. This work was carried on with ſuch a rapidity, as terrified the Syracuſans. They thought it abſolutely neceſſary to prevent the

carrying

carrying on of this work, and accordingly made ſome ſallies and attacks, but always with diſadvantage, and even their cavalry was routed. The day after the action, the contravallation (northward) was continued by part of the army, during which the reſt carried ſtones and other materials towards Trogilus, in order to finiſh it.

The beſieged, by the advice of Hermocrates, thought it adviſable not to venture a ſecond battle with the Athenians; and only endeavoured to put a ſtop to their works, at leaſt to render them uſeleſs, by running a line to cut that carried on by the Athenians. They imagined, that in caſe they ſhould be ſuffered to complete their wall, it would be impoſſible for the Athenians to make any farther progreſs in their work: or that, ſhould they endeavour to prevent it, it would ſuffice for the Syracuſans to oppoſe them with a part of their forces, after having ſhut up ſuch avenues as were moſt acceſſible with ſtrong paliſades: and that the Athenians, on the contrary, would be obliged to ſend for all their forces, and entirely abandon their works.

Accordingly they came out of their city, and working with inexpreſſible ardor, they began to raiſe a wall; and, in order to carry it on with leſs moleſtation, they covered it with ſtrong paliſades, and flanked it with wooden towers, at proper diſtances, to defend it. The Athenians ſuffered the Syracuſans to carry on their works undiſturbed, becauſe, had they marched only part of their troops againſt them, they would have been too weak; and if they had brought them all, they then muſt have been obliged to diſcontinue their works, which they were reſolved not to do. The work being compleated, the Syracuſans left a body of troops to defend the paliſade and guard the wall, and then returned into the city.

In the mean time the Athenians cut off the canals by which water was conveyed into the city; and obſerving the Syracuſan ſoldiers who had been left to

guard

guard the wall, very negligent in their duty; ſome returning at noon either into the city or their tents, and the reſt not keeping a proper guard; they detached three hundred choſen ſoldiers, and ſome light infantry, to attack this poſt; during which the reſt of the army marched towards the city, to prevent any ſuccours from coming out of it. Accordingly, the three hundred ſoldiers having forced the paliſade, purſued thoſe who guarded it as far as that part of the city wall which covered Temenos, where, pouring in indiſcriminately with them, they were repulſed by the inhabitants with loſs. The whole army afterwards demoliſhed the wall, and pulled up the paliſades of the intrenchment, and carried them off.

After this ſucceſs, whereby the Athenians were maſters of the northern parts, they began, the very next day, a ſtill more important work, and which would quite finiſh their incloſure of the city; *viz.* to carry a wall from the hills of Epipolæ, weſtward, thro' the plain and the fens as far as the great harbour. To prevent this, the beſieged beginning the ſame kind of work as they had carried on on the other ſide, ran a trench, lined with paliſades, from the city through the fens, to prevent the Athenians from carrying their contravallations as far as the ſea. But the latter, after finiſhing the firſt part of the wall on the hills of Epipolæ, reſolved to attack this new work. For this purpoſe, they ordered their fleet to ſail from Thapſus to the great harbour of Syracuſe, it having continued in that road hitherto; and the beſieged had always the ſea open to them, by which the beſiegers were obliged to get their proviſions from Thapſus by land. The Athenians came down therefore from Epipolæ into the plain, before day-break; when throwing planks and beams in that part where the fen was only ſlimy and more firm than in other places, they immediately carried the greateſt part of the foſsé lined with paliſades, and then the reſt, after having beat the Syracuſans, who gave way and retired; ſuch as were on the right,

towards

towards the city, and the reſt towards the river. Three hundred choſen Athenians having attempted to cut off the paſſage of the latter, flew towards the bridge; but the enemy's cavalry, the greateſt part of which were drawn up in battle, repulſed them; and afterwards charged the right wing of the Athenians, and put the firſt battalions into diſorder. Lamachus perceiving this from the left wing where he commanded, ran thither with the Argives and ſome archers; but having paſſed a trench, and being abandoned by his ſoldiers, he was killed with five or ſix who followed him. The enemy immediately paſſed the river, and ſeeing the reſt of the army come up, they retired.

At the ſame time their right wing, which had returned towards the city, reſumed courage from this ſucceſs, and drew up in order of battle before the Athenians; after having detached ſome troops to attack the fort on the hills of Epipolæ, which ſerved as a magazine to the enemy, and was thought to be unguarded. They forced an intrenchment that covered the fort, but Nicias ſaved it. He was ſick in this fort, and at that time in his bed, with only his domeſticks about him. Animated by the danger and the preſence of the enemy, he ſtruggles with his indiſpoſition; riſes up, and commands his ſervants to ſet fire immediately to all the timber, lying between the intrenchment and the fort for the military engines, and to the engines themſelves. This unexpected conflagration ſtopped the Syracuſans, ſaved Nicias, the fort, and all the rich effects of the Athenians, who made haſte to the relief of that general. At the ſame time, the fleet was ſeen ſailing into the great harbour, according to the orders given for that purpoſe. The Syracuſans having perceived this from the hill, and fearing they ſhould be attacked from behind, and over-powered by the land-forces, they retired, and returned to the city with all their forces; now no longer expecting, after having loſt their foſsé lined with paliſades, that it would

be

be poſſible for them to prevent the enemy from carrying on their contravallation as far as the ſea.

In the mean time the Athenians, who had contented themſelves with building a ſingle wall on the hills of Epipolæ, and through ſuch places as were craggy and of difficult acceſs, being come down into the plain, began to build, at the foot of the hills, a double wall, intending to carry it as far as the ſea; *viz.* a wall of contravallation againſt the beſieged, and another of circumvallation againſt thoſe Syracuſan troops which were out of the city, and ſuch allies as might come to its aid.

From thenceforth Nicias, who now was ſole general, conceived great hopes; for ſeveral cities of Sicily, which hitherto had not declared for either ſide, came and joined him; and there arrived from all quarters veſſels laden with proviſions for his army, all parties being eager to go over to him, becauſe he had acquired the ſuperiority, and been exceedingly ſucceſsful in all his undertakings. The Syracuſans, ſeeing themſelves blocked up both by ſea and land, and loſing all hopes of being able to defend their city any longer, already propoſed an accommodation. Gylippus, who was coming from Lacedæmon to their aſſiſtance, having heard, in his paſſage, the extremity to which they were reduced, and looking upon the whole iſland as loſt, ſailed forward nevertheleſs; not in the view of defending Sicily, but only to preſerve to the nations of Italy, ſuch cities as were ſubject to them in that iſland, if it were not too late, and if this could be done. For fame had declared, in all places, that the Athenians had already poſſeſſed themſelves of the whole iſland; and were headed by a general, whoſe wiſdom and good fortune rendred him invincible. Nicias himſelf, now (contrary to his natural diſpoſition) confiding in his own ſtrength, and elate from his ſucceſs; perſuaded alſo by the ſecret advices which were brought him daily from Syracuſe, and the meſſengers who were ſent to him, that the city would immediately capitulate,

late, did not regard Gylippus's approach, and in conſequence took no precautions to prevent his landing, eſpecially when he heard that he brought but very few veſſels; terming him a trifling pyrate, not worthy, in any manner, his notice. But a general ought to be extremely careful not to abate his cares and vigilance upon account of ſucceſs, becauſe the leaſt negligence may ruin every thing. Had Nicias ſent the ſmalleſt detachment to oppoſe Gylippus's landing, he would have taken Syracuſe, and the whole affair had been ended.

SECT. XIII. *The Syracuſans reſolve to capitulate, but Gylippus's arrival changes the face of affairs. Nicias is forced by his collegues to engage in a ſea-fight, and is overcome. His land-forces are alſo defeated.*

NINETEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

(*k*) THE fortifications of the Athenians were now almoſt compleated; and they had drawn a double wall, near half a league in length, along the plain and the fens towards the great port, and had almoſt reached it. There now remained, on the ſide towards Trogilus, only a ſmall part of the wall to be finiſhed. The Syracuſans were therefore on the brink of ruin, and had no hopes left, as they were no longer able to defend themſelves, and did not expect any ſuccours. For this reaſon they reſolved to ſurrender. Accordingly, a council was held to ſettle articles of capitulation, in order to preſent them to Nicias; and ſeveral were of opinion, that it would be proper to capitulate ſoon, before the city ſhould be entirely inveſted.

It was at that very inſtant, and in the moſt critical juncture, that an officer, Gongyles by name, arrived from Corinth on board a ſhip with three benches of oars. At his arrival, all the citizens flocked round

(*k*) A. M. 3591. Ant. J. C. 413. Thucyd. l. 7. p. 485—489. Plut. in Nic. p. 535, 536. Diod. l. 13. p. 138, 139.

him. He informed them, that Gylippus would be with them immediately, and was followed by a great many other gallies, which came to their aid. The Syracuſans aſtoniſhed, or rather ſtupefied, as it were, with this news, could ſcarce believe what they heard. Whilſt they were thus fluctuating and in doubt, a courier arrived from Gylippus to inform them of his approach, and order them to march out all their troops to meet him. He himſelf, after having taken a * fort in his way, marched in battle directly for Epipolæ; and aſcending by Euryelus, as the Athenians had done, he prepared to attack them from without, whilſt the Syracuſans ſhould charge them, on their ſide, with the forces of Syracuſe and his. The Athenians, exceedingly ſurprized by his arrival, drew up haſtily, and without order, under the walls. With regard to himſelf, laying down his arms when he approached, he ſent word by a herald, that he would allow the Athenians five days to leave Sicily. Nicias did not condeſcend to make the leaſt anſwer to this propoſal; and ſome of his ſoldiers burſting out a laughing, aſked the herald, *Whether the preſence of a Lacedæmonian privateer, and a trifling wand, could make any change in the preſent ſtate of the city?* Both ſides therefore prepared for battle.

Gylippus ſtormed the fort of Labdalon, and cut to pieces all who were found in it. The ſame day an Athenian galley was taken, as it ſailed into the harbour. The beſieged afterwards drew a wall from the city, towards Epipolæ, in order to cut (about the extremity of it) the ſingle wall of the Athenians; and to deprive them of all communication with the troops, poſted in the intrenchments which ſurrounded the city on the north ſide towards Tyche and Trogilus. The Athenians, after having finiſhed the wall, which extended as far as the ſea towards the great harbour, were returned to the hills. Gylippus perceiving, in the ſingle wall which the Athenians had built on the

* *Forts.*

hills

hills of Epipolæ, a part that was weaker and lower than the reſt, marched thither in the night with his troops; but being diſcovered by the Athenians who were encamped without, he was forced to retire, upon ſeeing them advance directly towards him. They raiſed the wall higher, and themſelves undertook the guard of it; after having fixed their allies in the ſeveral poſts of the remainder of the intrenchment.

Nicias, on the other ſide, thought proper to fortify the cape of Plemmyrium, which, by its running into the ſea, ſtraitned the mouth of the great harbour; and his deſign thereby was, to procure proviſions, and all other things he might want, the more eaſily; becauſe the Athenians, by poſſeſſing themſelves of that poſt, drew near the little port, wherein lay the chief naval forces of the Syracuſans, and were the better able to obſerve the various motions of it; and that beſides, by having the ſea open, they would not be forced to have all their proviſions from the bottom of the great harbour; as they muſt have been, ſhould the enemy, by ſeizing on the mouth of it, oblige them to keep cloſe in the harbour, in the manner they then did. For Nicias, from the arrival of Gylippus, had no hopes left but from the ſide next the ſea. Sending therefore his fleet and part of his troops thither, he built three forts, by which the ſhips were enabled to lie at anchor; he alſo ſecured there a great part of the baggage and ammunition. It was then that the troops on board the fleet ſuffered very much; for, as they were obliged to go a great way to fetch wood and water, they were ſurrounded by the enemy's horſe, the third part of which were poſted at Olympia, to prevent the garriſon of Plemmyrium from ſallying, and were maſters of the field. Advice being brought Nicias, that the Corinthian fleet was advancing, he ſent twenty [illegible] againſt it; ordering them to obſerve the ene[illegible] wards Locris, Rhegium, and the reſt of th[illegible] of Sicily.

In the mean time Gylippus, employing thoſe very ſtones which the Athenians had got together for their uſe, went on with the wall which the Syracuſans had begun to carry through Epipolæ; and drew up daily in battle-array before it, as did the Athenians. When he ſaw it was a proper time for engaging, he began the battle in the ſpot lying between the two walls. The narrowneſs of it having rendered his cavalry and archers uſeleſs, he came off with loſs, and the Athenians ſet up a trophy. Gylippus, to reanimate his ſoldiers, by doing them juſtice, had the courage to reproach himſelf for the ill ſucceſs they had met with; and to declare publickly, that he, not they, had occaſioned the late defeat; becauſe he had made them fight in too narrow a ſpot of ground. However, he promiſed ſoon to give them an opportunity of recovering both their honour and his; and accordingly, the very next day, he led them againſt the enemy, after having exhorted them in the ſtrongeſt terms, to behave in a manner worthy of their antient glory. Nicias perceiving, that though he ſhould not deſire to come to a battle, it would however be abſolutely neceſſary for him to prevent the enemy from extending their line beyond the contravallation, to which they were already very near; (becauſe otherwiſe this would be granting them a certain victory) he therefore marched againſt the Syracuſans. Gylippus brought up his troops beyond that place, where the walls terminated on both ſides, in order that he might leave the more room to extend his battle; when charging the enemy's left wing with his horſe, he put it to flight, and ſoon after defeated the right. We have here an inſtance of what the experience and abilities of a great captain are capable of producing: for Gylippus, with the ſame men, the ſame arms, the ſame horſes, and the ſame ground; by only changing his order of battle, defeated the Athenians, and beat them quite to their camp. The following night, the victors carried on their wall beyond the contravallation of the Athenians, and thereby

thereby deprived them of all hopes of being ever able to ſurround them.

(*a*) After this ſucceſs, the Syracuſans, to whoſe aid the Corinthian fleet was arrived unperceived by that of the Athenians, reſumed courage, armed ſeveral gallies; and marching into the plains with their cavalry and other forces, took a great number of priſoners. They ſent deputies to Lacedæmonia and Corinth to deſire a reinforcement; Gylippus went in perſon to all the cities of Sicily, to ſollicit them to join him; and brought over the greateſt part of them, who accordingly ſent him powerful ſuccours. Nicias, finding his troops leſſen, and thoſe of the enemy increaſe daily, began to be diſcouraged; and not only ſent expreſſes to the Athenians, to acquaint them with the ſituation of affairs, but likewiſe wrote to them in the ſtrongeſt terms. I repeat his whole letter, both as it gives a clear and exact account of the ſtate of things at that time in Syracuſe, and may ſerve as a model for ſuch kind of relations.

" Athenians: I have already informed you, by
" ſeveral expreſſes, of what paſſed here: but it is ne-
" ceſſary you ſhould know the preſent ſituation of af-
" fairs, that you may reſolve accordingly. After we
" had been victorious in ſeveral engagements, and al-
" moſt compleated our contravallation, Gylippus ar-
" rived in Syracuſe with a body of Lacedæmonian and
" Sicilian troops; and, having been defeated the firſt
" time, he was victorious the ſecond, by means of
" his cavalry and archers. We are in conſequence
" ſhut up in our intrenchments, without daring to
" make any attempt, or compleat our works through
" the ſuperiority of the enemy's forces; for part of
" our ſoldiers are employed in guarding our forts, and
" conſequently we have not an opportunity of em-
" ploying all our forces in battle. Beſides, as the
" Syracuſans have cut our lines, by a wall, in that

(*a*) Thucyd. l. 7. p. 490—494. Plut. in Nic. p. 536. Diod. l. 13. p. 139.

" part where they were not compleat; it will no
" longer be poſſible for us to inveſt the city, unleſs
" we ſhould force their intrenchments; ſo that in-
" ſtead of beſieging, we ourſelves are beſieged, and
" dare not ſtir out, for fear of their horſe.

" Not contented with theſe advantages, they are
" bringing new ſuccours from Peloponneſus, and have
" ſent Gylippus to force all the neutral cities of Si-
" cily to declare for them; and the reſt to furniſh
" them with men and ſhips, to attack us both by
" ſea and land. I ſay by ſea, which though very
" ſurprizing is however but too true. For our fleet,
" which before was conſiderable, from the good con-
" dition of the gallies and mariners, is now very
" deficient, in thoſe very circumſtances, and prodi-
" giouſly weakned.

" Our gallies leak every where; becauſe we cannot
" draw them on ſhore to careen them, for fear, leſt
" thoſe of the enemy, which are more numerous,
" and in better condition than ours, ſhould attack us
" on a ſudden, which they ſeem to threaten every
" moment. Beſides, we are under a neceſſity of
" ſending many backwards and forwards to guard the
" convoys which we are forced to fetch from a great
" diſtance, and bring along in ſight of the enemy;
" ſo that ſhould we be ever ſo little negligent in this
" point, our army would be ſtarved.

" With regard to the ſhips crews, they decreaſe
" ſenſibly every day; for as great numbers of them
" diſperſe to maraud, or to fetch wood and water, they
" are often cut to pieces by the enemy's horſe. Our
" ſlaves, allured by the neighbourhood of the enemy's
" camp, deſert very faſt to it. The foreigners which
" we forced into the ſervice, diminiſh daily; and ſuch
" as have been raiſed with money, who came for
" plunder rather than fighting, finding themſelves
" baulked, go over to the enemy who are ſo near us,
" or elſe hide themſelves in Sicily, which they may
" eaſily do, in ſo large an iſland. A great number

" of

" of citizens, though long uſed to, and well ſkilled
" in working of ſhips, by bribing the captains, put
" others in their room who are wholly unexperienced,
" and incapable of ſerving, and by that means have
" quite ſubverted all diſcipline. I am now writing to
" men perfectly well verſed in naval affairs; and who
" are very ſenſible, that, when order is neglected,
" every thing grows worſe and worſe, and a fleet muſt
" inevitably be ruined.

" But the moſt unhappy circumſtance is, that tho'
" I am generaliſſimo, I cannot put a ſtop to theſe
" diſorders. For (Athenians) you are very ſenſible,
" that ſuch is your diſpoſition, that you do not eaſily
" brook reſtraint; beſides, I do not know where to
" furniſh myſelf with ſeamen, whilſt the enemy get
" numbers from all quarters. It is not in the power
" of our Sicilian allies to aid us; and ſhould the cities
" of Italy, from whence we have our proviſions,
" (hearing the extremity to which we are reduced,
" and your not taking the leaſt care to ſend us any
" ſuccour) join the Syracuſans, we are undone; and
" the enemy will have no occaſion to fight us.

" I could write of things which would be more
" agreeable, but of none that could be more advanta-
" geous to you, nor which could give you a more
" juſt idea of the ſubjects on which you are to delibe-
" rate. I am ſenſible that you love to have ſuch ad-
" vices only ſent you as are pleaſing; but then I
" know on the other ſide, that when affairs turn out
" otherwiſe than you expected and hoped for, you
" accuſe thoſe who deceived you; which induced me
" to give you a ſincere and genuine account of things,
" without concealing a ſingle circumſtance. By the
" way I am to inform you, that no complaints can
" be juſtly made either againſt the officers or com-
" mon ſoldiers, both having done their duty very
" well.

" But now that the Sicilians join all their forces a-
" gainſt us, and expect a new army from Peloponne-

" ſus;

" ſus; you may lay this down as the foundation for
" your deliberations, that our preſent troops are not
" ſufficient; and therefore, we either muſt be re-
" called; or elſe a land and naval force, equal to the
" firſt, muſt be ſent us, with money in proportion.
" You muſt alſo think of appointing a perſon to ſuc-
" ceed me; it being impoſſible for me, thro' my
" nephretic diſorder, to ſuſtain any longer the weight
" of the command. I imagine that I deſerve this fa-
" vour at your hands, on account of the ſervices I have
" done you, in the ſeveral commands conferred upon
" me, ſo long as my health would permit me to act.
" To conclude; whatever reſolution you may come
" to, the requeſt I have to make, is, that you would
" execute it ſpeedily, and in the very beginning of the
" ſpring. The ſuccours which our enemies meet with
" in Sicily are all ready; but thoſe which they ex-
" pect from Peloponneſus may be longer in coming.
" However, fix this in your minds, that if you do
" not exert yourſelves, the Lacedæmonians will not
" fail, as they have already done, to be beforehand
" with you."

The Athenians were ſtrongly affected with this letter, which made as great an impreſſion on them as Nicias expected. However, they did not think proper to appoint him a ſucceſſor; and only nominated two officers who were under him, *viz.* Menander and Euthydemus, to aſſiſt him till other generals ſhould be ſent. Eurymedon and Demoſthenes were choſen to ſucceed Lamachus and Alcibiades. The former ſet out immediately with ten gallies, and ſome money *, about the winter ſolſtice, to aſſure Nicias that a ſpeedy ſuccour ſhould be ſent him; during which, the latter was raiſing troops and contributions, in order to ſet ſail early in the ſpring.

(*b*) The Lacedæmonians, on the other ſide, being ſupported by the Corinthians, were very induſtrious in

(*b*) Thucyd. l. 7. p. 494—496 and 502, 504. Diod. l. 13. p. 140.
A. M. 3591. Ant. J. C. 413. * 120 *talents.*

preparing

preparing reinforcements to ſend into Sicily, and to enter Attica, in order to keep the Athenian fleet from ſailing to that iſland. Accordingly they entred Attica early, under the command of king Agis; and after having laid waſte the country, they fortified Decelia; having divided the work among all the forces, to make the greater diſpatch. This poſt is about an hundred and twenty furlongs from Athens, that is, about ſix french leagues, and the ſame diſtance from Bœotia. Alcibiades was perpetually ſolliciting the Lacedæmonians; and could not be eaſy, till he had prevailed with them to begin that work. This annoyed the Athenians moſt of all: for hitherto the enemy, retiring after they had laid waſte the Athenian territories, the latter were unmoleſted all the reſt of the year; but from the fortifying of Decelia, the garriſon left in it was continually making incurſions, and alarming the Athenians, Athens being now become a kind of frontier town; for, in the day-time, a guard was mounted at all the gates; and in the night, all the citizens were either on the walls, or under arms. Such veſſels as brought proviſions from the iſland of Euboœa, and which before had a much ſhorter paſſage by Decelia, were forced to go round about, in order to double the cape of Sunium; by which means proviſions, as well as goods imported, grew much dearer. To heighten the calamity, upwards of twenty thouſand ſlaves, the greateſt part of whom were artificers, went over to the enemy, to fly from the extreme miſery with which the city was afflicted. The cattle of all kinds died. Moſt of the horſes were lamed, being continually upon guard, or upon parties. Every thing being laid waſte in this manner, and the Athenians enjoying no longer the revenues which aroſe from the produce of their lands, there was a prodigious ſcarcity of money; ſo that they were forced to take the twentieth part of all the imports, to ſupply their uſual ſubſidies.

(*n*) In the mean time Gylippus, who had made the tour of Sicily, returned with as many men as he could raiſe in the whole iſland; and prevailed with the Syracuſans to fit out the ſtrongeſt fleet in their power, and to hazard a battle at ſea, upon the preſumption that the ſucceſs would anſwer the greatneſs of the enterprize. This advice was ſtrongly enforced by Hermocrates, who exhorted the Syracuſans not to abandon to their enemies the empire of the ſeas. He obſerved, that the Athenians themſelves had not received it from their anceſtors, nor been always poſſeſſed of it: That the Perſian war had in a manner forced them into the knowledge of naval affairs, notwithſtanding two great obſtacles, their diſpoſition, and the ſituation of their city, which ſtood at a conſiderable diſtance from the ſea: That they had made themſelves formidable to other nations, not ſo much by their real ſtrength, as by their courage and intrepidity: That they ought to copy them; and ſince they had to do with enemies who were ſo enterprizing, it was fit they ſhould be equally daring.

This advice was approved, and accordingly a large fleet was equipped. Gylippus led out all his land-forces in the night-time, to attack the forts of Plemmyrium. Thirty-five gallies of Syracuſe which were in the great harbour, and forty-five in the leſſer, where was an arſenal for ſhips, were ordered to advance towards Plemmyrium, to amaze the Athenians, who would ſee themſelves attacked both by ſea and land at the ſame time. The Athenians, at this news, went on board alſo; and, with twenty-five ſhips, ſailed to fight the thirty-five Syracuſan veſſels which were ſailing out againſt them from the great harbour; and oppoſed thirty-five more to the forty-five of the enemy, which were come out of the little port. A ſharp engagement was fought at the mouth of the great har-

(*n*) Thucyd. l. 7. p. 497—500. Plut. in Nic. p. 536. Diod. p. 140.

bour;

bour; one party endeavouring to force their way into it, and the other to keep them out.

Thoſe who defended the forts of Plemmyrium, having flocked to the ſhore to view the battle, Gylippus attacked the forts unexpectedly by day-break; and having carried the greateſt of them by ſtorm, the ſoldiers who defended the other two were ſo terrified, that they abandoned them in a moment. After this advantage the Syracuſans ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs; for ſuch of their veſſels as fought at the entrance of the harbour, (after having forced the Athenians) bulged furiouſly one againſt the other as they entered it in diſorder; and by this means ſhifted the victory to their enemies, who were not contented with purſuing them, but alſo gave chaſe to thoſe who were victorious in the great harbour. Eleven Syracuſan gallies were ſunk, and great numbers of the ſailors in them killed. Three were taken; but the Athenians likewiſe loſt three, and after towing thoſe of the enemy, they raiſed a trophy in a little iſland lying before Plemmyrium, and retired to the center of their camp.

The Syracuſans alſo raiſed three trophies for their taking of the three forts; and after razing one of the ſmaller, they repaired the fortifications of the other two, and put garriſons into them. Several Athenians had been either killed or made priſoners there; and great ſums of money were taken, the property of the public, as well as of merchants and captains of gallies, beſides a large quantity of ammunition; this being a kind of magazine for the whole army. They likewiſe loſt the ſtores and rigging of forty gallies, with three ſhips that lay in the dock. But a more conſiderable circumſtance was, Gylippus thereby prevented Nicias from getting proviſions and ammunition ſo eaſily; for, whilſt the latter was poſſeſt of Plemmyrium, they procured theſe ſecurely and expeditiouſly; whereas, after their being diſpoſſeſſed of it, it was equally difficult and hazardous, becauſe they could not bring in any thing without fighting; the enemy lying

ing at anchor juſt off their fort. Thus the Athenians could have no proviſions but from the point of their ſwords; which diſpirited the ſoldiers very much, and threw the whole army into a great conſternation.

(*o*) There afterwards was a little ſkirmiſh in defending a ſtaccado which the inhabitants had made in the ſea, at the entrance of the old harbour, to ſecure the ſhipping. The Athenians having raiſed towers and parapets on a large ſhip, made it advance as near as poſſible to the ſtaccado, in order that it might ſerve as a bulwark to ſome ſhips which carried military engines, with which they drew up ſtakes by the help of pullies and ropes, excluſive of thoſe which the divers ſawed in two; the beſieged defending themſelves with their harbour, and the enemies with their tower. Such ſtakes as had been drove in, level with the ſurface of the water, in order to ſtrand thoſe veſſels that ſhould come near them, were the hardeſt to force away. The divers alſo bribed the enemy, and moſt of the ſtakes were torn up; but then others were immediately drove in their places. The utmoſt efforts were uſed on both ſides, in the attack as well as the defence.

(*p*) One circumſtance which the beſieged conſidered of the greateſt importance, was, to attempt a ſecond engagement both by ſea and land, before the fleet, and other ſuccours ſent by the Athenians, ſhould arrive. They had concerted freſh meaſures for a battle at ſea, by improving from the errors they had committed in the laſt engagement, The change made in the gallies was, their prows were now ſhorter, and at the ſame time ſtronger and more ſolid than before. For this purpoſe, they fixed great pieces of timber, projecting forward, on each ſide of the prows; and to theſe pieces they joined beams by way of props. Theſe beams extended to the length of ſix cubits on each ſide of the veſſel, both within and without. By this they hoped to gain the advantage over the gallies

(*o*) Thucyd. l. 7. p. 500, 501. (*p*) Thucyd. l. 7. p. 509—513. Plus. in Nic. p. 536. Diod. p. 140, 141.

Of

of the Athenians, which did not dare, becauſe of the weakneſs of their prows, to attack an enemy in front, but only in flank; not to mention that ſhould the battle be fought in the harbour, they would not have room to ſpread themſelves, nor to paſs between two gallies, in which lay their greateſt art; nor to tack about, after they ſhould have been repulſed, in order to return to the charge; whereas the Syracuſans, by their being maſters of the whole extent of the harbour, would have all theſe advantages, and might reciprocally aſſiſt one another. On theſe circumſtances the latter founded their hopes of victory.

Gylippus therefore firſt drew all the infantry out of the camp, and advanced towards that part of the contravallation of the Athenians which faced the city; whilſt the troops of Olympia marched towards the other, and their gallies ſet ſail.

Nicias did not care to venture a ſecond battle, ſaying, that as he expected a freſh fleet every moment, and a great reinforcement under Demoſthenes, it would betray the greateſt want of judgment, ſhould he, as his troops were inferior in number to thoſe of the enemy, and already fatigued, hazard a battle without being forced to it. On the contrary, Menander and Euthydemus, who had juſt before been appointed to ſhare the command with Nicias, till the arrival of Demoſthenes; fired with ambition, and jealous of thoſe generals, were eager to perform ſome great exploit, to bereave the one of his glory, and, if poſſible, eclipſe that of the other. The pretence they alledged on this occaſion was, the fame and reputation of Athens; and they aſſerted with ſo much vehemence, that it would be entirely deſtroyed, ſhould they ſhun the battle, as the Syracuſans offered it them, that they at laſt forced Nicias to a compliance. The Athenians had ſeventy-five gallies, and the Syracuſans eighty.

The firſt day the fleets continued in ſight of each other, in the great harbour, without engaging; and only

only a few ſkirmiſhes paſſed, after which both parties retired: and it was juſt the ſame with the land-forces. The Syracuſans did not make the leaſt motion the ſecond day. Nicias, taking advantage of this inactivity, cauſed the tranſports to draw up in a line, at ſome diſtance from one another, in order that his gallies might retire behind them with ſafety, in caſe he ſhould be defeated. On the morrow, the Syracuſans came up ſooner than uſual, when a great part of the day was ſpent in ſkirmiſhing, after which they retired. The Athenians did not ſuppoſe they would return, but imagined that fear had made them fly: but having refreſhed themſelves in great diligence, and returning on board their gallies, they attacked the Athenians, who were far from expecting them. The latter being now forced to return immediately on board their ſhips, they entered them in great diſorder, ſo that they had not time to draw them up in a line of battle, and moſt of the ſailors were faſting. Victory did not long continue in ſuſpenſe. The Athenians, after making a ſhort and ſlight reſiſtance, retired behind their line of tranſport ſhips. The enemy purſued them thither, and were ſtopt by the ſailyards of thoſe ſhips, to which were fixed * dolphins of lead, which, being very heavy, had they fallen on the enemy's gallies, would have ſunk them at once. The Athenians loſt ſeven gallies in this engagement, and a great number of ſoldiers were either killed or taken priſoners.

(q) This loſs threw Nicias into the utmoſt conſternation. All the misfortunes he had met with, ever ſince the time he had firſt enjoyed the ſupreme command, came into his mind; and he now is involved in a greater than any of them, by his complying with the advice of his collegues. Whilſt he was revolving theſe gloomy ideas, Demoſthenes's fleet was ſeen coming

(q) Thucyd. l. 7. p. 513—518. Plut. in Nic. p. 537. Diod. p. 141, 142.

* *This engine, ſo violent was its motion, broke through a galley from the deck to the hold.*

forward

forward in great pomp, and with ſuch an air as ſhould fill the enemy with dread: it was now the day after the battle. This fleet conſiſted of ſeventy-three gallies, on board of which were five thouſand fighting men, and about three thouſand archers, ſlingers and bowmen. All theſe gallies were richly trimmed; their prows being adorned with ſhining ſtreamers, manned with ſtout rowers, commanded by good officers, and echoing with the ſound of clarions and trumpets; Demoſthenes having affected an air of pomp and triumph, purpoſely to ſtrike terror into the enemy.

This gallant ſight alarmed them indeed beyond expreſſion. They did not ſee any end, or even the leaſt ſuſpenſion of their calamities: all they had hitherto done or ſuffered was as nothing, and their work was to begin again. What hopes could they entertain of being able to weary out the patience of the Athenians, ſince, though they had a camp intrenched in the middle of Attica, they were however able to ſend a ſecond army into Sicily, as conſiderable as the former; and that their power, as well as their courage, ſeemed, notwithſtanding all their loſſes, inſtead of diminiſhing to increaſe daily?

Demoſthenes having made an exact enquiry into the ſtate of things, imagined that it would not be proper for him to loſe time as Nicias had done, who, having ſpread an univerſal terror at his firſt arrival, became afterwards the object of contempt, for his having wintered in Catana, inſtead of going directly to Syracuſe; and had afterwards given Gylippus an opportunity of throwing troops into it. He flattered himſelf with the hopes, that he ſhould be able to carry the city at the firſt attack, by taking advantage of the alarm which the news of his arrival would ſpread in every part of it, and by that means ſhould immediately put an end to the war: otherwiſe he intended to raiſe the ſiege, and no longer harraſs and leſſen the troops by fighting battles never deciſive; nor quite exhauſt the city of Athens, by employing its treaſures in needleſs expences.

Nicias,

Nicias, terrified by this bold and precipitate reſolution of Demoſthenes, conjured him not to be ſo haſty, but to take time to weigh things deliberately, that he might have no cauſe to repent of what he ſhould do. He obſerved to him, that the enemy would be ruined by delays; that their proviſions as well as money were entirely exhauſted; that their allies were going to abandon them; that they muſt ſoon be reduced to ſuch extremity, for want of proviſions, as would force them to ſurrender, as they had before reſolved: For there was certain perſons in Syracuſe who held a ſecret correſpondence with Nicias, and exhorted him not to be impatient, becauſe the Syracuſans were tired with the war and with Gylippus; and that ſhould the neceſſity to which they were reduced be ever ſo little increaſed, they would ſurrender at diſcretion.

As Nicias did not explain himſelf clearly, and would not declare in expreſs terms, that ſure and certain advices were ſent him of whatever was tranſacted in the city, his remonſtrances were conſidered as an effect of the timidity and ſlowneſs with which he had always been reproached. "Such, ſaid they, are his "uſual protraction, delays, diſtruſts, and fearful pre-"caution, whereby he has deadned all the vivacity, "and extinguiſhed all the ardour of the troops, in not "marching them immediately againſt the enemy; "but, on the contrary, by deferring to attack them, "till his own forces were weakned and deſpiſed." This made the reſt of the generals and all the officers come over to Demoſthenes's opinion, and Nicias himſelf was at laſt forced to acquieſce with it.

Demoſthenes, after having attacked to no purpoſe the wall which cut the contravallation of the beſiegers, confined himſelf to the attack of Epipolæ, from a ſuppoſition that ſhould he once be maſter of it, the wall would be quite undefended. He therefore took proviſions for five days, with workmen, implements, and every thing neceſſary for him to defend that poſt after he ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of it. As there was no going

ing up to it in the day-time undiſcovered, he marched thither in the night with all his forces, followed by Eurymedon and Menander ; Nicias ſtaying behind to guard the camp. They went up by the way of Euryelus, as before, unperceived by the centinels ; attack the firſt intrenchment, and ſtorm it, after killing part of thoſe who defended it. Demoſthenes, not ſatisfied with this advantage, to prevent the ardor of his ſoldiers froom cooling, and not delay the execution of his deſign, marches forward. During this interval, the forces of the city, ſuſtained by Gylippus, march, under arms, out of the intrenchments. Being ſeized with aſtoniſhment, which the darkneſs of the night increaſed, they were immediately repulſed and put to flight. But as the Athenians advanced in diſorder, to force whatever might reſiſt their arms, leſt the enemy might rally again, ſhould time be allowed them to breathe and recover from their ſurprize, they are ſtopt on a ſudden by the Bœotians, who make a vigorous ſtand, and marching againſt the Athenians with their pikes preſented, they repulſe them with great ſhouts, and make a dreadful ſlaughter. This ſpreads an univerſal terror through the reſt of the army. Thoſe who fled either force along ſuch as were advancing to their aſſiſtance, or elſe, miſtaking them for enemies, turn their arms againſt them. They now were all mixed indiſcriminately, it being impoſſible to diſcover objects in the horrors of a night, which was not ſo gloomy as entirely to make objects imperceptible, nor yet light enough to diſtinguiſh thoſe which were ſeen. The Athenians ſought for one another to no purpoſe ; and from their often aſking the *word*, by which only they were able to know one another, a ſtrange confuſion of ſounds was heard, which occaſioned no little diſorder ; not to mention that they, by this means, divulged the word to the enemy, and could not learn theirs ; becauſe by their being together and in a body, they had no occaſion to repeat it. In the mean time, thoſe who were purſued, threw themſelves from

from the top of rocks, and many were daſhed to pieces by the fall; and as moſt of thoſe who eſcaped, ſtraggled from one another up and down the fields and woods, they were cut to pieces the next day by the enemy's horſe, who purſued them. Two thouſand Athenians were ſlain in this engagement, and a great number of arms were taken; thoſe who fled having thrown them away, that they might be the better able to eſcape over the precipices.

SECT. XIV. *The conſternation with which the Athenians are ſeized. They again hazard a ſea-fight, and are defeated. They reſolve to retire by land. Being cloſe purſued by the Syracuſans, they ſurrender. Nicias and Demoſthenes are ſentenced to die, and executed. The effect which the news of the defeat of the army produces in Athens.*

(r) THE Athenian generals, after ſuſtaining ſo great a loſs, were in a prodigious dilemma, and did not know how to act in the preſent diſcouragement and deſpair of the troops, who died daily, either by the diſeaſes of the autumn, or by the bad air of the fens near which they were encamped. Demoſthenes was of opinion, that it would be proper for them to leave the country immediately, ſince they had been unſucceſsful in ſo important an enterprize; eſpecially as the ſeaſon was not too far advanced for ſailing; and that they had ſhips enough to force a paſſage, in caſe the enemy ſhould diſpute it with them. He declared, that it would be of much greater advantage to oblige the enemy to raiſe their blockade of Athens, than for them to continue that of Syracuſe, by which they exhauſted themſelves to no purpoſe; that he was certain they would not be reinforced by a new army; and that they could not hope to overcome the enemy with the weak one under their command.

(r) Thucyd. l. 7. p. 511—520. Plut. in Nic. p. 538—542. Diod. p. 142.

Nicias

Nicias was ſenſible, that the arguments his collegue uſed were very juſt, and he himſelf was of his opinion: but at the ſame time he was afraid, leſt ſo public a confeſſion of the weak condition to which they were reduced, and their reſolution to leave Sicily, (the report of which would certainly reach the enemy) ſhould compleat the ruin of their affairs; and perhaps make them unable to execute their reſolution when they ſhould attempt it. Beſides, they had ſome little hopes left that the beſieged, being themſelves reduced to great extremity by their abſolute want of proviſions and money, would at laſt be inclined to ſurrender upon honourable terms. Thus, altho' he was in reality uncertain and wavering, he inſinuated, that he did not care to quit Sicily, till the Athenians ſhould have firſt ſent orders for that purpoſe; and that otherwiſe they would be highly diſpleaſed: That as thoſe who were to judge them, had not been eye-witneſſes of the ſtate of things, they would be of a different opinon; and, at the inſtigation of ſome orator, certainly condemn them: That moſt of thoſe men who now exclaimed with the greateſt vehemence againſt the difficulties they laboured under, would then change their note, and accuſe them of having been bribed to raiſe the ſiege: That knowing ſo well, as he did, the diſpoſition and character of the Athenians, he choſe to die gloriouſly by the enemy's ſword, rather than be ignominiouſly condemned by his fellow-citizens.

Theſe reaſons, tho' they appeared very ſtrong, were yet not able to convince Demoſthenes; and it was ſtill his opinion, that the only good choice they could make, would be to retire. However, as he had been unſucceſsful in his former opinion, he was afraid of inſiſting upon this; and he was the more inclined to come into that of Nicias, from imagining, with many others, that this general might have ſome ſecret reſource, as he was ſo firmly reſolved to ſtay.

Gylippus,

(s) Gylippus, after having made the tour of Sicily, had brought a great body of troops with him. This new reinforcement terrified the Athenians exceedingly, whose army diminished daily by sickness; and they now began to repent their not having raised the siege, especially as the besieged were preparing to attack them both by sea and land. Besides, Nicias no longer opposed this resolution, and only desired to have it kept secret. Orders were therefore given, as privately as possible, for the fleet to prepare for setting sail with the utmost expedition.

When all things were ready, the moment they were going to set sail, (wholly unsuspected by the enemy, who were far from surmising they would leave Sicily so soon) the moon was suddenly eclipsed in the middle of the night, and lost all its splendor; which terrified Nicias and the whole army, who, from ignorance and superstition, were astonished at so sudden a change, the causes of which they did not know, and therefore dreaded the consequences of it. They then consulted the soothsayers; and who being equally unacquainted with the reasons of this phænomenon, only augmented their consternation. It was the custom after such accidents had happened, to suspend their enterprizes but for three days. The soothsayers pronounced, that he must not set sail till three times nine days were past, (these are Thucydides's words) which doubtless was a mysterious number in the opinion of the people. Nicias, scrupulous to a fault, and full of a mistaken veneration for these blind interpreters of the will of the gods, declared, that he would wait a whole revolution of the moon, and not return till the same day of the next month; as if he had not seen the planet very clearly, the instant it had emerged from that part which was darkned by the interposition of the earth's body.

(s) Thucyd. l. 7. 521—548. Plut. in Nic. p. 538. Diod. l. 13. p. 142--161.

But

But he was not allowed time for this. The news of the intended departure of the Athenians being ſoon ſpread over the city, a reſolution was taken to attack the beſiegers both by ſea and land. The Syracuſans began the firſt day by attacking the intrenchments, and gained a ſlight advantage over the enemy. On the morrow they made a ſecond attack; and at the ſame time ſailed, with ſeventy ſix gallies, againſt eighty ſix of the Athenians. Eurymedon, who commanded the right of the Athenian fleet, having ſpread along the ſhore to ſurround them, this movement proved fatal to him: for, as he was detached from the body of the fleet, the Syracuſans, after forcing the main battle which was in the center, attacked him; drove him vigorouſly into the gulf called Daſcon, and there defeated him entirely. Eurymedon loſt his life in the engagement. They afterwards gave chaſe to the reſt of the gallies, and run them againſt the ſhore. Gylippus, who commanded the land-army, ſeeing the Athenian gallies were forced aground, and not able to return into their ſtaccado, landed with part of his troops, in order to charge the ſoldiers, in caſe they ſhould be forced to run aſhore; and to give his friends the more room to tow ſuch gallies as they ſhould have taken. However, he was repulſed by the Tyrrhenians, who were poſted on that ſide; and obliged by the Athenians, who flew to ſuſtain them, to retire with ſome loſs as far as the moor called Lyſimelia, which lay near it. The latter ſaved moſt of their ſhips, eighteen excepted, which were taken by the Syracuſans, and their crews cut to pieces by them. After this, reſolving to burn the reſt, they filled an old veſſel with combuſtible materials; and having ſet fire to it, they drove it by the help of the wind againſt the Athenians, who nevertheleſs extinguiſhed the fire, and drove off that ſhip.

Each ſide erected trophies: the Syracuſans for the defeat of Eurymedon, and the advantage they had gained the day before: and the Athenians, for their having

having drove part of the enemy into the moor, and put the other part to flight. But the minds of the two nations were very differently diſpoſed. The Syracuſans, who had been thrown into the utmoſt conſternation at the arrival of Demoſthenes with his fleet, ſeeing themſelves victorious in a naval engagement, reſumed freſh hope, and aſſured themſelves of a compleat victory over their enemies. The Athenians, on the contrary, fruſtrated of their only reſource, and overcome by ſea ſo contrary to their expectations, entirely loſt courage, and had no thoughts but of retiring.

The enemy, to deprive them of all reſource and prevent their eſcaping, ſhut the mouth of the great harbour, which was about five hundred paces wide, with gallies placed croſſwiſe, and other veſſels fixed with anchors and iron chains; and at the ſame time made the requiſite preparations for the battle, in caſe they ſhould have the courage to engage again. When the Athenians ſaw themſelves thus hemmed in, the generals and principal officers aſſembled, in order to deliberate on the preſent ſtate of affairs. They were in abſolute want of proviſions, which was owing to their having forbid the people of Catana to bring any, from the hopes they entertained of their being able to retire; and they could not procure any from other places, unleſs they were maſters of the ſea. This made them reſolve to venture a ſea-fight. In this view, they were determined to leave their old camp, and their walls, which extended to the temple of Hercules; and to intrench themſelves on the ſhore, near their ſhips, in the ſmalleſt compaſs poſſible. Their deſign was, to leave ſome forces in that place to guard their baggage and the ſick; and to fight with the reſt on board all the ſhips they ſhould have ſaved. They intended to retire into Catana, in caſe they ſhould be victorious; otherwiſe, to ſet fire to their ſhips, and to march by land to the neareſt city belonging to their allies.

This

This reſolution being taken, Nicias immediately filled an hundred and ten gallies (the others having loſt their oars) with the flower of his infantry; and drew up the reſt of the forces, particularly the bowmen, in order of battle on the ſhore. As the Athenians dreaded very much the beaks of the Syracuſan gallies, Nicias had provided harping-irons to grapple them, in order to break the force of the blow, and to come immediately to cloſe fight, as on ſhore. But the enemy perceiving this, covered the prows and upper parts of their gallies with leather, to prevent their being ſo eaſily laid hold of. The commanders on both ſides had employed all their rhetoric to animate their men; and none could ever have been prompted from ſtronger motives; for the battle which was going to be fought, was to determine, not only their lives and liberties, but alſo the fate of their country.

The battle was very obſtinate and bloody. The Athenians being arrived at the mouth of the port, eaſily took thoſe ſhips which defended the entrance of it; but, when they attempted to break the chain of the reſt, to widen the paſſage, the enemy came up from all quarters. As near two hundred gallies came ruſhing, on each ſide, in a narrow place, there muſt neceſſarily be a very great confuſion; and the veſſels could not eaſily advance forward, or retire, nor turn about to renew the attack. The beaks of the gallies, for this reaſon, did very little execution; but there were very furious and frequent diſcharges. The Athenians were overwhelmed with a ſhower of ſtones, which always did execution from what place ſoever they were thrown; whereas they defended themſelves only by ſhooting darts and arrows, which, by the motion of the ſhips, from the agitation of the ſea, did not carry true, and by that means the greateſt part of them did little execution. Ariſton the pilot had given the Syracuſans this counſel. Theſe diſcharges being over, the ſoldiers, heavily armed, attempted to enter the enemy's ſhips in order to fight hand to hand:

and it often happened, that whilſt they were climbing up one ſide, their own ſhips were entred on the other; and two or three ſhips would be grappled to one, which occaſioned a great perplexity and confuſion. Farther, the noiſe of the ſhips that daſhed one againſt the other, the different cries of the victors and vanquiſhed, prevented the orders of the officers from being heard. The Athenians wanted to force a paſſage, whatever might be the conſequence, to ſecure their return into their own country; and this the enemy employed their utmoſt efforts to prevent, in order that they might gain a more compleat and more glorious victory. The two land-armies, which were drawn up on the higheſt part of the ſhore, and the inhabitants of the city who were ran to the walls; whilſt the reſt, kneeling in the temples, were imploring heaven to give ſucceſs to their citizens; all theſe ſaw clearly, becauſe of their little diſtance from the fleets, every thing that paſſed; and contemplated the battle as from an amphitheatre, but not without great anxiety and terror. Attentive to, and ſhuddering at every movement, and the ſeveral changes which happened; they diſcovered the concern they had in the battle, their fears, their hopes, their grief, their joy, by different cries and different geſtures; ſtretching out their hands, ſometimes towards the combatants to animate them, and at other times towards heaven, to implore the ſuccour and protection of the gods. At laſt, the Athenian fleet, after ſuſtaining a long battle and a vigorous reſiſtance, was put to flight, and drove againſt the ſhore. The Syracuſans, who were ſpectators of this victory, conveyed to the whole city, by an univerſal ſhout, the news of this victory. The victors, now maſters of the ſea, and ſailing with a favourable wind towards Syracuſe, erected a trophy; whilſt the Athenians, who were quite dejected and over-power'd, did not ſo much as requeſt that their dead ſoldiers might be delivered to them, in order to pay the laſt ſad duty to their remains.

There

There now remained but two methods for them to chuſe; either to attempt the paſſage a ſecond time, for which they had ſhips and ſoldiers ſufficient, or to abandon their fleet to the enemy, and retire by land. Demoſthenes propoſed the former; but the ſailors, in the deepeſt affliction, refuſed to obey, fully perſuaded that it would be impoſſible for them to ſuſtain a ſecond engagement. The ſecond method was therefore reſolved upon, and accordingly they prepared to ſet out in the night, to conceal the march of their army from the enemy.

But Hermocrates, who ſuſpected their deſign, was very ſenſible that it was of the utmoſt importance not to ſuffer ſo great a body of forces to eſcape; ſince they otherwiſe might fortify themſelves in ſome corner of the iſland, and renew the war. The Syracuſans were at that time in the midſt of their feſtivity and rejoycings; and meditating nothing but how they might beſt divert themſelves, after the toils they had ſuſtained in fight. They were then ſolemnizing the feſtival of Hercules. To deſire the Syracuſans to take up arms again, in order to purſue the enemy; and to attempt to draw them from their diverſions either by force or perſuaſion, would have been to no purpoſe; for which reaſon another expedient was employed. Hermocrates ſent out a few horſemen, who were to paſs for friends of the Athenians, and ordered them to cry aloud: "Tell Nicias not to retire till day-light; for the Sy-"racuſans lie in ambuſh for him, and have ſeized on "the paſſes." This falſe advice ſtopt Nicias at once; and he did not even ſet out the next day, in order that the ſoldiers might have more time to prepare for their departure; and carry off whatever might be neceſſary for their ſubſiſtance, and abandon the reſt.

The enemy had time enough for ſeizing the avenues. The next morning early they poſſeſſed themſelves of the moſt difficult paſſes, fortified thoſe places where the rivers were fordable, broke down the bridges, and ſpread detachments of horſe up and down the

plain; so that there was not one place through which the Athenians could pass without fighting. They set out upon their march the third day after the battle, with design to retire to Catana. The whole army was in an inexpressible consternation, to see such great numbers of men, either dead or dying, some of whom were left exposed to wild beasts, and the rest to the cruelty of the enemy. Those who were sick and wounded conjured them, with tears, to take them along with the army, and held by their clothes when they were going; or else, dragging themselves after them, followed them as far as their strength would permit; and, when this failed, they had recourse to tears, sighs, imprecations; and sending up towards heaven plaintive and dying groans, they called upon the gods as well as men to avenge their cruelty, whilst every place echoed with lamentations.

The whole army was in as deplorable a condition. All men were seized with the deepest melancholy. They were inwardly tortured with rage and anguish, when they represented to themselves the greatness from which they were fallen, the extreme misery to which they were reduced, and the still greater evils from which they foresaw it would be impossible for them to escape. They could not bear the comparison for ever present in their thoughts, of the triumphant state in which they had left Athens, in the midst of the good wishes and acclamations of the people; with the ignominy of their retreat, aggravated by the cries and imprecations of their relations and fellow-citizens.

But the most melancholy part of the spectacle, and that which most deserved compassion, was Nicias. Dejected and worn out by a tedious illness; deprived of the most necessary things, at a time when his age and infirmities required them most; pierced, not only with his private grief, but with that of others, all which preyed upon his heart; this great man, superior to all his evils, thought of nothing but how he might best comfort his soldiers, and revive their courage.

rage. He ran up and down in all places, crying aloud, that matters were not yet desperate, and that other armies had escaped from greater dangers; that they ought not to accuse themselves, or grieve too immoderately, for misfortunes which they had not occasioned; that if they had offended some god, his vengeance must be satiated by this time; that fortune, after having so long favoured the enemy, would at last be tired of persecuting them; that their bravery and their numbers made them still formidable, (being still near forty thousand strong;) that no city in Sicily would be able to withstand them, nor prevent their settling wherever they might think proper; that they had no more to do, but to take care severally of themselves, and march in good order; that by a prudent and courageous retreat, which was now become their only resource, they would not only save themselves, but also their country, and enable it to recover its former grandeur.

The army marched in two bodies, both drawn up in the form of a phalanx; the first being commanded by Nicias, and the second by Demosthenes, with the baggage in the center. Being come to the river Anapis, they forced the passage, and afterwards were charged by all the enemy's cavalry, as well as archers, who discharged perpetually upon them. They were annoyed in this manner during several days march; every one of the passes being guarded, and the Athenians being obliged to dispute every inch of their way. The enemy did not care to hazard a battle against an army which despair alone migh render invincible; and, the instant the Athenians presented the Syracusans battle, the latter retired; but whenever the former would proceed in their march, they advanced and charged them in their retreat.

Demosthenes and Nicias, seeing the miserable condition to which the troops were reduced, being in extreme want of provisions, and great numbers of them wounded, judged it advisable to retire towards the sea,

by a quite contrary way from that in which they then marched, and to make directly for Camarina and Gela, inſtead of proceeding to Catana as they firſt intended. They ſet out in the night, after lighting a great number of fires. The retreat was made in great confuſion and diſorder, as generally happens to great armies in the gloomy horrors of the night, eſpecially when the enemy is not far off. However, the vanguard, commanded by Nicias, came forward in good order; but above half the rearguard, with Demoſthenes at their head, quitted from the main body, and loſt their way. On the next day the Syracuſans, who, on the report of their retreat, had marched with the utmoſt diligence, came up with him about noon; and having ſurrounded him with their horſe, they drove him into a narrow place incloſed with a wall, where his ſoldiers fought like lions. Perceiving, at the cloſe of the day, that they were oppreſſed with the fatigue, and covered with wounds, they gave the iſlanders leave to retire, which ſome of them accepted; and afterwards ſpared the lives of the reſt, who ſurrendred at diſcretion with Demoſthenes, after having ſtipulated, that they ſhould not be put to death, nor ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment. About ſix thouſand ſoldiers ſurrendred on theſe conditions.

Nicias arrived the ſame evening at the river Erineus, and paſſing it, encamped on a mountain, where the enemy came up with him the next day, and ſummoned him to ſurrender at diſcretion, as Demoſthenes had done. Nicias could not perſuade himſelf at firſt, that what they told him concerning that general was true, and therefore deſired leave to ſend ſome horſe for information. Upon their returning with the news that Demoſthenes had really ſurrendred in that manner, Nicias offered to pay the expences of the war, upon condition that they would permit him to leave the country with his forces, and to give as many Athenians for hoſtages, as they ſhould be obliged to pay talents. But the enemy rejected this propoſal with diſdain

dain and inſolence, and renewed the attack. Nicias, though in abſolute want of all things, however ſuſtained the charge the whole night, and marched towards the river Aſinarus. When they were got to the banks of it, the Syracuſans advancing up to them, threw moſt of them into the ſtream; the reſt having already plunged voluntarily into it to quench their thirſt. Here the greateſt and moſt bloody havock was made, the poor wretches being butchered without the leaſt pity as they were drinking. Nicias, finding all loſt, and unable to bear this diſmal ſpectacle, ſurrendred at diſcretion; upon condition that Gylippus ſhould diſcontinue the fight, and ſpare the reſt of his army. A great number were killed, and more taken priſoners, ſo that all Sicily was filled with them. (*t*) The Athenians ſeemed to have been diſpleaſed with their general, for ſurrendring in this manner at diſcretion; and, for this reaſon, his name was omitted in a public monument, on which was engraved the names of thoſe commanders who had loſt their lives in fighting for their country.

The victors adorned with the arms taken from the priſoners, the fineſt and largeſt trees they could find on the banks of the rivers, and made a kind of trophies of thoſe trees; when crowning themſelves with chaplets of flowers, dreſſing their horſes in the richeſt capariſons, and cropping thoſe of their enemies, they entered triumphantly into Syracuſe, after having happily terminated the moſt conſiderable war in which they had ever been engaged with the Greeks; and won, by their ſtrength and valour, a moſt ſignal and moſt compleat victory. The next day a council was held, to deliberate on what was to be done with the priſoners. Diocles, one of the leaders of greateſt authority among the people, propoſed, That all the Athenians who were born of free parents, and all ſuch Sicilians as had joined with them, ſhould be impriſoned, and only two meaſures of flouer, and one of water given them daily; that the ſlaves and all the allies ſhould be publickly ſold;

(*t*) Pauſan. l. 1. p. 56.

and that the two Athenian generals ſhould be firſt ſcourged with rods, and afterwards put to death.

(*u*) This laſt article was exceedingly diſguſted by all wiſe and compaſſionate Syracuſans. Hermocrates, who was very famous for his probity and juſtice, attempted to make ſome remonſtrances to the people, but they would not hear him; and the ſhouts which echoed on all ſides, prevented him from continuing his ſpeech. At that inſtant an * antient man, venerable for his great age and gravity, who, in this war, had loſt two ſons, the only heirs to his name and eſtate, made his ſervants carry him to the tribunal for harangues, and the inſtant he appeared a profound ſilence was made. "You "here behold, ſays he, an unfortunate father, who "has felt, more than any other Syracuſan, the fatal ef-"fects of this war by the death of two ſons, who "formed all the conſolation, and were the only ſup-"ports of my old age. I cannot indeed forbear ad-"miring their courage and felicity, in ſacrificing, to "their country's welfare, a life of which they would "one day have been deprived by the common courſe "of nature: but then I cannot but be ſtrongly affected "with the cruel wound which their death has made in "my heart; nor forbear hating and deteſting the "Athenians, the authors of this unhappy war, as the "murderers of my children. But however, I cannot "conceal one circumſtance, which is, that I am leſs "ſenſible to my private affliction, than to the honour "of my country: and I ſee it expoſed to eternal in-"famy, by the barbarous advice which is now given "you. The Athenians indeed merit the worſt treat-"ment, and every kind of puniſhment that could be "inflicted on them, for ſo unjuſtly declaring war a-"gainſt us; but have not the gods, the juſt avengers "of crimes, puniſhed them and revenged us ſufficient-"ly? When their generals laid down their arms, and "ſurrendred, did they not do this in the hopes of ha-"ving their lives ſpared? And, if we put them to

(*u*) Diod. l. 13. p. 149—161.

* *Nicolaus.*

"death,

" death, will it be poſſible for us to avoid the juſt re-
" proach, of our having violated the law of nations,
" and diſhonoured our victory by an unheard-of cru-
" elty? How! Will you ſuffer your glory to be thus
" ſullied in the face of the whole world; and have it
" ſaid, that a nation, who firſt dedicated a temple in
" their city to clemency, had not found any in yours?
" Surely victories and triumphs do not give immortal
" glory to a city; but the exerciſing mercy towards
" a vanquiſhed enemy, the uſing moderation in the
" greateſt proſperity, and fearing to offend the gods
" by a haughty and inſolent pride. You doubtleſs
" have not forgot that this Nicias, whoſe fate you are
" going to pronounce, was the very man who pleaded
" your cauſe in the aſſembly of the Athenians; and
" employed all his credit and the whole power of his
" eloquence, to diſſuade his country from embarking
" in this war. Should you therefore pronounce ſen-
" tence of death on this worthy general, would it be
" a juſt reward for the zeal he ſhowed for your inter-
" eſt? With regard to myſelf, death would be leſs
" grievous to me, than the ſight of ſo horrid an in-
" juſtice, committed by my countrymen and fellow-
" citizens."

The people ſeemed moved to compaſſion at this ſpeech, eſpecially as, when this venerable old man firſt aſcended, they expected to hear him cry aloud for vengeance on thoſe who had brought all his calamities upon him, inſtead of ſuing for their pardon. But the enemies of the Athenians, having expatiated with vehemence, on the unheard-of cruelties which their republic had exerciſed on ſeveral cities belonging to their enemies and even to their antient allies; the inveteracy which their commanders had ſhown againſt Syracuſe, and the evils they would have made it ſuffer had they been victorious; the afflictions and groans of infinite numbers of Syracuſans, who bewailed the death of their children and near relations, whoſe manes could be appeaſed no other way than by the

blood

blood of their murtherers: on theſe repreſentations, the people returned to their ſanguinary reſolution, and followed Diocles's advice in every reſpect. Gylippus uſed his utmoſt endeavours, but in vain, to have Nicias and Demoſthenes given up to him, (eſpecially as he had taken them) in order for him to carry them to Lacedæmon. But his demand was rejected with a haughty ſcorn, and the two generals were put to death.

All wiſe and compaſſionate men could not forbear ſhedding tears, for the tragical fate of two ſuch illuſtrious perſonages; and particularly for Nicias, who, of all men of his time, ſeemed leaſt to merit ſo ignominious and untimely an end. When people recollected the ſpeeches and remonſtrances he had made, to prevent this war; and, on the other ſide, when they conſidered how high a regard he had always retained for things relating to religion; the greateſt part of them were tempted to exclaim againſt providence, in ſeeing that a man, who had ever ſhown the higheſt reverence for the gods, and had always exerted himſelf to the utmoſt for their honour and worſhip, ſhould be ſo ill rewarded by them, and meet with no better fate than the moſt abandoned wretches. But it is no wonder that the calamities of good men ſhould inſpire the heathens with ſuch thoughts, and make them murmur and deſpond; ſince they did not know the holineſs of the Divine Being, nor the corruption of human nature.

The priſoners were ſhut up in the mines (*priſons of Syracuſe*) where, crouded one upon the other, they ſuffered incredible torments for eight months. Here they were for ever expoſed to the inclemencies of the weather; ſcorched, in the day-time, by the burning rays of the ſun, or frozen, in the night, by the colds of autumn; poiſoned by the ſtench of their own excrements, by the carcaſſes of thoſe who died of their wounds and of ſickneſs; in fine, worn out by hunger and thirſt, for their daily allowance to each was but a

ſmall meaſure of water, and two of meal. Thoſe who were taken out of this place two months after, in order to be ſold as ſlaves (many of whom were citizens who had concealed their condition) found a leſs rigorous fate. Their wiſdom, their patience, and a certain air of probity and modeſty were of great advantage to them; for, they were ſoon reſtored to their liberty, or met with the kindeſt and moſt generous treatment from their maſters. Several of them even owed the good uſage they met with to Euripides, the fineſt ſcenes of whoſe tragedies they repeated to the Sicilians, who were extremely fond of them; ſo that when they returned to their own country, they went and ſaluted that poet as their deliverer; and informed him of the admirable effects wrought in their favour, by his verſes.

(*x*) The news of the defeat being carried to Athens, the citizens would not believe it at firſt; and were ſo far from giving credit to it, that they ſentenced that man to death who had firſt publiſhed it. But when it was confirmed, all the Athenians were ſeized with the utmoſt conſternation; and as if themſelves had not decreed the war, they vented their rage and reſentment againſt the orators who had promoted the enterprize, as well as againſt the ſoothſayers, who, by their oracles or ſuppoſed prodigies, had flattered them with the hopes of ſucceſs. They had never been reduced to ſo deplorable a condition as now; having neither horſe, foot, money, gallies nor mariners; in a word, they were in the deepeſt deſpair, expecting every moment that the enemy, elate with ſo great a victory, and ſtrengthned by the revolt of the allies, would come and invade Athens, both by ſea and land, with all the forces of Peloponneſus. Cicero had reaſon to obſerve *, ſpeaking of the battles in the har-

(*x*) Thucyd. l. 8. p. 551—553. Plut. de Garrulit. p. 509.

* Hic primùm opes illius civitatis victæ, comminutæ, depreſſæque ſunt: in hoc portu Athenienſium nobilitatis, imperii, gloriæ naufragium factum exiſtimatur. *Cic. Verrin.* 7. *n.* 97.

bour

bour of Syracuſe, that it was there the troops of Athens as well as their gallies, were ruined and ſunk; and that, in this harbour, the power and glory of the Athenians were miſerably ſhipwrecked.

The Athenians however did not ſuffer themſelves to be wholly dejected, and reſumed courage. They now reſolved to raiſe money on all ſides, and to import timber for building of ſhips, in order to awe the allies, and particularly the inhabitants of the iſland of Eubœa. They retrenched all ſuperfluous expences, and eſtabliſhed a new council of antient men, who were to weigh and examine all affairs before they ſhould be propoſed to the people. In fine, they omitted nothing which might be of ſervice in the preſent conjuncture; the alarm in which they were in, and their common danger, obliging every individual to be attentive to the neceſſities of the ſtate, and docile to all advice that might promote its intereſts.

I cannot conclude here the hiſtory of the war of Peloponneſus; and therefore am obliged, contrary to my intention, to refer the remainder of it to the next volume. The defeat of the army under Nicias was followed by the taking of Athens, of which the antient form of government was entirely changed by Lyſander.

The End of VOL. III.

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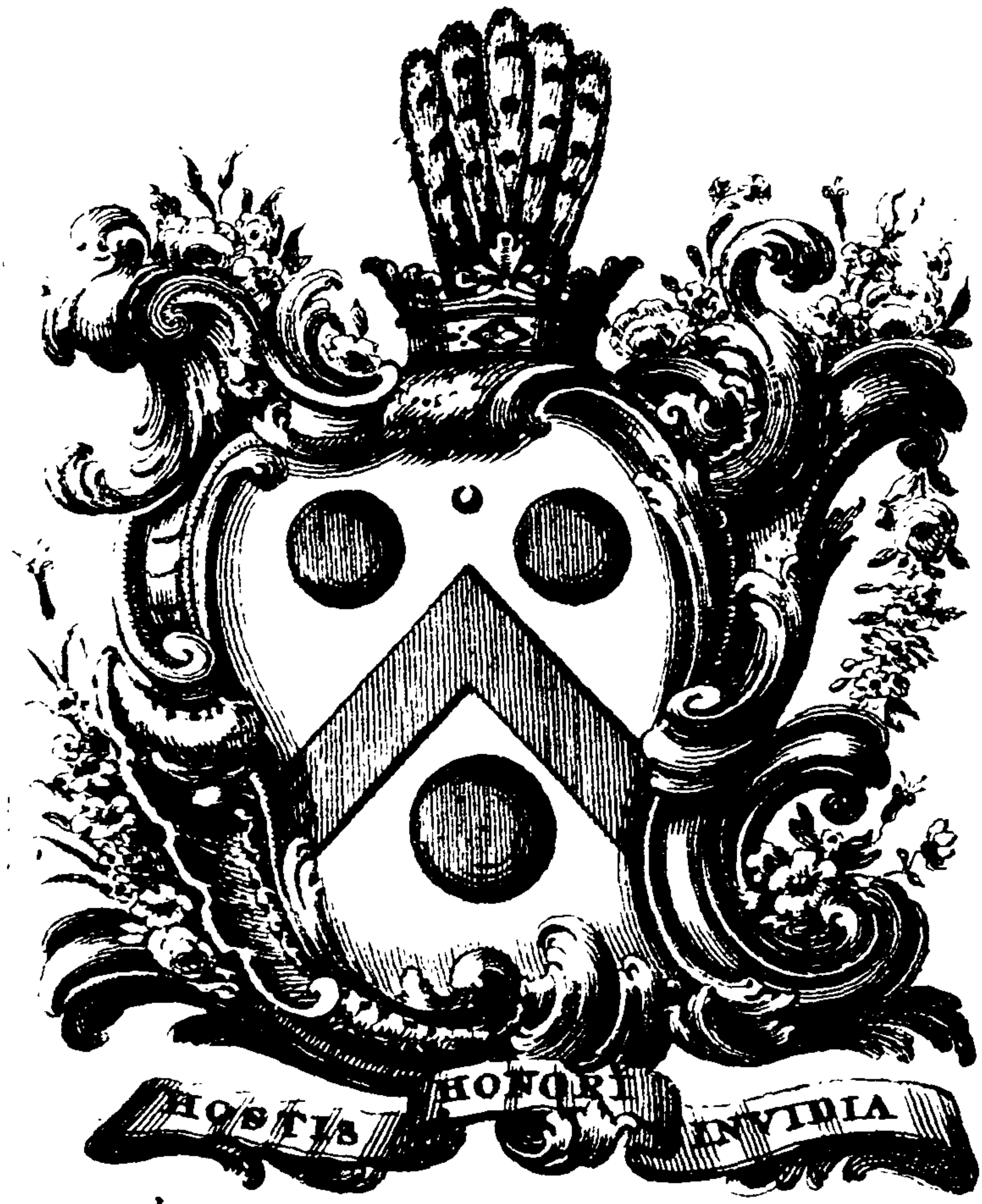
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ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES and PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

By Mr. ROLLIN, *late Principal of the Univerſity of Paris, now Profeſſor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles-Lettres.*

Tranſlated from the FRENCH.

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THE ANCIENT

HISTORY

OF THE

Perſians *and* Grecians.

CONTAINING

BOOK VIII. *Continued.*

Alcibiades's victorious and glorious return to Athens. Lyſander admiral, ſucceeded by Callicratidas. Lyſander's victory at Ægoſpotamos. He beſieges and takes Athens, and eſtabliſhes the Thirty Tyrants.

BOOK IX.

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BOOK X.

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THE

THE ANTIENT HISTORY OF THE Perſians *and* Grecians.

PLAN and DIVISION of the Fourth Volume.

THIS fourth volume includes the hiſtory of twenty-eight years from the defeat of Nicias in Sicily, which happened in the nineteenth year of the Peloponneſian war, and the eleventh of Darius Nothus, to the nineteenth year of the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, two years after the treaty of Antalcides, that is to ſay, from *An. Mun.* 3591 to 3619.

This volume may be divided into five parts.

The firſt, which contains an account of what paſs'd during eleven years, and begins immediately after the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily, includes the glorious return of Alcibiades to Athens; the exploits of Lyſander and Callicratidas the Lacedæmonians; the taking of Athens, which puts an end to the Peloponneſian war; the death of Darius Nothus; the domeſtic troubles of the Perſian court in the beginning of the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon; the death of Alcibiades; the re-eſtabliſhment of the liberty of Athens, and the firſt years of Ageſilaus king of Sparta.

The ſecond relates the enterprize of young Cyrus againſt

againſt his brother Artaxerxes, and the famous retreat of the ten thouſand; which does not much exceed the ſpace of one year.

The third contains what paſſed during about ſixteen years, from the return of the Greeks to the peace of Antalcides, in which time appeared particularly Ageſilaus king of Sparta, and Conon the Athenian general.

The fourth is an abridgment of the life of Socrates, his condemnation and death.

The fifth explains the manners and cuſtoms of the Grecian people, eſpecially the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, their political and military government, their religion, feaſts, games and combats, ſo much celebrated in Greece.

During the interval of about thirty years contained in this volume, the holy ſcripture is entirely ſilent upon the hiſtory of the Jews, and continues ſo till the time of the Maccabees.

The moſt conſiderable events amongſt the Romans, are the ſiege of Veii, the taking of Rome by the Gauls, the victories of M. Furius Camillus, which paſſed between the years 350 and 380, from the building of Rome.

CHAPTER II.

THIS chapter is the ſequel of the preceding book, and contains the eight laſt years of the Peloponneſian war, during as many years of the reign of Darius Nothus.

SECT. I. *Conſequences of the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily. Revolt of the allies. Alcibiades grows into great power with Tiſſaphernes.*

(a) THE defeat of the Athenians before Syracuſe gave occaſion for great movements throughout all Greece. The people who had not yet joined either ſide, and waited to be determined by the event, re-

(a) A. M. 3591. Ant. J. C. 413. Thucyd. l. 8. p. 553.

ſolved

ſolved to declare againſt them. The allies of the Lacedæmonians believed, that the time was come to deliver them for ever from the expences of a war, which lay very heavy upon them, by the ſpeedy and final ruin of Athens. Thoſe of Athens, who followed them only out of conſtraint, ſeeing no appearance of any future reſource for that republic, after the dreadful blow it had received, thought it beſt to take the advantage of ſo favourable a conjuncture, for throwing off the yoke of dependance, and reſuming their liberty. Diſpoſitions of this kind inſpired the Lacedæmonians with great views, which were ſupported by the hopes they had conceived, that their Sicilian allies would join them in the ſpring with a naval army, augmented by the ruins of the Athenian fleet.

(*b*) In effect the people of Eubœa, Chio, and Leſbos, with ſeveral others, gave the Lacedæmonians to underſtand, that they were ready to quit the party of the Athenians, if they would take them under their protection. At the ſame time came deputies from Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabaſus. The firſt was governor of Lydia and Ionia, the other of the Helleſpont. Thoſe viceroys of Darius wanted neither application nor zeal for the intereſt of their maſter. Tiſſaphernes, promiſing the Lacedæmonians all the neceſſary expences for their troops, preſſed them to arm directly, and to join him; becauſe the Athenian fleet prevented him from levying the uſual contributions in his province; and had put it out of his power to remit thoſe of preceding years to the king. He hoped beſides with that powerful aid to get into his hands with more eaſe a certain nobleman, who had revolted, and whom he had the king's orders to ſend to him dead or alive. This was Amorges the baſtard of Piſſuthna. Pharnabaſus at the ſame time demanded ſhips to reduce the cities of the Helleſpont from their ſubjection to the Athenians; who alſo prevented him from levying the tributes of his government.

(*b*) Id. p. 555—558.

The Lacedæmonians thought it proper to begin by ſatisfying Tiſſaphernes; and the credit of Alcibiades contributed very much to the taking that reſolution. He embarked with Calcidæus for Chio, which took arms upon their arrival, and declared for the Lacedæmonians. Upon the news of this revolt, the Athenians reſolved to take the * thouſand talents out of the treaſury, which had been depoſited there from the beginning of the war, after having repealed the decree which prohibited it. Miletus alſo revolted ſoon after. Tiſſaphernes, having joined his troops with thoſe of Sparta, attacked and took the city of Iaſus, in which (*c*) Amorges had ſhut himſelf up, who was taken alive and ſent into Perſia. That governor gave a month's pay to the whole army, at a drachma or ten pence a day to each ſoldier, obſerving that he had orders to give them only half that ſum for the future.

(*d*) Calcidæus then made a treaty with Tiſſaphernes, in the name of the Lacedæmonians, of which one of the principal articles was, that all the country which had been ſubject to the king or his predeceſſors, ſhould remain in his hands. It was renewed ſometime after by Theramenes, another general of the Lacedæmonians, with ſome ſmall alterations. But when this treaty came to be examined at Sparta, it was found, that too great conceſſions had been made to the king of Perſia, in giving up all the places held by himſelf or his anceſtors, which was to make him maſter of the greateſt part of Greece, Theſſaly, Locris, and the whole country as far as Bœotia, without mentioning the iſlands; from whence the Lacedæmonians would appear rather to have enſlaved Greece, than re-eſtabliſhed its liberty. It was therefore neceſſary to make farther alterations in it, with which Tiſſaphernes and the other governors made great difficulties to comply. A new treaty was however concluded, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

(*c*) Thucyd. l. 8. p. 563. (*d*) Id. l. 8. p. 561—571, 572—576.

* *Two millions of livres.*

In

In the mean time, ſeveral cities of Ionia declared for Lacedæmon, to which Alcibiades contributed very much. (*e*) Agis, who was already his enemy in effect of the injury he had done him, could not ſuffer the glory he acquired: For nothing was done without the advice of Alcibiades, and it was generally ſaid, that the ſucceſs of all enterprizes was owing to him. The moſt powerful and ambitious of the Spartans, from the ſame ſentiments of jealouſy, looked upon him with an evil eye, and at length by their intrigues obliged the principal magiſtrates to ſend orders into Ionia for putting him to death. Alcibiades, being ſecretly apprized of this order, did not diſcontinue his ſervices to the Lacedæmonians, but kept himſelf ſo well upon his guard, that he avoided all the ſnares which were laid for him.

(*f*) For his better ſecurity he threw himſelf into the protection of Tiſſaphernes, the great king's governor at Sardis, and was not long without ſeeing himſelf in the higheſt degree of credit and authority in the court of the Barbarian. For the Perſian, who was full of fraud and artifice, a great friend to knaves and bad men, and ſet no value upon ſimplicity and integrity, infinitely admired the ſmooth addreſs of Alcibiades, the eaſe with which he aſſumed all kind of manners and characters, and his great ability in the conduct of affairs. And indeed there was no heart ſo hard, or temper ſo untractable, as to hold out againſt the graces and charms of his converſation and intimacy. Even thoſe, who feared and envied him moſt, enchanted in a manner by his affable air and engaging behaviour, could not diſſemble the infinite ſatisfaction they felt in ſeeing and converſing with him.

Tiſſaphernes therefore, though otherwiſe very haughty and brutal, and who of all the Perſians hated the Greeks moſt, was ſo much taken with the complacency and inſinuations of Alcibiades, that he gave himſelf wholly up to him, and flattered him more than

(*e*) Thucyd. l. 8. p. 577—579. Plut. in Alcib. p. 164, 165.
(*f*) A. M. 3593. Ant. J. C. 411.

he was flattered by him: insomuch that he gave the name of Alcibiades to the finest and most delightful of his gardens, as well from the abundance of its fountains and canals, and the verdure of its groves, as the surprizing beauty of its retreats and solitudes, which art and nature seemed to vye in embellishing, and wherein a more than royal magnificence was displayed.

Alcibiades, who found there was no longer any safety for him in the party of the Spartans, and who always apprehended the resentment of Agis, began to do them ill offices with Tissaphernes, to prevent his aiding them with all his forces, and ruining the Athenians entirely. He had no difficulty in bringing the Persian into his views, which were conformable to his master's interests, and to the orders he had received from him. For after the famous treaty concluded under Cimon, the kings of Persia, not daring to attack the Greeks with open force, took other measures to ruin them. They endeavoured underhand to excite divisions amongst them, and to foment troubles by considerable sums of money, which they found means to convey sometimes to Athens, and sometimes to Sparta. They applied themselves so successfully to keep up a balance of power between those two republicks, that the one could never entirely reduce the other. They granted them only slight aids, that could effect nothing decisive, in order to undermine them insensibly, and exhaust both parties gradually, by weakening them upon one another.

It is in this kind of conduct, that policy makes the ability of ministers consist; who from the recess of their cabinets, without noise or emotion, without any great expences, or setting numerous armies on foot, effect the reduction of the states whose power gives them umbrage, either by sowing domestic divisions amongst them, or by promoting the jealousy of their neighbours, in order to set them at variance with each other.

We must confess however, that this kind of policy gives

gives us no very favourable idea of the kings of Perſia. To reduce themſelves, powerful as they were, to ſuch mean, obſcure, and indirect meaſures, was to confeſs their weakneſs, and how unable they believed themſelves to attack their enemies with open force, and to reduce them by honourable means. Beſides, does it conſiſt with juſtice to employ ſuch methods in regard to people, againſt whom there is no foundation of complaint, who live in peace under the faith of treaties, and whoſe ſole crime is the apprehenſion of their being one day in a condition to do hurt? And is it lawful by ſecret corruptions to enſnare the fidelity of ſubjects, and to be the accomplice of their treaſons by putting arms into their hands againſt their native country?

What glory and renown would not the kings of Perſia have acquired, if content with the vaſt and rich dominions, which providence had given them, they had applied their good offices, power, and even treaſures, to conciliate the neighbouring people with each other; to remove their jealouſies, to prevent injuſtice and oppreſſion; and if, feared and honoured by them all, they had made themſelves the mediators of their differences, the ſecurity of their peace, and the guarantee of their treaties? Can any conqueſt, however great, be compared with ſuch glory?

Tiſſaphernes acted upon other principles, and had no thought but of preventing the Greeks from being in a condition to attack the Perſians, their common enemy. He entered freely therefore into the views of Alcibiades, and at the ſame time that he declared himſelf openly for the Lacedæmonians, did not fail to aſſiſt the Athenians underhand, and by a thouſand ſecret methods; deferring the payment of the Lacedæmonian fleet, and retarding the arrival of the Phœnician ſhips, of which he had long kept them in hopes. He omitted no occaſion of giving Alcibiades new marks of his friendſhip and eſteem, which rendered that general equally conſiderable to both parties. The Athenians,

who had ſadly experienced the effects of having drawn his anger upon them, were not now to repent their paſſing ſentence of condemnation upon him. Alcibiades alſo on his ſide, who was extremely ſorry to ſee the Athenians in ſo mournful a ſituation, began to fear that the city of Athens being entirely ruined, he might fall into the hands of the Spartans, who mortally hated him.

SECT. II. *The return of Alcibiades to Athens negotiated upon condition of eſtabliſhing the ariſtocratical, in the room of the democratical, government. Tiſſaphernes concludes a new treaty with the Lacedæmonians.*

(*a*) THE Athenians were intent upon nothing ſo much as Samos, where they had all their forces. From thence with their fleet they reduced all the cities that had abandoned them under their obedience, kept the reſt in their duty, (*b*) and found themſelves ſtill in a condition to make head againſt their enemies, over whom they had obtained ſeveral advantages. But they were afraid of Tiſſaphernes, and the hundred and fifty Phœnician ſhips which he hourly expected; and rightly perceived that if ſo powerful a fleet ſhould join the enemy, there was no longer any ſafety for their city. Alcibiades, who was well informed of all that paſſed amongſt the Athenians, ſent ſecretly to the principal of them at Samos, to ſound their ſentiments, and to let them know, that he was not averſe to returning to Athens, provided the adminiſtration of the republic were put into the hands of the great and powerful, and not left to the populace, who had expelled him. Some of the principal officers went from Samos, with deſign to concert with him the proper meaſures for the ſucceſs of that undertaking. He promiſed to procure the Athenians not only the favour of Tiſſaphernes, but of the king himſelf, upon condition they would aboliſh the democracy or popular government; becauſe the king would place more confidence in the engagements

(*a*) Thucyd. l. 8. p. 579—587. (*b*) Plut. in Alcib. p. 204, 206.

of

of the nobility, than upon thoſe of the inconſtant and capricious multitude.

The deputies lent a willing ear to theſe propoſals, and conceived great hopes of diſcharging themſelves from part of the public impoſitions, becauſe being the richeſt of the people the burden lay heavieſt upon them, and of making their country triumph after having poſſeſſed themſelves of the government. At their return, they began by bringing over ſuch as were moſt proper to ſhare in their deſign; after which they cauſed a report to be ſpread amongſt the troops, that the king was inclined to declare in favour of the Athenians, upon condition that Alcibiades were re-inſtated, and the popular government aboliſhed. That propoſal ſurprized the ſoldiers, and was generally rejected at firſt; but the charm of gain, and the hope of a change to their advantage, ſoon ſoftened what was harſh and ſhocking in it, and even made them ardently deſire the recal of Alcibiades.

Phrynicus, one of their generals, rightly judging that Alcibiades affected an oligarchy no more than he did the democracy, and that in decrying the people's conduct, he had no other view than to acquire the favour and confidence of the nobility for his own re-eſtabliſhment, had the boldneſs to oppoſe their reſolutions, which were about to take place. He repreſented, that the change they meditated might very probably excite a civil war to the ruin of the ſtate; that it was very unlikely that the king of Perſia would prefer the alliance of the Athenians to that of the Spartans, ſo much more advantagious to him; that this change would not retain the allies in their duty, nor bring over thoſe who had renounced it, who would perſiſt in preferring their liberty; that the government of a ſmall number of rich and powerful perſons would not be more favourable to either the citizens or allies, than that of the people, becauſe ambition was the great cauſe of all misfortunes in a republic, and the rich were the ſole promoters of all troubles for the aggrandizing of themſelves; that a

ſtate ſuffered more oppreſſions and violences under the rule of the nobility, than that of the people, whoſe authority kept the former within due bounds, and was the aſylum of ſuch as they deſired to oppreſs; that the allies were too well acquainted with theſe truths from their own experience, to want any leſſons upon the ſubject.

Theſe remonſtrances, as wiſe as they were, had no effect. Piſander was ſent to Athens with ſome of the ſame faction, to propoſe the return of Alcibiades, the alliance of Tiſſaphernes, and the abolition of the democracy. They repreſented, that by changing the government, and recalling Alcibiades, Athens might obtain a powerful aid from the king of Perſia, which would be a certain means to triumph over Sparta. Upon this propoſal great numbers exclaimed againſt it, and eſpecially the enemies of Alcibiades. They alledged, amongſt other reaſons, the imprecations pronounced by the prieſts, and all the orders of religion, againſt him, and even againſt ſuch as ſhould propoſe to recal him. But Piſander, advancing into the midſt of the aſſembly, demanded, whether they knew any other means to ſave the republic in the deplorable condition to which it was reduced: And as it was admitted there were none, he added, that the preſervation of the ſtate was the queſtion, and not the authority of the laws, which might be provided for in the ſequel; but at preſent there was no other method for the attainment of the king's friendſhip and that of Tiſſaphernes. Tho' this change was very offenſive to the people, they gave their conſent to it at length, with the hope of re-eſtabliſhing the democracy in time, as Piſander had promiſed; and they decreed that he ſhould go with ten more deputies to treat with Alcibiades and Tiſſaphernes, and that in the mean time Phrynicus ſhould be recalled, and another general appointed to command the fleet in his ſtead.

The deputies did not find Tiſſaphernes in ſo good a diſpoſition as they had been made to hope. He was

afraid of the Lacedæmonians, but did not care to render the Athenians too powerful. It was his policy, by the advice of Alcibiades, to leave the two parties always at war, in order to weaken and consume them by each other. He therefore made great difficulties. He demanded at first, that the Athenians should abandon all Ionia to him, and afterwards insisted upon their adding the neighbouring islands. Those demands being complied with, he further required, in a third interview, permission to fit out a fleet, and to cruise in the Grecian seas; which had been expressly provided against in the celebrated treaty concluded with Artaxerxes. The deputies thereupon broke up the conferences with indignation, and perceived that Alcibiades had imposed upon them.

Tissaphernes without loss of time concluded a new treaty with the Lacedæmonians; in which, what had displeased in the two preceding treaties, was retrenched. The article, which yielded to Persia the countries in general, that had been in the actual possession of the reigning king Darius, or his predecessors, was limited to the provinces of Asia. The king engaged to defray all expences of the Lacedæmonian fleet, upon the foot, and in the condition it then was, till the arrival of that of Persia; after which they were to support it themselves; unless they should chuse that the king should pay it, to be re-imbursed after the conclusion of the war. It was further agreed, that they should unite their forces, and continue the war, or make peace, by common consent. Tissaphernes, to keep his promise, sent for the fleet of Phœnicia. This treaty was made in the eleventh year of Darius, and the twentieth of the Peloponnesian war.

SECT. III. *The whole authority of the Athenian government having been vested in four hundred persons, they abuse it tyrannically, and are deposed. Alcibiades is recalled. After various accidents, and several considerable victories, he returns in triumph to Athens, and*

is

is appointed generaliſſimo. He cauſes the great myſteries to be celebrated, and departs with the fleet.

(*i*) PISANDER, at his return to Athens, found the change he had propoſed at his ſetting out much forwarded, to which he put the laſt hand ſoon after. To give a form to this new government, he cauſed ten commiſſaries with abſolute power to be appointed, who were however at a certain fixed time to give the people an account of what they had done. At the expiration of that term, the general aſſembly was ſummoned, wherein their firſt reſolution was, that every one ſhould be admitted to make ſuch propoſals as he thought fit, without being liable to any accuſation of infringing the law, or conſequential penalty. It was afterwards decreed, that a new council ſhould be formed, with full power to adminiſter the public affairs, and to elect new magiſtrates. For this purpoſe five preſidents were eſtabliſhed, who nominated an hundred perſons including themſelves. Each of theſe choſe and aſſociated three more at his own pleaſure, which made in all four hundred, in whom an abſolute power was lodged. But to amuſe the people, and to conſole them with a ſhadow of popular government, whilſt they inſtituted a real oligarchy, it was ſaid that the four hundred ſhould call a council of five thouſand citizens, to aſſiſt them when they ſhould judge it neceſſary. The council and aſſemblies of the people were held as uſual; nothing was done however but by order of the four hundred. The people of Athens were deprived in this manner of their liberty, which they had enjoyed almoſt an hundred years after having aboliſhed the tyranny of the Piſiſtratides.

This decree being paſſed without oppoſition, after the ſeparation of the aſſembly, the four hundred, armed with daggers, and attended by an hundred and twenty young men, whom they made uſe of when any execution required it, entered the ſenate, and compelled

(*i*) Thucyd. l. 8. p. 590, 594. Plut. in Alcib. p. 195.

the ſenators to retire, after having paid them the arrears due upon their appointments. They elected new magiſtrates out of their own body, obſerving the uſual ceremonies upon ſuch occaſions. They did not think proper to recal thoſe who were baniſhed, leſt they ſhould authorize the return of Alcibiades, whoſe uncontroulable ſpirit they apprehended, and who would ſoon have made himſelf maſter of the people. Abuſing their power in a tyrannical manner, ſome they put to death, others they baniſhed, confiſcating their eſtates with impunity. All who ventured to oppoſe this change, or even to complain of it, were butchered upon falſe pretexts; and thoſe would have met with a bad reception, who demanded juſtice of the murderers. The four hundred, ſoon after their eſtabliſhment, ſent ten deputies to Samos for the army's concurrence to it.

(*k*) All that had paſſed at Athens was already known there, and the news had enraged the ſoldiers to the higheſt degree. They depoſed immediately ſeveral of their chiefs, whom they ſuſpected, and put others into their places, of whom Thraſylus and Thraſybulus were the principal, and in higheſt credit. Alcibiades was recalled, and choſen generaliſſimo by the whole army, that deſired to ſail directly for the Piræus to attack the tyrants. But he oppoſed it, repreſenting that it was neceſſary he ſhould firſt have an interview with Tiſſaphernes, and that as they had choſen him general, they might rely upon him for the care of the war. He ſet out immediately for Miletus. His principal deſign was to ſhew himſelf to that governor with all the power he had been inveſted, and to let him ſee that he was in a condition to do him much good or much harm. The conſequence of which was, that as he had kept the Athenians in awe by Tiſſaphernes, he now awed Tiſſaphernes no leſs by the Athenians; and we ſhall ſee in the ſequel that this interview was not unneceſſary.

Alcibiades upon his return to Samos, found the army more enflamed than at firſt. The deputies of the four

(*k*) Thucyd. l. 8. p. 595—604. Plut. in Alcib. p. 205. Diod. p. 165.

hundred

hundred arrived there during his abſence, and had endeavoured in vain to juſtify the alteration made at Athens to the ſoldiery. Their diſcourſes, which were often interrupted by tumultuous cries, ſerved only to exaſperate them more, and they earneſtly demanded to be led againſt the tyrants directly. Alcibiades did not act on this occaſion, as every body elſe would have done in conſequence of having been raiſed to ſo high a dignity by the favour of the people: For he did not think himſelf obliged to an abſolute and implicit compliance with them in every thing, though, from an exile and a fugitive, they had made him general of ſo great a fleet, and ſo numerous and formidable an army: but as a ſtateſman and great politician, he believed it his duty to oppoſe the blind fury that hurried them on into evident danger, and to prevent them from committing a fault, which muſt have been attended with their utter ruin. This wiſe ſteadineſs preſerved the city of Athens. For had they ſailed thither at firſt, the enemy had made themſelves maſters of Ionia, the Helleſpont, and all the iſlands without reſiſtance; whilſt the Athenians, by carrying the war into their own city, would have exhauſted their whole forces againſt one another. He prevented the deputies from being ill treated, and diſmiſſed them; ſaying, that he did not object to the five thouſand citizens having the ſupreme authority in the republic, but that it was neceſſary to depoſe the four hundred, and to re-eſtabliſh the ſenate.

(*l*) Whilſt this paſſed, the Phœnician fleet, which the Lacedæmonians impatiently expected, approached, and news came that it was arrived at * Aſpendus. Tiſſaphernes went to meet it; no body being able to divine the cauſe of that journey. He had ſent for that fleet at firſt to flatter the Lacedæmonians with the hopes of a powerful aid, and to put a ſtop to their progreſs, by making them wait its arrival. It was believed that his journey had the ſame motive; to prevent their doing

(*l*) Thucyd. 604, 606.

* *A city of Pamphylia.*

any thing in his abſence, and that their ſoldiers and mariners might diſband for want of pay. However it was, he did not bring the fleet with him, from the view, no doubt, of keeping the balance equal, which was the king of Perſia's intereſt, and to exhauſt both parties by the length of the war. For it had been very eaſy to have put an end to it by the aſſiſtance of this additional fleet, as the Lacedæmonians alone were already as ſtrong at ſea as the Athenians. His frivolous excuſe, of its not being compleat, for not bringing it with him, ſufficiently ſhews that he had other reaſons for his conduct.

(*m*) The return of the deputies without ſucceſs, who had been ſent to Samos, and the anſwer of Alcibiades excited new troubles in the city, and gave a mortal wound to the authority of the four hundred. The tumult increaſed exceedingly, when news was brought, that the enemy, after having beat the fleet, ſent by the four hundred to the aid of Eubœa, had made themſelves maſters of the iſland. Athens was in the higheſt terror and conſternation upon this account. For neither the defeat of Sicily, nor any other preceding it, were ſo conſiderable as the loſs of this iſland, from whence the city received conſiderable ſupplies, and almoſt all its proviſions. If in the confuſion, in which Athens was at that time between two factions, the victorious fleet had fallen upon the port, as it might have done, the army of Samos would have been indiſpenſably obliged to have flown to the defence of their country: and then the republic would have had only the city of Athens remaining of all its dominions. For the Helleſpont, Ionia, and all the iſlands, ſeeing themſelves abandoned, would have been reduced to take party, and go over to the Peloponneſians. But the enemy were not capable of ſuch great deſigns; and this was not the firſt time the Lacedæmonians had been

(*m*) Thucyd. p. 607—614. Plut. in Alcib. p. 206—210. Diod. p. 171, 172 & 175—177 & 189—192.

obſerved

obſerved to have loſt their advantages by the ſlowneſs and protraction natural to them.

Athens without delay depoſed the four hundred, as authors of all the troubles and diviſions under which they groaned. Alcibiades was recalled by unanimous conſent, and earneſtly ſollicited to make all poſſible haſte to the aſſiſtance of the city. But judging, that if he returned immediately to Athens, he ſhould owe his recal to the compaſſion and favour of the people, he reſolved to render his return glorious and triumphant, and to deſerve it by ſome conſiderable exploit. (*n*) For this purpoſe, leaving Samos with a ſmall number of ſhips, he cruiſed about the iſland of Cos and Cnidos; and having learnt that Mindarus, the Spartan admiral, was ſailed to the Helleſpont with his whole fleet, and that the Athenians were in purſuit of him, he ſteered that way with the utmoſt diligence to ſupport them, and arrived happily with his eighteen veſſels, at the time the fleets were engaged near Abydos in a battle, which laſted till night, without any advantage on either ſide. His arrival gave the Spartans new courage at firſt, who believed him ſtill their friend, and diſpirited the Athenians. But Alcibiades, hanging out the Athenian flag in the admiral's galley, fell upon the Lacedæmonians, who were ſtrongeſt and purſued the Athenians, put them to flight, drove them aſhore; and animated by his ſucceſs, ſunk their veſſels, and made a great ſlaughter of the ſoldiers, who had thrown themſelves into the ſea to ſave themſelves by ſwimming; though Pharnabaſus ſpared no pains to aſſiſt them, and had advanced at the head of his troops to the coaſt, to favour their flight, and to ſave their ſhips. The Athenians, after having taken thirty of their galleys, and re-taken thoſe they had loſt, erected a trophy.

Alcibiades, vain of his ſucceſs, had the ambition to deſire to appear before Tiſſaphernes in this triumphant equipage, and to make him rich preſents, as well in his own, as in the name of the people of Athens. He

(*n*) A. M. 3595. Ant. J. C. 409.

went

went to him therefore with a magnificent retinue, worthy of the general of Athens. But he did not meet with the favourable reception he expected. For Tiſſaphernes, who knew he was accuſed by the Lacedæmonians, and feared that the king would puniſh him at length for not having executed his orders, found Alcibiades's preſenting himſelf very opportune, and cauſed him to be ſeized and ſent priſoner to Sardis; to ſhelter himſelf by that injuſtice againſt the repreſentations of the Lacedæmonians.

Thirty days after, Alcibiades, having found means to get a horſe, eſcaped from his guards, and fled to Clazomena, where, to revenge himſelf on Tiſſaphernes, he gave out, that he had ſet him at liberty. From Clazomena he repaired to the Athenian fleet, where he was joined by Theramenes with twenty ſhips from Macedonia, and by Thraſybulus with twenty more from Thaſos. He ſailed from thence to Parium in the Propontis. All thoſe ſhips, to the number of fourſcore and ſix, being come thither, he left that place in the night, and arrived the next morning at Proconneſus, a ſmall iſle near Cyzicum. He heard there, that Mindarus was at Cyzicum with Pharnabaſus and his land-army. He reſted that whole day at Proconneſus. On the morrow, he harangued his ſoldiers, and repreſented to them the neceſſity there was for attacking the enemy by ſea and land, and for making themſelves maſters of Cyzicum; demonſtrating at the ſame time, that without a compleat and abſolute victory, they could have neither proviſions nor money. He had taken great care that the enemy ſhould not be apprized of his approach. By good fortune for him, a great ſtorm of rain and thunder, followed by a thick gloom, helped him to conceal his enterprize ſo ſucceſsfully, that not only the enemy were prevented from perceiving that he advanced, but the Athenians themſelves, whom he had cauſed to embark with precipitation, did not know that he had weighed anchor and put to ſea.

When the gloom was diſperſed, the Lacedæmonian fleet

fleet appeared, exercising at some distance before the port. Alcibiades, who apprehended that the enemy, upon the sight of so great a number of ships, would make the harbour, ordered the captains to keep back a little, and to follow him at a good distance; and taking only forty vessels, he advanced towards the enemy, to offer them battle. The enemy, deceived by this stratagem, and despising his small number, advanced against him, and began the fight. But when they saw the rest of the Athenian fleet come up, they immediately lost courage, and fled. Alcibiades, with twenty of his best ships, pursued them to the shore, landed, and killed a great number of them in the flight. Mindarus and Pharnabasus opposed his efforts in vain: the first, who fought with astonishing valour, he killed, and put the other to flight.

The Athenians by this victory, which made them masters of the slain, the arms, spoils, and whole fleet of the enemy, besides the taking of Cyzicum, not only possessed themselves of the Hellespont, but drove the Spartans entirely out of that sea. Letters were intercepted, in which the latter, with a conciseness truly Laconic, advised the Ephori of the blow they had received in terms to this effect: *The flower of your army is cut off; Mindarus is dead; the rest of the troops are dying with hunger; and we neither know what to do, nor what will become of us.*

The news of this victory occasioned no less joy to the Athenians than consternation to the Spartans. (o) They dispatched ambassadors immediately to demand that an end should be put to a war equally destructive to both people, and that a peace should be concluded upon reasonable conditions, for the re-establishment of their antient concord and amity, of which they had for many years experienced the salutary effects. The wisest and most judicious of the citizens of Athens were unanimously of opinion, that it was proper to take the advantage of so favourable a conjunc-

(o) Diod. l. 3. p. 177—179.

ture

ture for the concluding of a treaty, which might put an end to all jealouſies, appeaſe all animoſities, and remove all diſtruſts. But thoſe who found their advantage in the troubles of the ſtate, prevented the good effects of that diſpoſition. (p) Cleophon amongſt others, the moſt reputed orator at that time, animated the people from the tribunal of harangues, by a violent and ſeditious diſcourſe, inſinuating, that their intereſts were betrayed by a ſecret intelligence with the Lacedæmonians, which aimed at depriving them of all the advantages of the important victory they had gained, and at making them loſe for ever the opportunity of being fully avenged for all the wrongs and misfortunes Sparta had cauſed them to ſuffer. This Cleophon was an inconſiderable fellow, a muſical-inſtrument-maker. It was reported alſo that he had been a ſlave, and had got himſelf fraudulently inrolled in the regiſter of the citizens. He carried his audacity and fury ſo far as to threaten to plunge his dagger into the throat of any one, who ſhould talk of peace. The Athenians, puffed up with their preſent proſperity, forgetting their paſt misfortunes, and promiſing themſelves all things from the valour and good fortune of Alcibiades, rejected all propoſals of accommodation, without reflecting, that there is nothing ſo fluctuating and precarious as the ſucceſs of war. The ambaſſadors retired without being able to effect any thing. Such infatuation and irrational pride are generally the fore-runners of ſome great misfortune.

Alcibiades knew well how to make uſe of the victory he had gained, and preſently after beſieged Chalcedonia, which had revolted from the Athenians, and received a Lacedæmonian garriſon. During this ſiege, he took another town, called Selymbria. Pharnabaſus, terrified by the rapidity of his conqueſts, made a treaty with the Athenians to this effect; "That Phar-
"nabaſus ſhould pay them a certain ſum of money;
"that the Chalcedonians ſhould return to their obe-

(p) Æſch. in orat. de falſ. legat.

"dience,

" dience, depend upon the Athenians, and pay them " tribute; and that the Athenians ſhould commit no " hoſtilities in the province of Pharnabaſus, who en- " gaged for the ſafe conduct of their ambaſſadors to " the great king." Byzantium and ſeveral other cities ſubmitted to the Athenians,

(q) Alcibiades, who deſired with the utmoſt paſſion to ſee his country again, or rather to be ſeen by his country after ſo many victories over their enemies, ſet out for Athens. The ſides of his ſhips were covered with bucklers and all ſorts of ſpoils, in form of trophies; and cauſing a great number of veſſels to be towed after him by way of triumph, he diſplayed alſo the enſigns and ornaments of thoſe he had burnt, which were more than the others; the whole amounting to about two hundred ſhips. It is ſaid, that reflecting on what had been done againſt him, upon approaching the port, he was ſtruck with ſome terror, and was afraid to quit his veſſel till he ſaw from the deck a great number of his friends and relations, who were come to the ſhore to receive him, and earneſtly entreated him to land.

The people came out of the city in a body to meet him, and at his appearance ſet up incredible ſhouts of joy. In the midſt of an infinite number of officers and ſoldiers, all eyes were fixed ſolely on him, whom they conſidered as victory itſelf, deſcended from the ſkies: all around him paſſionately careſſing, bleſſing, and crowning him in emulation of each other. Thoſe, who could not approach him, were never tired with contemplating him at a diſtance, whilſt the old men ſhewed him to their children. They repeated with the higheſt praiſes all the great actions he had done for his country; nor could they refuſe their admiration even to thoſe he had done againſt it during his baniſhment, of which they imputed the fault to themſelves alone. This public joy was mingled with tears and regret, from the remembrance of paſt misfortunes, which

(q) A. M. 3597. Ant. J. C. 407.

they

they could not avoid comparing with their preſent felicity. "We could not have failed," ſaid they, "of "the conqueſt of Sicily; our other hopes could never "have proved abortive, if we had referred all our af-"fairs and forces to the diſpoſal of Alcibiades alone. "In what a condition was Athens when he took up-"on him our protection and defence! We had not "only almoſt entirely loſt our power at ſea, but were "ſcarce poſſeſſed of the ſuburbs of our city, and to "add to our misfortunes, were torn in pieces by a "horrid civil war. He notwithſtanding has raiſed the "republic from its ruins; and not content with ha-"ving re-inſtated it in the poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty "of the ſea, has rendered it univerſally victorious by "land; as if the fate of Athens had been in his hands "alone, either to ruin or preſerve it, and victory was "annexed to his perſon, and obeyed his orders."

This favourable reception of Alcibiades did not prevent his demanding an aſſembly of the people, in order to his juſtification before them; well knowing how neceſſary it was for his ſafety to be abſolved in form. He appeared therefore; and after having deplored his misfortunes, which he imputed very little to the people, and entirely aſcribed to his ill fortune, and ſome dæmon envious of his proſperity; he repreſented to them the deſigns of the enemy, and exhorted them not to conceive other than great hopes. The Athenians, tranſported with hearing him ſpeak, decreed him crowns of gold, appointed him general by ſea and land with unlimited power, reſtored him all his fortunes, and ordered the * Eumolpides and Ceryces to abſolve him from the curſes they had pronounced againſt him by the order of the people; doing their utmoſt to make him amends for the injury and ſhame of his baniſhment by the glory of his recal, and to efface

* *The Eumolpides and Ceryces were two families at Athens who had different functions in the myſteries of Ceres. They took their names from Eumolpus and Ceryx, the firſt who had exerciſed thoſe offices. Perhaps the employment of the latter had ſome relation to that of heralds,* Κηρυκες.

the

the remembrance of the anathema's themſelves had decreed, by the vows and prayers which they made in his favour. Whilſt all the Eumolpides and Ceryces were employed in revoking thoſe imprecations, Theodorus, the principal of them, had the courage to ſay: *But for me, I have not curſed him, if he has done no evil to his country*; inſinuating by that bold expreſſion, that the maledictions, being conditional, could not fall upon the head of the innocent, nor be averted from the guilty.

In the midſt of this glory and ſhining proſperity of Alcibiades, the majority of the people could not help being concerned, when they conſidered the time of his return. For it happened preciſely upon the day when the Athenians celebrated the feaſt in honour of Minerva, adored under the name of Agraulis. The prieſts took off all the ornaments from the goddeſs's ſtatue to waſh it, from whence that feaſt was called Πλυντήρια, and afterwards covered it; and that day was accounted one of the moſt ominous and unfortunate. It was the 25th of the month Thargelion, which anſwers to the 2d of July (*r*). This circumſtance diſpleaſed that ſuperſtitious people, becauſe it ſeemed to imply, that the goddeſs, patroneſs, and protectreſs of Athens, did not receive Alcibiades agreeably, and with a benign aſpect, ſince ſhe covered and concealed herſelf, as if ſhe would keep him off, and remove him from her.

(*s*) All things having however ſucceeded according to his wiſh, and the hundred ſhips he was to command being ready, he deferred his departure out of a laudable ambition to celebrate the great myſteries; for from the time the Lacedæmonians had fortified Decelia, and taken poſſeſſion of all the ways from Athens to Eleuſina, the feaſt had not been ſolemnized in all its pomp, and the proceſſion had been obliged to go by ſea. The particular ceremonies of this ſolemnity may be ſeen in the beginning of the next volume.

Alcibiades believed it would be a moſt glorious acti-

(*r*) N. S. (*s*) Plut. in Alcib. p. 210.

on,

on, and attract the bleſſings of the gods, and the praiſes of men, if he reſtored all its luſtre and ſolemnity to this feaſt, in making the proceſſion go by land under the convoy of his troops, to defend it againſt the attacks of the enemy. For either Agis would ſuffer it to paſs quietly, notwithſtanding the numerous troops he had at Decelia, which would conſiderably leſſen the reputation of that king, and be a blot in his glory; or, if he ſhould chuſe to attack it, and oppoſe the march, he ſhould then have the ſatisfaction to fight a ſacred battle; a battle grateful to the gods, for the greateſt and moſt venerable of all their myſteries, in the ſight of his country and citizens, who would be witneſſes of his valour, and regard for religion. It is very likely, that by this public and oſtentatious act of piety, which ſtruck the people's view in ſo ſenſible a manner, and was ſo extremely to his taſte, Alcibiades's principal deſign was to efface entirely from their minds the ſuſpicions of impiety, to which the mutilation of ſtatues, and prophanation of myſteries, had given birth.

Having taken that reſolution, he gave notice to the Eumolpides and Ceryces to hold themſelves in readineſs, poſted centinels upon the hills, ſent out runners at the break of day, and taking with him the prieſts, the initiated, and the probationers with thoſe who initiated them, he covered them with his army, and diſpoſed the whole pomp with wonderful order, and profound ſilence. Never was ſhew, ſays Plutarch, more auguſt, nor more worthy the majeſty of the gods, than this warlike proceſſion, and religious expedition; in which even thoſe, who envied the glory of Alcibiades, were obliged to own, that he was no leſs happy in diſcharging the functions of an high-prieſt, than thoſe of a general. No enemy dared to appear, or diſturb that pompous march, and Alcibiades re-conducted the ſacred troops to Athens with entire ſafety. This ſucceſs gave him new courage, and raiſed the valour and boldneſs of his army to ſuch a degree, that they looked upon themſelves as invincible, whilſt he commanded them.

He

He acquired the affection of the poor, and the lower ſort of people ſo much, that they moſt ardently deſired to have him for their king Many of them openly declared themſelves to that effect; and there were ſome who addreſſed themſelves to him, and exhorted him to ſet himſelf above envy, and not to trouble himſelf about laws, decrees, or ſuffrages; to put down thoſe wordy impertinents that diſturbed the ſtate with their vain harangues, to make himſelf maſter of affairs, and to govern with entire authority without fearing accuſers. For him, what his thoughts of the tyranny and his deſigns were, are unknown; but the moſt powerful citizens, apprehending the breaking out of a fire, of which they already ſaw the ſparks, preſſed him to depart without delay; granting whatever he demanded, and giving him for collegues the generals moſt agreeable to him. He ſet ſail accordingly with an hundred ſhips, and ſteered for the iſland of Andros, that had revolted. His high reputation, and the good fortune which had attended him in all his enterprizes, made nothing but what was great and extraordinary to be expected from him.

SECT. IV. *The Lacedæmonians appoint Lyſander admiral. He becomes very powerful with young Cyrus, who commanded in Aſia. He beats the Athenian fleet near Epheſus in the abſence of Alcibiades, who is deprived of the command. Ten generals are choſen in his ſtead. Callicratidas ſucceeds Lyſander.*

(*t*) THE Lacedæmonians, juſtly alarmed at the return and ſucceſs of Alcibiades, conceived that ſuch an enemy made it neceſſary to oppoſe him with an able general, capable of making head againſt him. For this reaſon they made choice of Lyſander, and gave him the command of the fleet. When he arrived at Epheſus, he found the city very well diſpoſed in his favour, and well affected to Sparta; but otherwiſe in a

(*t*) Xenoph. Hellen. l. 11. p. 440—442. Plut. in Lyſand. p. 434, 435. Dicd. l. 13. p. 192—197.

very

very unhappy ſituation. For it was in danger of becoming barbarous, by aſſuming the manners and cuſtoms of the Perſians, who had great commerce with it, as well from the neighbourhood of Lydia, as becauſe the king's generals commonly took up their winter quarters their. An idle and voluptuous life, filled up with luxury and empty ſhew, could not fail of diſguſting infinitely a man like Lyſander, who had been bred from his birth in the ſimplicity, poverty, and ſevere diſcipline of Sparta. Having brought his army to Epheſus, he gave orders for aſſembling ſhips of burden there from all parts, erected an arſenal for building of galleys, made the ports free for merchants, gave the public places to artificers, put all arts in motion, and held them in honour; and by theſe means filled the city with riches, and laid the foundations of that grandeur and magnificence, to which it afterwards attained. So great a change can the application and ability of a ſingle perſon occaſion in a ſtate!

Whilſt he was making theſe diſpoſitions, he received advice, that Cyrus, the king's youngeſt ſon, was arrived at Sardis. That prince could not be above ſixteen years old at that time, being born after his father's acceſſion to the crown in the ſeventeenth year of his reign. Paryſatis, his mother, loved him to idolatry, and had the entire aſcendant of her huſband. It was ſhe, that occaſioned his having the ſupreme government of all the provinces of Aſia minor given him; a command that ſubjected all the provincial governors of the moſt important part of the empire to his authority. The view of Paryſatis was without doubt to put the young prince into a condition to diſpute the throne with his brother after the king's death; as we ſhall ſee he does to ſome effect. One of the principal inſtructions, given him by his father upon ſending him to his government, was to give effectual aid to the Lacedæmonians againſt Athens; an order very contrary to the meaſures obſerved till then by Tiſſaphernes, and the other governors of thoſe provinces. It had always

been their maxim, ſometimes to aſſiſt one party, ſometimes the other, in order to hold their power in ſuch a ballance, that the one might never be able to cruſh the other entirely: from whence it followed, that both parties were kept weak by the war, and neither in condition to form any enterprizes againſt the Perſian empire.

Upon Lyſander's being apprized therefore of the arrival of Cyrus at Sardis, he ſet out from Epheſus to make him a viſit, and to complain of the delays and breach of faith of Tiſſaphernes, who notwithſtanding the orders he had received to ſupport the Lacedæmonians, and to drive the Athenians out of the ſea, had always covertly favoured the latter, out of regard for Alcibiades, whoſe meaſures he entirely gave into, and had been the ſole cauſe of the loſs of the fleet, by not ſupplying it with the neceſſary quantity of proviſions. This diſcourſe pleaſed Cyrus, who looked upon Tiſſaphernes as a very bad man, and his particular enemy; and he anſwered, that the king had given him orders to ſupport the Lacedæmonians powerfully, and that he had received five hundred talents * for that purpoſe. Lyſander, contrary to the common character of the Spartans, was ſubmiſſive and condeſcending, full of complacency for the grandees, always ready to pay his court to them, and ſupporting, for the good of the ſervice, all the weight of their haughtineſs and vanity with incredible patience; in which behaviour ſome people make the whole addreſs and merit of a courtier conſiſt.

He did not forget himſelf on this occaſion, and ſetting at work all that the induſtry and art of a compleat courtier could ſuggeſt of flattery and inſinuation, he perfectly gained the young prince's favour and good opinion. After having praiſed his generoſity, magnificence, and zeal for the Lacedæmonians, he deſired him to give each ſoldier and mariner a drachma † *per* day; in order to debauch thoſe of the enemy by that

* *Five hundred thouſand crowns, about* 112500 *l. ſterl.* † *Ten pence.*

means

means, and thereby terminate the war the ſooner. Cyrus very much approved the project; but ſaid, that he could make no change in the king's order, and that the treaty with them expreſsly ſettled only half a talent * to be paid monthly for each galley. The prince however, at the end of a banquet, which he gave him before his departure, drinking to his health, and preſſing him to aſk ſomething of him, Lyſander deſired that an † obolus a day might be added to the ſeamen's pay. This was granted, and he gave them four oboli, inſtead of three, which they received before, and paid them all the arrears due to them, with a month's advance; giving Lyſander ten thouſand ‖ Darics for that purpoſe, that is, an hundred thouſand livres, or about five thouſand pounds ſterling.

This largeſs filled the whole fleet with ardor and alacrity, and almoſt unmanned the enemy's galleys; the greateſt part of the mariners deſerting to the party where the pay was beſt. The Athenians, in deſpair upon receiving this news, endeavoured to conciliate Cyrus by the interpoſition of Tiſſaphernes; but he would not hearken to them, notwithſtanding the ſatrap repreſented, that it was not for the king's intereſt to aggrandize the Lacedæmonians, but to ballance the power of one ſide with that of the other, in order to perpetuate the war, and to ruin both by their own diviſions.

Though Lyſander had conſiderably weakened the enemy by augmenting the mariners pay, and thereby very much hurt their naval power, he dared not however hazard a battle with them, particularly apprehending Alcibiades, who was a man of execution, had the greater number of ſhips, and had never been overthrown in any battle either by ſea or land. But after Alcibiades had left Samos to go into Phocæa, and Ionia,

* *One thouſand five hundred livres, about* 112 *l. ſterling.*

† *The drachma was ſix oboli, or ten pence French; each obolus being three half pence: ſo that the four oboli were ſix pence halfpenny a day, inſtead of five pence, or three oboli.*

‖ *A Daric is about a piſtole.*

to raiſe money, of which he was in want for the payment of his troops, and had given the command of his fleet to Antiochus, with expreſs order not to fight or attack the enemy in his abſence; the new commander, to make ſhew of his courage, and to brave Lyſander, entered the port of Epheſus with two galleys, and after having made a great noiſe, retired with loud laughter, and an air of contempt and inſult. Lyſander, enraged at that affront, immediately detached ſome galleys, and went himſelf in purſuit of him. But as the Athenians advanced to ſupport Antiochus, he ordered other galleys of his ſide to come on, till the whole fleet arrived by little and little, and the engagement became general on both ſides. Lyſander gained the victory, and having taken fifteen of the Athenian galleys, erected a trophy. Alcibiades, on his return to Samos, ſailed even into the port to offer him battle; but Lyſander was contented with his victory, and did not think proper to accept it: ſo that he retired without doing any thing.

(*u*) Thraſybulus at the ſame time, the moſt dangerous enemy he had in his army, left the camp, and went to Athens to accuſe him. To enflame his enemies in the city the more, he told the people in a full aſſembly, that Alcibiades had entirely ruined their affairs, and the navy, by the licence he had introduced; that he had given himſelf up to the moſt * notorious debauchees and drunkards, who from common ſeamen were the only perſons in credit about him; that he abandoned his whole authority to them, to be at leiſure to enrich himſelf in the provinces, and to plunge himſelf there into intemperance and all other infamous exceſſes, to the diſgrace of Athens, whilſt his fleet was left neglected in the face of the enemy's.

Another article of accuſation againſt him was taken

(*u*) A. M. 3598. Ant. J. C. 506.

* *Antiochus is ſpoken at in this place, a mean, debauched man, who had acquired the favour of Alcibiades by catching a quail for him, which he had let fly.*

from

from the forts he had built near the city of Byzantium, for an asylum and retreat for him; as neither being able nor willing to return any more to his country. The Athenians, a capricious inconstant people, gave credit to these impeachments. The loss of the last battle, and his little success since his departure from Athens, instead of the great and wonderful actions expected from him, entirely sunk him in their opinions; and his own glory and reputation may be said to have occasioned his ruin. For he was suspected of not desiring to do what was not done, which they could not believe out of his power, because they were fully persuaded, that nothing he desired to do was impossible to him. They made it a crime in Alcibiades, that the rapidity of his conquests did not answer to that of their imaginations; not considering, that he made war without money upon a people who had the great king for their treasurer, and that he was often obliged to quit his camp, to go in quest of what was necessary for the payment and subsistence of his troops. However it was, Alcibiades was deposed, and ten generals nominated in his stead; of which, when he received advice, he retired in his galley to some castles he had in the Thracian Chersonesus.

(*x*) About this time died Pistonax, one of the kings of Lacedæmonia, and was succeeded by Pausanias, who reigned fourteen years. The latter made a fine answer to one who asked, why it was not permitted to change any thing in the ancient customs of Sparta: * *Because*, says he, *at Sparta the laws command men, and not men the laws.*

(y) Lysander, who intended to establish the government of the nobility in all the cities in the dependence of Sparta, that the governors of his chusing might be always at his disposal, from his having rendered them

(*x*) Diod. p. 196. *(y)* Xenoph. Hellen. l. 1. p. 442—444. Plut. in Lysand. p. 435—436. Diod. p. 197, 198.

* Ὅτι τὺς νόμυς τ̃ ἀνδρῶν, ὰ τὺς ἄνδρας τ̃ νόμων κυρίυς εἶναι δεῖ. Plut. in Apoph. p. 230.

independent of their people, he cauſed ſuch perſons of the principal cities to come to Epheſus, as he knew to be the boldeſt, and moſt enterprizing and ambitious. Theſe he placed at the head of affairs, promoted to the greateſt honours, and raiſed to the firſt employments of the army, thereby rendering himſelf, ſays Plutarch, the accomplice of all the crimes and oppreſſions they committed to advance and enrich themſelves. For this reaſon they were always extremely attached to him, and regretted him infinitely, when Callicratidas came to ſucceed him, and took upon him the command of the fleet. He was not inferior to Lyſander either in valour or military knowledge, and was infinitely above him in point of moral virtue. Alike ſevere to himſelf and others, inacceſſible to flattery and ſloth, the declared enemy of luxury, he retained the modeſty, temperance, and auſterity of the antient Spartans; virtues that began to diſtinguiſh him particularly, as they were not too common in his time. His probity and juſtice were proof againſt all things; his ſimplicity and integrity abhorred all falſhood and fraud, to which were joined a truly Spartan nobleneſs and grandeur of ſoul. The great and powerful could not hinder themſelves from admiring his virtue; but they were better pleaſed with the facility and condeſcénſion of his predeceſſor, who was blind to the injuſtice and violence of their actions.

It was not without mortification and jealouſy, Lyſander ſaw him arrive at Epheſus to take upon him the command, and out of a criminal baſeneſs and treachery, not uncommon with thoſe who hearken more to their private ambition than the good of the public, he did him all the ill offices in his power. Of the ten thouſand Darics, which Cyrus had given him for the augmentation of the mariners pay, he returned the remainder to that prince; telling Callicratidas, that he might apply to the king for the money, and that it depended on him to find means for the ſubſiſtence of his army. This conduct gave him great trouble, and

diſtreſſed

diſtreſſed him exceedingly. For he had brought no money with him from Sparta, and could not reſolve to extort any from the citizens, as he found them ſufficiently rifled already.

(z) In this urgent neceſſity a perſon having offered him fifty talents (that is to ſay, fifty thouſand crowns) to obtain a favour he could not grant with juſtice, he refuſed them. Upon which Cleander, one of his officers, ſaid, "I would accept them were I in your "place. And ſo would I," replied the general, "were I in yours."

He had no other reſource therefore than to go as Lyſander had done, to aſk money at the gates of the king's general and lieutenants, for which he was the leaſt proper of all mankind. Nurtured and educated in the love of liberty, full of great and noble ſentiments, and infinitely remote from all flattery and baſeneſs, he was convinced at heart, that it was leſs evil and diſhonour for Greeks to be overcome by Greeks, than infamouſly to make their court, and beg at the gates of Barbarians, whoſe only merit conſiſted in their gold and ſilver. The whole nation were indeed diſgraced by ſo mean a proſtitution.

Cicero, in his Offices, draws two very different characters of perſons employed in the adminiſtration of government, and makes the application of them to the two generals, of whom we ſpeak. The one, ſays he, * zealous lovers of truth, and declared enemies of all fraud, pique themſelves upon their ſimplicity and candour, and do not believe, that it can ever conſiſt with honour to lay ſnares, or uſe artifice. The others, prepared to do or ſuffer every thing, are not aſhamed of the meaneſt actions and proſtitutions, provided from

(z) Plut. in Apoph. p. 222.

* Sunt his alii multum diſpares, ſimplices et aperti; qui nihil ex occulto, nihil ex inſidiis agendum putant; veritatis cultores, fraudis inimici: itemque alii, qui quidvis perpetiantur, cuivis deſerviant, dum, quod velint, conſequantur. Quo in genere verſutiſſimum et patientiſſimum Lacedæmonium Lyſandrum accepimus, contraque Callicratidem. *Offic.* l. 1. n. 109.

thoſe unworthy means, they have reaſon to expect the ſucceſs of their deſigns. Cicero places Callicratidas amongſt the former, and Lyſander amongſt the latter, to whom he gives two epithets not much to his honour, and hardly conſiſtent with the Spartan character, when he calls him *very artful and very patient*, or rather *very complaiſant*.

Callicratidas however, forced by neceſſity, went to Lydia, and repaired immediately to the palace of Cyrus, where he deſired that prince might be told, that the admiral of the Grecian fleet was come to ſpeak with him. He was anſwered, that Cyrus was then at table, engaged in a * party of pleaſure; to which he replied with a modeſt tone and air, that he was in no haſte, and would wait till the prince came forth. The guards ſet up a laugh, wondering at the honeſt ſtranger's ſimplicity, which had ſo little the air of the world in it; and he was obliged to retire. He came thither a ſecond time, and was again denied admittance. Upon which he returned to Epheſus, loading thoſe with curſes and imprecations, who had firſt made their court to Barbarians, and by their flattery and ſubmiſſions had taught them to make their riches a title and pretence for inſulting the reſt of mankind. Addreſſing himſelf at the ſame time to thoſe about him, he ſwore, that as ſoon as he returned to Sparta, he would uſe his utmoſt endeavours to reconcile the Greeks amongſt themſelves, that for the future they might become formidable to the Barbarians, and have no further occaſion for their aid to invade and ruin each other. But that generous Spartan, whoſe thoughts were ſo noble, and ſo worthy the Lacedæmonian name, and whoſe juſtice, magnanimity, and valour might rank him with all that Greece had ever produced of the moſt excellent and moſt conſummate, had not the good fortune to return to his country, nor

* *The Greek ſays literally that he was drinking,* πίνει. *The Perſians valued themſelves upon drinking a great deal, as an inſtance of their merit, as we ſhall ſee in Cyrus's letter to the Lacedæmonians.*

to

to apply himſelf to a work ſo great, and ſo worthy of him.

SECT. V. *Callicratidas is defeated by the Athenians near the Arginuſæ. The Athenians paſs ſentence of death upon ſeveral of their generals for not having brought off the bodies of thoſe who had been ſlain in the battle. Socrates alone has the courage to oppoſe ſo unjuſt a ſentence.*

(a) CALLICRATIDAS, after having gained ſeveral victories over the Athenians, had at laſt purſued Conon, one of their generals, into the port of Mitylene, where he kept him blocked up. This was in the twenty-ſixth year of the Peloponneſian war. Conon ſeeing himſelf beſieged by ſea and land, without hope of aid, and in want of proviſions, found means to apprize Athens of the extreme danger he was in. Extraordinary efforts were made to relieve him, and in leſs than a month's time a fleet of an hundred and ten ſail were fitted out, on board of which were embarked all that were capable of bearing arms, as well ſlaves as freemen, with ſome horſe. At Samos they were joined by the allies with forty galleys, and ſteered for the Arginuſæ, iſlands ſituate between Cuma and Mitylene. Callicratidas, being informed of their courſe, left Eteonicus to continue the ſiege with fifty ſhips, and put to ſea with an hundred and twenty ſail, with deſign to face the enemy, and prevent their relieving Conon. The right wing of the Athenians was commanded by Protomachus and Thraſylus, who had each fifteen galleys. They were ſupported by a ſecond line with a like number of ſhips, commanded by Lyſias and Ariſtogenes. The left wing, like the other, drawn up in two lines was under Ariſtocrates and Diomedon, ſupported by Eraſinides and Pericles *. The main body, conſiſting of near thirty galleys, amongſt

(a) Xenoph. Hellen. l. 1. p. 444—452. Diod. l. 13. p. 198 & 201—217—222.

* *He was ſon of the great Pericles.*

which were the three Athenian admirals, was diſpoſed in one line. They had ſtrengthened each of their wings with a ſecond line; becauſe their galleys were neither ſo ſwift, nor ſo eaſy to manage, as thoſe of the enemy; ſo that their was reaſon to fear their getting between two, and being charged on both ſides at the ſame time. The Lacedæmonians and their allies, who perceived they were inferior in number to the enemy, contented themſelves with drawing up in one line, in order to equal their front, and for the greater facility of running between the Athenian galleys, and turning nimbly round them. Callicratidas's pilot, daunted at the inequality, adviſed him not to hazard the battle, and to retire; but he replied, that he could not fly without ſhame, and that his death was of ſmall importance to the republic. *Sparta*, ſaid he, *does not depend upon one man.* He commanded the right wing, and Thraſondas the Theban the left.

It was terrible to behold the ſea covered with three hundred galleys ready to engage. Never had more numerous naval armies of the Greeks joined battle before. The ability, experience, and valour of the generals who commanded, left nothing to deſire; ſo that there was reaſon to believe this battle would decide the fate of both people, and put an end to a war that had endured ſo long. When the ſignals were given, the two armies raiſed great ſhouts, and began the fight. Callicratidas, who from the anſwer of the augurs, expected to fall in the battle, did amazing actions of valour. He attacked the enemy with incredible courage and boldneſs, ſunk ſome of their ſhips, diſabled others by breaking their oars and piercing their ſides with the prow or beak of his galley. At length he attacked that of Pericles, and made a thouſand holes in it; but the latter having hooked him faſt with a grappling iron, he found it impoſſible to diſengage himſelf, and was ſurrounded in an inſtant by ſeveral of the Athenian veſſels. His own was immediately filled with the enemy, and after a dreadful ſlaughter, he fell dead,

rather overwhelmed by their numbers than vanquiſhed. The right wing, which he commanded, having loſt its admiral, was put to flight. The left, compoſed of Bœotians and Eubœans, ſtill made a long and vigorous reſiſtance, from the important concern they were in, leſt they ſhould fall into the hands of the Athenians, againſt whom they had revolted; but they were at length obliged to give way, and retire in diſorder. The Athenians erected a trophy in the Arginuſæ. They loſt twenty-five galleys in this battle, and the enemy more than ſeventy, of which number, were nine of the ten furniſhed by the Lacedæmonians.

(*b*) Plutarch equals Callicratidas the Lacedæmonian general, for his juſtice, valour, and magnanimity, with all who had ever rendered themſelves moſt worthy of admiration amongſt the Greeks.

(*c*) He blames him however exceedingly for hazarding the battle at the Arginuſæ, and obſerves, that to avoid the reproach of having retired out of fear, he had, through a miſtaken ſenſe of honour, failed in the eſſential duty of his function. For, ſays Plutarch, if (to uſe the compariſon of * Iphicrates) the light-armed infantry reſemble the hands, the horſe the feet, the main body the breaſt, and the general the head; the general, who abandons himſelf raſhly to the impetuoſity of his valour, does not ſo much neglect or expoſe his own life, as the lives of thoſe, whoſe ſafety depends upon his. Our Lacedæmonian chief was therefore in the wrong, continues Plutarch, to anſwer the pilot who adviſed him to retire, *Sparta does not depend upon one man.* For though it be true, that Callicratidas, fighting under the orders of another by ſea or land, *was no more than one man*, yet, commanding an army, all that obeyed his orders were collected in his perſon; and he, in whom ſo many thouſands might be loſt, *was no longer one man.* † Cicero had paſſed the ſame judgment

(*b*) Plut. in Lyſand. p. 436.

* *He was a famous general of the Athenians.*

(*c*) Plut. in Pelop. p. 273.

† Inventi multi ſunt, qui non modo pecuniam, ſed vitam etiam, protu-

judgment upon him before Plutarch. After having ſaid, that there were many perſons to be found, who were ready to ſacrifice their fortunes, and even lives for their country, but who out of a falſe delicacy in point of glory would not hazard their reputation for it in the leaſt; he cites the example of Callicratidas, who anſwered thoſe that adviſed him to retreat from the Arginuſæ, *That Sparta could fit out another fleet if this were loſt; but for himſelf, he could not fly before the enemy without ſhame and infamy.*

I return to the ſequel of the battle near the Arginuſæ. The Athenian generals ordered Theramenes, Thraſybulus, and ſome other officers, to return with about fifty galleys to take up the wrecks and dead bodies, in order to their interment, whilſt they rowed on with the reſt againſt Eteonicus, who kept Conon beſieged before Mitylene. But a rude tempeſt came on ſuddenly, and prevented the execution of this order. Eteonicus having received news of the defeat, and fearing it might occaſion alarm and terror amongſt the troops, ſent back thoſe who brought it, with orders to return with wreaths of flowers upon their heads, and to give out, that Callicratidas had gained the victory, and deſtroyed the whole Athenian fleet. Upon their return he offered ſacrifices of thankſgiving, and having made his troops take ſome refreſhment, he ſent the galleys away directly, the wind being fair, and marched off the land-army to Methymna, after having burnt the camp. Conon being delivered in this manner from the blockade, joined the victorious fleet, which returned forthwith to Samos. However when it was known at Athens, that the dead bodies had been

profundere pro patria parati eſſent, idem gloriæ jacturam re minimam quidem facere vellent, ne republica quidem poſtulante: ut Callicratidas, qui, cum Lacedæmonicorum dux fuiſſet Peloponneſiaco bello, multaque feciſſet egregiè, vertit ad extremum omnia, cum conſilio non paruit eorum, qui claſſem ab Arginuſis removendam, nec cum Athenienſibus dimicandum putabant. Quibus ille reſpondit, Lacedæmonios, claſſe illa amiſſa, aliam parare poſſe, ſe fugere ſine ſuo dedecore non poſſe. *Offic.* l. 1, n. 48.

left

left without interment, the people were highly enraged, and laid the whole weight of their resentment upon those they believed guilty of that crime. The antients held it a great one not to provide sepulture for the dead; and we may observe, that after all their battles, the first care of the conquered, notwithstanding the sense of their misfortune, and their great affliction for a bloody defeat, was to demand a suspension of arms from the victor, in order to pay their last duties to those who had fallen in battle; upon which they believed their happiness in another life depended. They had little or no idea of the resurrection of the body; but however, the pagans, in the soul's concern for the body after death, the religious regard paid to it, and the passion with which they rendered solemn honours to the dead, seem to argue, that they had some confused notion of a resurrection, which subsisted amongst all nations, and descended from the most antient tradition, tho' they could not distinguish clearly upon it.

Hence arose the fury of the people of Athens. They immediately nominated new generals, retaining only Conon of the old ones, to whom they gave Adimantes and Philocles for collegues. Eight days after which, two of them withdrew themselves, and only six returned to Athens. Theramenes the tenth general, who returned before the rest of the fleet, accused the other chiefs before the people, making them responsible for not bringing off the dead after the battle; and to clear himself, read the letter they had wrote to the senate and people, wherein they excused themselves from the violence of the storm, without charging any body. That calumny was detestably vile, as done in abuse of their reserve in not mentioning him in their letter, and in not laying a fault to his charge, of which he might have appeared the most guilty. The generals at their return, not being able to prevail for the time necessary for making their defence, contented themselves with representing in few words the state of the affair, and appealed for the truth of what they said to the pilots,

and

and all preſent when it happened. The people ſeemed to receive their excuſe favourably, and ſeveral perſons offered themſelves for their ſureties; but it was thought proper to adjourn the aſſembly, becauſe of the night, and it being the people's cuſtom to give their ſuffrages by lifting up of hands, their reſolution could not be known; beſides which the council were firſt to give their opinion upon the queſtion to be propoſed to the people.

The feaſt of Apaturia unexpectedly coming on, in which it was the cuſtom to aſſemble by families, the relations of Theramenes poſted ſeveral perſons in mourning habits, and ſhaved, in proper places, who ſaid, they were the kindred of thoſe who had been ſlain in the battle, and obliged Callixenes to accuſe the generals in the ſenate. It was decreed in conſequence, that as the accuſation and defence had been heard in the laſt aſſembly, the people by their reſpective tribes ſhould give their voices, and if the accuſed were found guilty, they ſhould be puniſhed with death, their eſtates confiſcated, and the tenth part conſecrated to the * goddeſs. Some ſenators oppoſed this decree as unjuſt, and contrary to the laws: But as the people, at the inſtigation of Callixenes, threatned to include the oppoſers in the ſame cauſe and crime with the generals, they were ſo mean as to deſiſt from their oppoſition, and to ſacrifice the innocent generals to their own ſafety by conſenting to the decree. Socrates (the celebrated philoſopher) was the only one of the ſenators, that ſtood firm, and perſiſted obſtinately in oppoſing a decree ſo notoriouſly unjuſt, and ſo contrary to all laws. The orator, who mounted the tribunal in defence of the generals, ſhewed, "That they had failed "in nothing of their duty, as they had given orders "that the dead bodies ſhould be taken up: that if "any one were guilty, it was he, who, being charged "with theſe orders, had neglected to put them in ex-"ecution; but that he accuſed no body; and that

* Minerva.

"the

" the tempeſt, which came on unexpectedly at the " very inſtant, was an unanſwerable apology, and " entirely diſcharged the accuſed from all guilt. He " demanded, that a whole day ſhould be allowed " them to make their defence, a favour not denied to " the moſt criminal, and that they ſhould be tried " ſeparately. He repreſented, that they were not in " the leaſt obliged to precipitate a ſentence, wherein " the lives of the moſt illuſtrious of the citizens were " concerned; that it was in ſome meaſure attacking " the gods to make * men reſponſible for the winds " and weather; that they could not, without the moſt " flagrant ingratitude and injuſtice, put the conque- " rors to death, to whom they ought to decree crowns " and honours, or give up the defenders of their coun- " try to the rage of thoſe who envied them; that if " they did ſo, their unjuſt judgment would be followed " with a ſudden, but vain, repentance, which would " leave behind it the ſharpeſt remorſe, and cover them " with eternal ſhame and infamy." The people ſeemed at firſt to be moved with theſe reaſons; but animated by the accuſers, they pronounced ſentence of death againſt eight of their generals; and ſix of them, who were preſent, were ſeized in order to their being carried to execution. One of them, Diomedon, a perſon of great reputation for his valour and probity, demanded to be heard. " Athenians," ſaid he, " I " wiſh the ſentence you have paſſed upon us may not " prove the misfortune of the republic; but I have " one favour to aſk of you in behalf of my collegues " and myſelf, which is to acquit us before the gods of " the vows we made to them for you and ourſelves, " as we are not in a condition to diſcharge them; for " it is to their protection, invoked before the battle, " we acknowledge that we are indebted for the victory " gained by us over the enemy." There was not one good citizen, that did not melt into tears at this diſ-

* Quem adeo iniquum, ut ſceleri aſſignet, quod venti et fluctus deliquerint? *Tacit. Annal.* l. 14. c. 3.

courſe

courſe ſo full of goodneſs and religion, and admire with furprize the moderation of a perſon, who ſeeing himſelf unjuſtly condemned, did not however vent the leaſt reſentment, or even complaint againſt his judges, but was ſolely intent (in favour of an ungrateful country, which had doomed them to periſh) upon what it owed the gods in common with them for the victory they had lately obtained.

The ſix generals were hardly executed, when the people opened their eyes, and perceived all the horror of that ſentence, but their repentance could not reſtore the dead to life. Callixenes, the orator, was put in priſon, and refuſed to be heard. Having found means to make his eſcape, he fled to Decelia to the enemy, from whence he returned ſometime after to Athens, where he died of hunger, univerſally deteſted and abhorred by all the world, as all falſe accuſers and ſlanderers ought to be. Diodorus remarks that the people themſelves were juſtly puniſhed for their crime by the gods, who abandoned them ſoon after, not to a ſingle maſter, but to thirty tyrants, that treated them with the utmoſt rigour and cruelty.

(*d*) The diſpoſition of a people is very naturally imaged in this account; and Plato, upon the ſame event, draws in few words their character with much ſpirit and reſemblance. The * commonalty, ſays he, is an unconſtant, ungrateful, cruel, ſuſpicious animal, incapable of ſubmitting to the government of reaſon; which is no wonder, adds he, as it is commonly compoſed of the dregs of a city, and is a monſtrous aſſemblage, without form or order, of all that is worſt in it.

The ſame relation ſhews what effect fear can have upon the minds of men, even upon thoſe who paſs for the wiſeſt, and how few there are, who are capable of ſupporting inflexibly the view of preſent danger and diſgrace. Though the juſtneſs of the generals cauſe was perfectly known in the ſenate, at leaſt by the ma-

(*d*) Plut. in Axioch. p. 368, 369.

* Δῆμος ἀψίκορον, ἀχάριστον, ὠμὸν, βάσανον, ἀπαιδεύτον.

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jor part of it, as ſoon as the people's rage was mentioned, and the terrible menaces they murmured, thoſe grave ſenators, moſt of whom had commanded armies, and who all of them had frequently expoſed themſelves to the greateſt dangers of war, inſtantly changed ſides, and came over to the moſt notorious calumny, and crying injuſtice that ever had being. An evident proof, that there is a courage, though very rare, which infinitely tranſcends the valour, that induces ſo many thouſands of men every day to confront the moſt terrible dangers in battle.

Amongſt all the judges, only one, truly worthy of his reputation, the great Socrates, in this general treaſon and perfidy ſtood firm and immoveable; and tho' he knew his ſuffrage and unaided voice would be of little or no conſequence to the accuſed, he thought them a juſt homage to oppreſſed innocence, and that it was * unworthy an honeſt man to govern himſelf by the fury of a blind and frantic people. We ſee in this inſtance how far the cauſe of juſtice may be abandoned. We may conclude it was not better defended before the people. Of more than three thouſand citizens, who compoſed the aſſembly, two only took upon them the defenſe of their generals, Euriptodemus and Axiochus. Plato has preſerved their names, and given that of the latter to the dialogue, from whence part of theſe reflections are taken.

(*e*) The ſame year the battle of the Arginuſæ was fought, Dionyſius poſſeſſed himſelf of the tyranny in Sicily. I ſhall defer ſpeaking of him till the enſuing volume, in which I ſhall treat the hiſtory of the tyrants of Syracuſe at large.

SECT. IV. *Lyſander commands the Lacedæmonian fleet. Cyrus is recalled to court by his father. Lyſander's celebrated victory over the Athenians at Ægoſpotamos.*

(*e*) A. M. 3598. Ant. J. C. 406.

* Οὐ γὰρ ἐφάινετό μοι σεμνὸν δήμῳ μαινομένῳ συνεξάρχειν.

AFTER

(*f*) AFTER the defeat at the Arginuſæ, the affairs of the Peloponneſians declining, the allies, ſupported by the credit of Cyrus, ſent an embaſſy to Sparta, to demand that the command of the fleet ſhould again be given to Lyſander, with the promiſe of ſerving with more affection and courage if their requeſt were granted. As it was contrary to the laws of Sparta that the ſame perſon ſhould be twice admiral; the Lacedæmonians, to ſatisfy the allies, gave the title of admiral to one Aracus, and ſent Lyſander with him, whom in appearance they commiſſioned only as vice-admiral, though in effect with all the authority of the ſupreme command.

All thoſe who had the greateſt ſhare in the government of the cities, and were of moſt authority in them, ſaw him arrive with extreme joy; promiſing themſelves, from his influence, the final ſubverſion of the democratic power. His character of complacency for his friends, and indulgence to all their faults, ſuited much better with their ambitious and injurious views, than the auſtere equity of Callicratidas. For Lyſander was a man of the moſt corrupt heart, and gloried in having no principles in point of virtue or the moſt ſacred duties. He made no ſcruple to employ artifice and deceit upon all occaſions, and eſteemed juſtice only as far as it ſerved his meaſures. When it did not promote them, he never failed to prefer the uſeful, which with him was alone laudable and excellent; from a perſuaſion that truth had in its own nature no advantage over falſhood, and that the value of both one and the other was to be determined by the convenience reſulting from them. And for thoſe who repreſented to him, that it was unworthy the deſcendants of Hercules to make uſe of fraud and treachery, he laughed at them; *For*, ſaid he, *where the lion's ſkin is not long enough, it is neceſſary to tack the fox's tail to it.*

(*f*) Xenoph. Hellen. l. 2. p. 45. Plut. in Lyſ. 9. 436, 437. Diod. l. 13. p. 223. A. M. 3590. Ant. J. C. 405.

An

An expreſſion aſcribed to him, ſufficiently denotes, how ſmall an account he made of perjury. He uſed to ſay, * *Children are amuſed with baubles, and men with oaths*; ſhewing by ſo profeſſed a want of religion, that the gods were more inconſiderable with him than his enemies. For he who deceives with a falſe oath, plainly declares in ſo doing, that he fears his enemies, but that he deſpiſes God.

(*g*) Here ends the twenty-ſixth year of the Peloponneſian war. In this year it was, that young Cyrus, dazzled with the unuſual ſplendor of ſupreme authority, and jealous of the leaſt omiſſion in point of ceremonial homage, diſcovered by a remarkable action the ſecret of his heart. Brought up from his infancy in the reigning houſe, nurtured under the ſhade of the throne amidſt the ſubmiſſions and proſtrations of the courtiers, entertained long by the diſcourſes of an ambitious mother that idolized him, in the deſire and hope of empire, he began already to affect the rights of ſovereignty, and to exact the honours paid to it with ſurprizing haughtineſs and rigor. Two Perſians of the royal family, his couſin-germans by their mother, his father Darius's ſiſter, had omitted to cover their hands with their ſleeves in his preſence, according to a ceremonial obſerved only to the kings of Perſia. Cyrus, reſenting that neglect as a capital crime, condemned them both to die, and cauſed them to be executed at Sardis without mercy. Darius, at whoſe feet their relations threw themſelves to demand juſtice, was very much affected with the tragical end of his two nephews, and looked upon this action of his ſon's as an attempt upon himſelf, to whom alone that honour was due. He reſolved therefore to take his government from him, and ordered him to court upon the pretext of being ſick, and having a deſire to ſee him.

(*g*) Xenoph. Hellen. l. 2. p. 454.

* *The Greek text admits another ſenſe, which is perhaps no leſs good*: Children may uſe art, and cheat one another in their games, and men in their oaths. Ἐκέλευε τὰς μὲν παῖδας ἀπραγάλοις, τὰς δ' ἄνδρας ὅρκοις ἐξαπατᾶν.

Cyrus

Cyrus before his departure ſent for Lyſander to Sardis, and put into his hands great ſums of money for the payment of his fleet, promiſing him ſtill more for the future. And with the oſtentation of a young man, to let him ſee how much he deſired to oblige him, he aſſured him, that though the king his father ſhould ceaſe to afford him any ſupplies, he would furniſh him the more willingly out of his own coffers, and that rather than he ſhould want the neceſſary proviſions, he would even cauſe the throne of maſſy gold and ſilver, upon which he ſat in judgment, to be melted down. At length, when he was upon the point of ſetting out, he empowered him to receive the tributes and revenues of the cities, confided the government of his provinces to him, and conjured him with embraces not to give battle in his abſence, unleſs ſuperior in force; becauſe the king neither wanted the will nor the power to give him that ſuperiority to the enemy; promiſing at the ſame time, with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of affection, to bring him a great number of ſhips from Phœnicia and Cilicia.

(*b*) After that prince's departure, Lyſander ſailed towards the Helleſpont, and laid ſiege to Lampſacus. Torax, having marched thither with his land-forces at the ſame time, aſſaulted the city on his ſide. (*i*) The place was carried by ſtorm, and abandoned by Lyſander to the mercy of the ſoldiers. The Athenians, who followed him cloſe, came to an anchor in the port of Eleontum in the Cherſoneſus, with an hundred and fourſcore galleys. But upon the news of the taking of Lampſacus, they immediately ſteered for Seſtos, and after having taken in proviſions, they ſtood away from thence, ſailing along the coaſt to a place called * Ægoſpotamos, where they halted over-againſt the enemy, who were then at anchor before Lampſacus. The Helleſpont is not above two thouſand paces broad in

(*b*) Xenoph. Hellen. l. 2. p. 455—458. (*i*) Plut. in Lyſ. p. 437 & 440. Id. in Alcib. p. 212. Diod. l. 13. p. 225, 226.

* *The river of the goat.*

that

that place. The two armies, ſeeing themſelves ſo near each other, expected only to reſt that day, and were in hopes of coming to a battle on the next.

But Lyſander had another deſign in view. He commanded the ſeamen and pilots to go on board their galleys, as if they were in reality to fight the next morning at break of day, to hold themſelves in readineſs, and to wait his orders with profound ſilence. He ordered the land-army in like manner to draw up in battle upon the coaſt, and to wait the day without any noiſe. On the morrow, as ſoon as the ſun was riſen, the Athenians began to row towards them with their whole fleet in one line, and to bid them defiance. Lyſander, though his ſhips were ranged in order of battle, with their heads towards the enemy, lay ſtill without making any movement. In the evening, when the Athenians withdrew, he did not ſuffer his ſoldiers to go aſhore, till two or three galleys, which he had ſent out to obſerve them, were returned with advice, that they had ſeen the enemy land. The next day paſſed in the ſame manner, as did the third and fourth. Such a conduct, which argued reſerve and apprehenſion, extremely augmented the ſecurity and boldneſs of the Athenians, and inſpired them with an extreme contempt for an army, which fear, in their ſenſe, prevented from ſhewing themſelves, and attempting any thing.

Whilſt this paſſed, Alcibiades, who was near the fleet, took horſe, and came to the Athenian generals; to whom he repreſented, that they kept upon a very diſadvantagious coaſt, where there were neither ports nor cities in the neighbourhood; that they were obliged to bring their proviſions from Seſtos with great danger and difficulty; and that they were very much in the wrong to ſuffer the ſoldiers and mariners of the fleet, as ſoon as they were aſhore, to ſtraggle and diſperſe themſelves at their own pleaſure, whilſt the enemy's fleet faced them in view, accuſtomed to execute the orders of their general with inſtant obedience, and upon

on the ſlighteſt ſignal. He offered alſo to attack the enemy by land with a ſtrong body of Thracian troops, and to force them to a battle. The generals, eſpecially Tydeus and Menander, jealous of their command, did not content themſelves with refuſing his offers, from the opinion, that if the event proved unfortunate, the whole blame would fall on them, and if favourable, that Alcibiades would engroſs the honour of it; but rejected alſo with inſult his wiſe and ſalutary counſel, as if a man in diſgrace loſt his ſenſe and abilities with the favour of the commonwealth. Alcibiades withdrew.

The fifth day the Athenians preſented themſelves again, and offered him battle; retiring in the evening according to cuſtom with more inſulting airs than the days before. Lyſander, as uſual, detached ſome galleys to obſerve them, with orders to return with the utmoſt diligence, when they ſaw the Athenians landed, and to put up a brazen buckler at each ſhip's head as ſoon as they reached the middle of the channel. Himſelf in the mean time ran through the whole line in his galley, exhorting the pilots and officers to hold the ſeamen and ſoldiers in readineſs to row and fight on the firſt ſignal.

Aſſoon as the bucklers were put up in the ſhips heads, and the admiral galley had given the ſignal by the ſound of trumpet, the whole fleet ſet forwards in good order. The land-army at the ſame time made all poſſible haſte to the top of the promontory to ſee the battle. The ſtrait that ſeparates the two continents in this place, is about fifteen ſtadia *, or three quarters of a league in breadth, which ſpace was preſently cleared through the activity and diligence of the rowers. Conon, the Athenian general, was the firſt who perceived from ſhore, the enemy's fleet advance in good order to attack him; upon which he immediately cried out for the troops to embark. In the height of ſorrow and perplexity, ſome he called to by their names, ſome

* 1875 *paces.*

he

he conjured, and others he forced to go on board their galleys; but all his endeavours and emotion were ineffectual, the ſoldiers being diſperſed on all ſides. For they were no ſooner come on ſhore, than ſome were ran to the ſuttlers, ſome to walk in the country, ſome to ſleep in their tents, and others had began to dreſs their ſuppers. This proceeded from the want of vigilance and experience in their generals, who not ſuſpecting the leaſt danger, indulged themſelves in taking their repoſe, and gave their ſoldiers the ſame liberty.

The enemy had already fallen on with loud cries and a great noiſe of their oars, when Conon, diſengaging himſelf with nine galleys, of which number was the ſacred ſhip called the *Paralian*, ſtood away for Cyprus, where he took refuge with Evagoras. The Peloponneſians, falling upon the reſt of the fleet, took immediately the galleys which were empty, and diſabled and deſtroyed ſuch as began to fill with men. The ſoldiers, who ran without order or arms to their relief, were either killed in the endeavour to get on board, or flying on ſhore were cut to pieces by the enemy, who landed in purſuit of them. Lyſander took three thouſand priſoners, with all the generals, and the whole fleet. After having plundered the camp, and faſtened the enemies galleys to the ſterns of his own, he returned to Lampſacus amidſt the ſound of flutes and ſongs of triumph. It was his glory to have atchieved one of the greateſt military exploits recorded in hiſtory, with little or no loſs, and to have terminated a war in the ſmall ſpace of an hour, which had already laſted ſeven and twenty years, and which perhaps, without him, had been of much longer continuance. Lyſander immediately ſent diſpatches with this agreeable news to Sparta.

The three thouſand priſoners, taken in this battle, having been condemned to die, Lyſander called upon Philocles, one of the Athenian generals, who had cauſed all the priſoners taken in two galleys, the one of Andros, the other of Corinth, to be thrown from the top

of

of a precipice, and had formerly perſuaded the people of Athens to make a decree for cutting off the thumb of the right hand of all the priſoners of war, in order to diſable them for handling the pike, and that they might be fit only to ſerve at the oar. Lyſander therefore cauſed him to be brought forth, and aſked him, what ſentence he would paſs upon himſelf for having induced his city to paſs that cruel decree. Philocles, without departing from his haughtineſs in the leaſt, notwithſtanding the extreme danger he was in, made anſwer, "Accuſe not people of crimes who have no "judges, but as you are victor, uſe your right, and "do by us as we had done by you, if we had con-"quered." At the ſame inſtant he went into a bath, put on afterwards a magnificent robe, and marched foremoſt to the execution. All the priſoners were put to the ſword, except Adamantus, who had oppoſed the decree.

After this expedition, Lyſander went with his fleet to all the maritime cities, and gave orders for all Athenians in them to withdraw as ſoon as poſſible to Athens, without permitting them to take any other rout; declaring, that after a certain time fixed, all ſuch ſhould be puniſhed with death, as ſhould be found out of Athens. This he did as an able politician, to reduce the city by famine the more eaſily, and to render it incapable of ſuſtaining a long ſiege. He afterwards applied himſelf in ſubverting the democratic, and all other forms of government throughout the cities; leaving in each of them a Lacedæmonian governor, called *harmoſtes*, and ten archons or magiſtrates, whom he choſe out of the ſocieties he had eſtabliſhed in them. He thereby in ſome meaſure ſecured to himſelf univerſal authority, and a kind of ſovereignty over all Greece; putting none into power but ſuch as were entirely devoted to his ſervice.

SECT. VII. *Athens, beſieged by Lyſander, capitulates, and ſurrenders. Lyſander changes the form of govern-*

ment, and eſtabliſhes thirty commanders in it. He ſends Gylippus before him to Sparta with all the gold and ſilver taken from the enemy. Decree of Sparta upon the uſe to be made of it. The Peloponneſian war ends in this manner. Death of Darius Nothus.

(*k*) WHEN the news of the entire defeat of the army came to Athens by a ſhip, which arrived in the night at the Piræus, the city was in univerſal conſternation. Nothing was heard but cries of ſorrow and deſpair in every part of it. They imagined the enemy already at their gates. They repreſented to themſelves the miſeries of a long ſiege, a cruel famine, the ruin and burning of their city, the inſolence of a proud victor, and the ſhameful ſlavery they were upon the point of experiencing, more afflicting and inſupportable to them than the moſt ſevere puniſhments and death itſelf. The next day the aſſembly was ſummoned, wherein it was reſolved to ſhut up all the ports, one only excepted; to repair the breaches in the walls; and mount guard to prepare againſt a ſiege.

In effect Agis and Pauſanias, the two kings of Sparta, advanced towards Athens with all their troops. Lyſander ſoon after arrived at the Piræus with an hundred and fifty ſail, and prevented all ſhips from going in or coming out. The Athenians, beſieged by ſea and land, without proviſions, ſhips, hope of relief, or any reſource, re-inſtated all perſons attainted by any decree, without ſpeaking the leaſt word of a capitulation however, though many already died of famine. But when their corn was entirely conſumed, they ſent deputies to Agis, to propoſe a treaty with Sparta, upon condition of abandoning all their poſſeſſions, the city and port only excepted. He referred the deputies to Lacedæmon, as not being empowered to treat with them. When they arrived at Salaſia upon the frontier of Sparta, and had made known their commiſſion to the

(*k*) A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404. Xenoph. Hellen. l. 2. p. 458—462. Plut. in Lyſand. p. 440, 441.

Ephori, they were ordered to retire, and to come with other propoſals if they expected peace. The Ephori had demanded, that twelve hundred paces of the wall on each ſide of the Piræus ſhould be demoliſhed: but an Athenian, for venturing to adviſe a compliance, was ſent to priſon, and prohibition made againſt propoſing any thing of that kind for the future.

In this deplorable condition Theramenes declared in the aſſembly, that if he were ſent to Lyſander, he would know, whether the propoſal made by the Lacedæmonians for diſmantling the city, was intended to facilitate its ruin, or to prevent a revolt. The Athenians having deputed him accordingly, he was more than three months abſent; no doubt with the view of reducing them by famine to accept any conditions, that ſhould be offered. On his return he told them, that Lyſander had detained him all that time, and that at laſt he had been given to underſtand, that he might apply to the Ephori. He was therefore ſent back with nine others to Sparta, with full powers to conclude a treaty. When they arrived there, the Ephori gave them audience in the general aſſembly, where the Corinthians and ſeveral other allies, eſpecially the Thebans, inſiſted that it was abſolutely neceſſary to deſtroy the city without hearkening any farther to a treaty. But the Lacedæmonians, preferring the glory and ſafety of Greece to their own grandeur, made anſwer, that they would never be reproached with having deſtroyed a city that had rendered ſuch great ſervices to all Greece; the remembrance of which ought to have much greater weight with the allies, than the reſentment of private injuries received from it. The peace was therefore concluded under theſe conditions:

"That the fortifications of the Piræus, with the long
"wall that joined that port to the city, ſhould be de-
"moliſhed; that the Athenians ſhould deliver up all
"their galleys, twelve only excepted; that they ſhould
"abandon all the cities they had ſeized, and content
"themſelves with their own lands and country; that

"they

" they ſhould recal their exiles, and make a league of-
" fenſive and defenſive with the Lacedæmonians, un-
" der whom they ſhould march wherever they thought
" fit to lead them."

The deputies on their return were ſurrounded with an innumerable throng of people, who apprehended that nothing had been concluded, for they were not able to hold out any longer, ſuch multitudes dying every day of famine. The next day they reported the ſucceſs of their negotiation; the treaty was ratified notwithſtanding the oppoſition of ſome perſons; and Lyſander, followed by the exiles, entered the port. It was upon the very day the Athenians had formerly gained the famous naval battle of Salamin. He cauſed the walls to be demoliſhed to the ſound of flutes and trumpets, and with all the exterior marks of triumph and rejoicing, as if all Greece had that day regained its liberty. Thus ended the Peloponneſian war, after having continued during the ſpace of twenty-ſeven years.

Lyſander, without giving the Athenians time to look about them, changed the form of their government entirely, eſtabliſhed thirty archons, or rather tyrants, over the city, put a good garriſon into the citadel, and left the Spartan Callibius *harmoſtes* or governor. Agis diſmiſſed his troops. Lyſander, before he diſbanded his, advanced againſt Samos, which he preſſed ſo warmly, that it was at laſt obliged to capitulate. After having eſtabliſhed its antient inhabitants in it, he propoſed to return to Sparta with the Lacedæmonian galleys, thoſe of the Piræus, and the beaks of thoſe he had taken.

He had ſent Gylippus, who had commanded the army in Sicily, before him, to carry the money and ſpoils which were the fruit of his glorious campaigns to Lacedæmon. The money, without reckoning the innumerable crowns of gold, given him by the cities, amounted to fifteen hundred talents, that is to ſay,

fifteen hundred thouſand crowns *. Gylippus, who carried this conſiderable ſum, could not reſiſt the temptation of converting ſome part of it to his own uſe. The bags were ſealed up carefully, and did not ſeem to leave any room for theft. He unſewed them at the bottom; and after having taken out of each of them what money he thought fit, to the amount of three hundred talents, he ſewed them up again very neatly, and thought himſelf perfectly ſafe. But when he arrived at Sparta, the accounts, which had been put up in each bag, diſcovered him. To avoid puniſhment, he baniſhed himſelf from his country, carrying along with him in all places the diſgrace of having ſullied, by ſo baſe and ſordid an avarice, the glory of all his great actions.

From this unhappy example, the wiſeſt and moſt diſtinguiſhing of the Spartans, apprehending the all-powerful effects of money, which enſlaved not only the vulgar, but even the greateſt of men, extremely blamed Lyſander for having acted ſo contradictorily to the fundamental laws of Sparta, and warmly repreſented to the Ephori, how incumbent it was upon them to † baniſh all that gold and ſilver from the republic, and to lay the heavieſt of curſes and imprecations upon it, as the fatal bane of all other ſtates, introduced only to corrupt the wholeſome conſtitution of the Spartan government, which had ſupported itſelf for ſo many ages with vigour and proſperity. The Ephori immediately paſſed a decree to proſcribe that money, and ordained that none ſhould be current, except the uſual pieces of iron. But Lyſander's friends oppoſed this decree, and ſparing no pains to retain the gold and ſilver in Sparta, the affair was referred for farther deliberation. There naturally ſeemed only two methods to be conſidered; which were, either to make the gold and ſilver ſpecies current, or to cry them down and prohibit them abſolutely. The men of addreſs and po-

* *About* 337000 *l. ſterling.*

† Ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι πᾶν τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον, ὥσπερ κῆρας ἐπαγωγιμώς.

licy

licy found out a third expedient, which, in their ſenſe, reconciled both the others with great ſucceſs: this was wiſely to chuſe the mean betwixt the vitious extremes of too much rigour and too much neglect. It was therefore reſolved, that the new coin of gold and ſilver ſhould be ſolely employed by the public treaſury; that it ſhould only paſs in the occaſions and uſes of the ſtate; and that every private perſon, in whoſe poſſeſſion it ſhould be found, ſhould be immediately put to death.

A ſtrange expedient, ſays Plutarch! As if Lycurgus had feared the ſpecies of gold and ſilver, and not the avarice they occaſion; an avarice, leſs to be extinguiſhed by prohibiting to particulars the poſſeſſion of it, than enflamed by permitting the ſtate to amaſs and make uſe of it for the ſervice of the public. For it was impoſſible, whilſt that money was in honour and eſteem with the public, that it ſhould be deſpiſed in private as uſeleſs, and that people ſhould look upon that, as of no value in their domeſtic affairs, which the city prized, and were ſo much concerned to have for its occaſions; bad uſages, authorized by the practice and example of the public, being a thouſand times more dangerous to particulars, than the vices of particulars to the public. The Lacedæmonians therefore, continues Plutarch, in puniſhing thoſe with death who ſhould make uſe of the new money in private, were ſo blind and imprudent to imagine, that the placing of the law, and the terror of puniſhment as a guard at the door was ſufficient to prevent gold and ſilver from entering the houſe: They left the hearts of their citizens open to the deſire and admiration of riches, and introduced themſelves a violent paſſion for amaſſing treaſure, in cauſing it to be deemed a great and honourable thing to become rich.

(*l*) It was about the end of the Peloponneſian war, that Darius Nothus king of Perſia died, after a reign of nineteen years. Cyrus had arrived at the court before

(*l*) A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404.

his death, and Paryſatis his mother, whoſe idol he was, not contented with having made his peace, notwithſtanding the faults he had committed in his government, preſſed the old king to declare him his ſucceſſor alſo, after the example of Darius the firſt, who gave Xerxes the preference before all his brothers, becauſe born, as Cyrus was, after his father's acceſſion to the throne. But Darius did not carry his complaiſance for her ſo far. He gave the crown to Arſaces, his eldeſt ſon by Paryſatis alſo, whom Plutarch calls Arſicas, and bequeathed only to Cyrus the provinces he had already.

BOOK

BOOK THE NINTH.

THE ANTIENT HISTORY OF THE Perſians *and* Grecians CONTINUED,

During the firſt fifteen years of the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon.

CHAPTER I.

THIS chapter contains the domeſtic troubles of the court of Perſia: the death of Alcibiades: the re-eſtabliſhment of the liberty of Athens: and Lyſander's ſecret deſigns to make himſelf king.

SECT. I. *Coronation of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Cyrus attempts to aſſaſſinate his brother, and is ſent into Aſia minor. Cruel revenge of Statira, wife of Artaxerxes, upon the authors and accomplices in the murder of her brother. Death of Alcibiades. His character.*

(*m*) ARSACES, upon aſcending the throne, aſſumed the name of Artaxerxes, the ſame to whom the Greeks gave the ſirname of * MNEMON,

(*m* A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404.

* *Which word ſignifies in the Greek, one of a good memory.*

from his prodigious memory. (*n*) Being near his father's bed when he was dying, he asked him a few moments before he expired, what had been the rule of his conduct during so long and happy a reign as his, that he might make it his example. *It has been*, replied he, *to do always what justice and religion required of me.* Words of deep sense, and well worthy of being set up in letters of gold in the palaces of kings, to keep them perpetually in mind of what ought to be the guide and rule of all their actions. It is not uncommon for princes to give excellent instructions to their children on their death-beds, that would be more efficacious, if preceded by their own example and conduct, without which they are as weak and impotent as the sick man who gives them, and seldom survive him long.

(*o*) Soon after Darius's death, the new king set out from his capital for the city of * Pasargades, in order to his coronation according to custom by the priests of Persia. There was in that city a temple of the goddess who presided in war, in which the coronation was solemnized. It was attended with very singular ceremonies, which no doubt had some mysterious sense; though Plutarch does not explain it. The prince at his consecration took off his robe in the temple, and put on that worn by the antient Cyrus, before he came to the throne, which was preserved in that place with great veneration. After that he eat a dry fig, chewed some leaves of the turpentine tree, and drank a draught composed of milk and vinegar. This might signify, that the sweets of sovereign power are mingled with the sowers of care and disquiet, and that, if the throne be surrounded with pleasures and honours, it is also attended with pains and anxieties. It seems sufficiently evident, that the design in putting the robes of Cyrus upon the new king, was to make him understand, that he should also clothe his mind with the great qualities and exalted virtues of that prince.

(*n*) Athen. l. 12. p. 548. (*o*) Plut. in Artax. p. 1012.

* *A city of Persia built by Cyrus the Great.*

Young

Young Cyrus, whoſe ſoul was all ambition, was in deſpair upon being for ever prevented from aſcending a throne his mother had given him, and on ſeeing the ſcepter which he thought his right, transferred into the hands of his brother. The blackeſt crimes coſt the ambitious nothing. Cyrus reſolved to aſſaſſinate Artaxerxes in the temple itſelf, and in the preſence of the whole court, juſt when he took off his own, to put on the robe of Cyrus. Artaxerxes was apprized of this deſign by the prieſt himſelf, who had educated his brother, to whom he had imparted it. Cyrus was ſeized, and condemned to die, when his mother Paryſatis, almoſt out of her ſenſes, flew to the place, claſped him in her arms, tied herſelf to him with the treſſes of her hair, faſtened her neck to his, and by her ſhrieks, and tears, and prayers, prevailed ſo far as to obtain his pardon, and that he ſhould be ſent back to his government of the maritime provinces. He carried thither with him an ambition no leſs ardent than before, was animated beſides with reſentment of the check he had received, and the warm deſire of revenge, and armed with an almoſt unbounded power. Artaxerxes upon this occaſion acted contrary to the moſt common rules of policy, which do not admit * the nouriſhing and enflaming, by extraordinary honours, the pride and haughtineſs of a bold and enterprizing young prince like Cyrus, who had carried his perſonal enmity to his brother ſo far, as to have reſolved to aſſaſſinate him with his own hand, and whoſe ambition for empire was ſo great, as to employ the moſt criminal methods for the attainment of its end.

(*p*) Artaxerxes had eſpouſed Statira. Scarce had her huſband aſcended the throne, when ſhe employed the power her beauty gave her over him, to avenge the death of her brother Teriteuchmes. Hiſtory has not a more tragical ſcene, nor a more monſtrous compli-

(*p*) Cteſ. c. 51. 55.

* Ne quis mobiles adoleſcentium animos præmaturis honoribus ad ſuperbiam extolleret. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 4. c. 17.

cation of adultery, inceſt, and murder; which, after having occaſioned great diſorders in the royal family, terminated at length in the moſt fatal manner to all who had any ſhare in it. But it is neceſſary for the reader's knowledge of the fact to trace it from the beginning.

Hidarnes, Statira's father, a Perſian of very great quality, was governor of one of the principal provinces of the empire. Statira was a lady of extraordinary beauty, which induced Artaxerxes to marry her, who was then called Arſaces. At the ſame time Teriteuchmes, Statira's brother, married Hameſtris, Arſaces's ſiſter, one of the daughters of Darius and Paryſatis; in favour of which marriage Teriteuchmes, upon his father's death, had his government given him. There was at the ſame time another ſiſter in this family, no leſs beautiful than Statira, and who beſides excelled in the arts of ſhooting with the bow, and throwing the dart. Teriteuchmes her brother conceived a criminal paſſion for her, and to gratify it reſolved to ſet himſelf at liberty by killing Hameſtris, whom he had eſpouſed. Darius, having been informed of this project, by the force of preſents and promiſes engaged Udiaſtes, Teriteuchmes's intimate friend and confident, to prevent ſo black a deſign by aſſaſſinating him. He obeyed, and had for his reward the government of him he had put to death with his own hands.

Amongſt Teriteuchmes's guards was a ſon of Udiaſtes, called Mithridates, very much attached to his maſter. The young gentleman, upon hearing that his father had committed this murder in perſon, uttered all manner of imprecations againſt him, and full of horror for ſo infamous and vile an action, ſeized on the city of Zaris, and openly revolting, declared for the eſtabliſhment of Teriteuchmes's ſon. But that young man could not hold out long againſt Darius. He was blocked up in the place with the ſon of Teriteuchmes, whom he had with him; and all the reſt of the family of Hidarnes were put in priſon, and delivered

to

to Paryſatis, to do with them as that mother exaſperated to the laſt exceſs by the treatment either done or intended againſt her daughter Hameſtris, ſhould think fit. That cruel princeſs began by cauſing Roxana, whoſe beauty had been the occaſion of this evil, to be ſawed in two, and ordered all the reſt to be put to death, except Statira, whoſe life ſhe granted to the tears and the moſt tender and ardent ſollicitations of Arſaces; whoſe love for his wife made him ſpare no pains for her preſervation, though Darius, his father, believed it neceſſary, even for his own good, that ſhe ſhould ſhare the ſame fate with the reſt of her family. Such was the ſtate of the affair at the death of Darius.

Statira, as ſoon as her huſband was upon the throne, cauſes Udiaſtes to be delivered into her hands. She ordered his tongue to be torn out, and made him die in the moſt exquiſite torments ſhe could invent, to puniſh the crime which had occaſioned the ruin of her family. She gave his government to Mithridates, in recompence for his attachment to the intereſts of her family. Paryſatis on her ſide took her revenge on the ſon of Teriteuchmes, whom ſhe cauſed to be poiſoned, and we ſhall ſee that Statira's turn was not very remote.

We ſee here the terrible effects of female revenge, and in general of what exceſſes they are capable, who find themſelves above all laws, and have no other rule for their actions than their will and paſſions.

Cyrus, having reſolved to dethrone his brother, employed Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian general, to raiſe a body of Grecian troops, under pretence of a war, which that Spartan was to carry into Thrace. I ſhall defer ſpeaking of this famous expedition, and alſo of the death of Socrates, which happened about the ſame time; intending to treat thoſe two great events in all the extent they deſerve. It was without doubt with the ſame view, that Cyrus preſented Lyſander a galley of two cubits in length made of ivory and gold, to congratulate him upon his naval victory. That galley was conſecrated to Apollo in the temple of Delphos.

Lyſander

Lyſander went ſoon after to Sardis, charged with magnificent preſents for Cyrus from the allies.

It was upon that occaſion Cyrus had the celebrated converſation with Lyſander related by Xenophon, and which Cicero after him has applied ſo beautifully. That young* prince, who piqued himſelf more upon his integrity and politeneſs than nobility and grandeur, pleaſed himſelf with conducting in perſon ſo illuſtrious a gueſt through his gardens, and to make him obſerve the various beauties of them. Lyſander, ſtruck with ſo fine a proſpect, admired the manner in which the ſeveral parts were laid out, the height and projection of the trees, the neatneſs and diſpoſition of the walks; the abundance of fruits, planted with an art which had known how to unite the uſeful with the agreeable; the beauty of the parterres, and the glowing variety of flowers, exhaling odours univerſally throughout the delightful ſcene. Every thing charms and tranſports me in this place, ſaid Lyſander addreſſing himſelf to Cyrus; but what ſtrikes me moſt is the exquiſite taſte and elegant induſtry of the perſon, who drew the plan of the ſeveral parts of this garden, and gave it the fine order, wonderful diſpoſition, and happineſs of ſymmetry, which I cannot ſufficiently admire. Cyrus, infinitely pleaſed with this diſcourſe, replied, It was I that drew the plan, and entirely marked it out; and not only that, many of the trees, which you ſee, were

* Narrat Socrates in eo libro Cyrum minorem, regem Perſarum, præſtantem ingenio atque imperii gloria, cum Lyſander Lacedæmonius, vir ſummæ virtutis, veniſſet ad eum Sardes, eique dona à ſociis attuliſſet, et ceteris in rebus comem erga Lyſandrum atque humanum fuiſſe, et ei quemdam conſeptum agrum diligenter conſitum oſtendiſſe. Cum autem admiraretur Lyſander et proceritates arborum, et directos in quincuncem ordines, et humum ſubactam atque puram, et ſuavitatem odorum qui efflarentur è floribus; tum eum dixiſſe, mirari ſe non modo diligentiam, ſed etiam ſolertiam ejus, à quo eſſent illa dimenſa atque deſcripta. Et ei Cyrum reſpondiſſe: Atqui ego iſta ſum dimenſus, mei ſunt ordines, mea deſcriptio, multæ etiam iſtarum arborum mea manu ſunt ſatæ. Tum Lyſandrum, intuentem ejus purpuram et nitorem corporis, ornatumque Perſicum multo auro multiſque gemmis, dixiſſe: Recte vero te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuæ fortuna conjuncta eſt. *Cic. de Senect.* n. 59.

planted

planted with my own hands. What, replied Lyſander, conſidering him from head to foot, is it poſſible, with theſe purple robes and ſplendid veſtments, thoſe ſtrings of jewels and bracelets of gold, thoſe buſkins ſo richly embroidered, that you could play the gardiner, and employ your royal hands in planting trees! Does that ſurprize you, ſaid Cyrus? I ſwear by the god * Mithras, that when my health admits, I never ſit down to table without having made myſelf ſweat with ſome fatigue or other, either in military exerciſe, rural labour, or ſome other toilſome employment, to which I apply with pleaſure, and without ſparing myſelf. Lyſander was amazed at this diſcourſe, and preſſing him by the hand; † Cyrus, ſaid he, you are truly happy, and deſerve your high fortune; becauſe you unite it with virtue.

Alcibiades was at no pain to diſcover the myſtery of the levies made by Cyrus, and went into the province of Pharnabaſus, with deſign to proceed to the court of Perſia, and to apprize Artaxerxes of the ſcheme laid againſt him. Had he arrived there, a diſcovery of ſuch importance had infallibly procured him the favour of that prince, and the aſſiſtance he wanted for the re-eſtabliſhment of his country. But the Lacedæmonian partiſans at Athens, that is to ſay, the thirty tyrants, apprehended the intrigues of ſo ſuperior a genius as his, and repreſented to their maſters, that they were inevitably ruined if they did not find means to rid themſelves of Alcibiades. The Lacedæmonians thereupon wrote to Pharnabaſus, and with an abject meanneſs not to be excuſed, and which ſhewed how much Sparta had degenerated from her antient manners, made preſſing inſtances to him, to deliver them at any rate from ſo formidable an enemy. The ſatrap

* *The Perſians adored the ſun under that name, who was their principal god.*

† Δικαίως, ὦ Κῦρε, εὐδαιμονεῖς· ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν εὐδαιμονεῖς. *Which Cicero tranſlates:* Recte verò te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuæ fortuna conjuncta eſt.

complied to their wiſh. Alcibiades was then in a ſmall town of Phrygia, where he lived with his concubine * Timandra. Thoſe who were ſent to kill him, not daring to enter his houſe, contented themſelves with ſurrounding and ſetting it on fire. Alcibiades, having quitted it through the flames ſword in hand, the Barbarians were afraid to ſtay to come to blows with him, but flying and retreating as he advanced, they poured their darts and arrows upon him, and he fell dead upon the ſpot. Timandra took up his body, and having adorned and covered it with the fineſt robes ſhe had, ſhe made as magnificent a funeral for it, as her preſent condition would admit.

Such was the end of Alcibiades, whoſe great virtues were ſtifled and ſuppreſſed by ſtill greater vices. † It is not eaſy to ſay, whether his good or bad qualities were moſt pernicious to his country; for with the one he deceived, and with the other he oppreſſed, it. In him diſtinguiſhed valour was united with nobility of blood. His perſon was beautiful and finely made, he was eloquent, of great ability in affairs, inſinuating, and formed for charming all mankind. He loved glory; but without prejudice to his inclination for pleaſure; nor was he ſo fond of pleaſure, as to neglect his glory for it. He knew how to give into, or abſtract himſelf from it, according to the ſituation of his affairs. Never was there ductility of genius equal to his. He metamorphoſed himſelf with incredible facility, like a Proteus, into the moſt contrary forms, and ſupported them all with as much eaſe and grace, as if each had been natural to him.

This convertibility of character according to occaſions, the cuſtoms of countries, and his own intereſts, diſcover an heart void of principles, without either truth or juſtice. He did not confine himſelf either to

* *It was ſaid that Lais the famous courtezan, called the Corinthian, was the daughter of this Timandra.*

† Cujus neſcio utrum bona an vitia patriæ perniciofiora fuerint; illis enim cives ſuos decepit, his afflixit. *Val. Max.* l. 3. c. 1.

religion,

religion, virtue, laws, duties, or his country. His ſole rule of action was his private ambition, to which he reduced every thing. His aim was to pleaſe, to dazzle, and be beloved; but at the ſame time to ſubject thoſe he ſoothed. He favoured them only as they ſerved his purpoſes; and made his correſpondence and ſociety a means for engroſſing every thing to himſelf.

His life was a perpetual mixture of good and evil. His ſallies for virtue were ill-ſuſtained, and quickly degenerated into vices and crimes, very little to the honour of the inſtructions of that great philoſopher, who took no ſmall pains to cultivate him into a man of worth. His actions were glorious; but without rule or principle. His character was elevated and grand; but without connection and conſiſtence. He was ſucceſſively the ſupport and terror of the Lacedæmonians and Perſians. He was either the misfortune or refuge of his own country, according to his declaring for or againſt it. In fine, he was the author of an univerſal deſtructive war in Greece, from the ſole motive of commanding, by inducing the Athenians to beſiege Syracuſe; much leſs from the hope of conquering Sicily, and afterwards Africa, than with the deſign of keeping Athens in dependance upon himſelf; convinced that having to deal with an inconſtant, ſuſpicious, ungrateful, jealous people, averſe to thoſe that governed, it was neceſſary to engage them continually in ſome great affair, in order to make his ſervices always neceſſary to them, and that they might not be at leiſure to examine, cenſure, and condemn his conduct.

He had the fate generally experienced by perſons of his character, and of which they cannot reaſonably complain. He never loved any one, himſelf being his ſole motive; nor ever found a friend. He made it his merit and glory to amuſe all men, and no body confided in, or adhered to, him. His ſole view was to live with ſplendor, and to lord it univerſally; and he periſhed miſerably, abandoned by the whole world, and obliged at his death to the feeble ſervices and impotent

potent zeal of one only woman for the laſt honours rendered to his remains.

About this time died Democritus the philoſopher, of whom more will be ſaid elſewhere.

SECT. II. *The Thirty exerciſe the moſt horrid cruelties at Athens. They put Theramenes one of their collegues to death. Socrates takes his defence upon himſelf. Thraſybulus attacks the tyrants, makes himſelf maſter of Athens, and reſtores its liberty.*

(p) THE council of Thirty, eſtabliſhed at Athens by Lyſander, committed the moſt execrable cruelties. Upon pretence of reſtraining the multitude within their duty, and to prevent ſeditions, they had cauſed guards to be aſſigned them, had armed three thouſand of the citizens for that ſervice, and at the ſame time diſarmed all the reſt. The whole city was in the utmoſt terror and diſmay. Whoever oppoſed their injuſtice and violence, became the victims of them. Riches were a crime, that never failed of drawing a ſentence upon their owners, always followed with death, and the confiſcation of eſtates; which the thirty tyrants divided amongſt themſelves. They put more people to death, ſays Xenophon, in eight months of peace, than the enemies had done in a war of thirty years.

The two moſt conſiderable perſons of the Thirty were Critias and Theramenes, who at firſt lived in great union, and always acted in concert with each other. The latter had ſome honour, and loved his country. When he ſaw with what an exceſs of violence and cruelty his collegues behaved, he declared openly againſt them, and thereby drew their reſentment upon him. Critias became his moſt mortal enemy, and acted as informer againſt him before the ſenate, accuſing him of diſturbing the tranquillity of the ſtate, and of deſigning to ſubvert the preſent govern-

(p) Xenoph. Hiſt. l. 2. p. 462 & 479. Diod. l. 14. p. 235—238. Juſtin. l. 5. c. 8, 10.

ment.

nient. As he perceived, that the defence of Theramenes was heard with ſilence and approbation, he was afraid, that if the affair was left to the deciſion of the ſenate, they would acquit him. Having therefore cauſed a band of young men, whom he had armed with poniards, to advance to the bar, he ſaid that he thought it the duty of a ſupreme magiſtrate to prevent juſtice from being abuſed, and that he ſhould act conformably upon this occaſion. "But," continued he, "as the law does not admit, that any of the three "thouſand ſhould be put to death without the conſent "of the ſenate, I exclude Theramenes from that "number, and condemn him to die in virtue of my "own and my collegues authority." Theramenes upon theſe words, leaping upon the altar; "I demand," ſaid he, "Athenians, that I may be tried according "to the laws; which cannot be refuſed me without "manifeſt injuſtice. Not that I imagine, that the "goodneſs of my cauſe will avail me any thing, or "the ſanction of altars protect me, but I would ſhew "at leaſt, that my enemies reſpect neither the gods "nor men. What moſt aſtoniſhes me is, that perſons "of your wiſdom do not ſee, that your own names "may as eaſily be ſtruck out of the liſt of the citizens, "as that of Theramenes." Critias upon this ordered the officers of juſtice to pull him down from the altar. An univerſal ſilence and terror enſued upon the ſight of the armed ſoldiers, that ſurrounded the ſenate. Of all the ſenators, only Socrates, whoſe diſciple Theramenes had been, took upon him his defence, and oppoſed the officers of juſtice. But his weak endeavours could not deliver Theramenes, who was led to the place of execution, notwithſtanding all he could do, through crouds of the citizens, who ſaw with tears in the fate of a man equally conſiderable for his love of liberty, and the great ſervices he had done his country, what they had to fear from themſelves. When they preſented him the hemlock, that is, the poiſon (which was the manner of putting the citizens of Athens to death)

death) he took it with an intrepid air, and after having drank it, he poured the bottom upon the table, after the uſual manner obſerved in feaſts or public rejoicings, ſaying, *This for the noble Critias.* Xenophon relates this circumſtance, inconſiderable in itſelf, to ſhew, ſays he, the tranquillity of Theramenes in his laſt moments.

The tyrants delivered from a collegue, whoſe preſence alone was a continual reproach to them, no longer obſerved any meaſures. Nothing paſſed throughout the city but impriſonments and murders. * Every body trembled for themſelves or their friends. The general deſolation had no remedy, nor was there any hope of regaining their liberty. Where had they then as many † Harmodius's as they had tyrants? Terror had taken entire poſſeſſion of their minds, whilſt the whole city deplored in ſecret their loſs of liberty, without having one amongſt them generous enough to attempt the breaking of its chains. The Athenian people ſeemed to have loſt that valour, which till then had made them awful and terrible to their neighbours and enemies. They ſeemed to have loſt the very uſe of ſpeech; not daring to vent the leaſt complaint, leſt it ſhould be made a capital crime in them. Socrates only continued intrepid, He conſoled the afflicted ſenate, animated the deſponding citizens, and ſet all men an admirable example of courage and reſolution; preſerving his liberty, and ſuſtaining his port in the midſt of thirty tyrants, who made all elſe tremble, but could never ſhake the conſtancy of Socrates with their menaces. (*q*) Critias, who had been his pupil,

(*q*) Xenoph. memorab. l. 1. p. 716, 717.

* **Poteratne civitas illa conquieſcere, in qua tot tyranni erant, quot ſatellites eſſent? Ne ſpes quidem ulla recipiendæ libertatis animis poterat offerri, nec ulli remedio locus apparebat contra tantam vim malorum. Unde enim miſeræ civitati tot Harmodios? Socrates tamen in medio erat, et** lugentes patres conſolabatur, et deſperantes de republica exhortabatur——et imitari volentibus magnum circumferebat exemplar, cum inter triginta dominos liber incederet. *Senec. de tranquil. anim.* c. 3.

† *Harmodius formed a conſpiracy for the deliverance of Athens from the tyranny of the Piſiſtratides.*

was the firſt to declare moſt openly againſt him, taking offence at the free and bold diſcourſes which he held againſt the government of the thirty. He went ſo far as to prohibit his inſtructing the youth; but Socrates, who neither acknowledged his authority, nor feared the violent effects of it, paid no regard to ſo unjuſt an order.

All the citizens of any conſideration in Athens, and who retained a love of liberty, quitted a place reduced to ſo hard and ſhameful a ſlavery, and ſought elſewhere an aſylum and retreat, where they might live in ſafety. At the head of theſe was Thraſybulus, a perſon of extraordinary merit, who beheld with the moſt lively affliction the miſeries of his country. The Lacedæmonians had the inhumanity to endeavour to deprive thoſe unhappy fugitives of this laſt reſource. They publiſhed an edict to prohibit the cities of Greece from giving them refuge, decreed that they ſhould be delivered up to the thirty tyrants, and condemned all ſuch as ſhould contravene the execution of this edict, to pay a fine of five talents. Only two cities rejected with diſdain ſo unjuſt an ordinance, Megara and Thebes; the latter of which made a decree to puniſh all perſons whatſoever, that ſhould ſee an Athenian attacked by his enemies without doing his utmoſt to aſſiſt him. Lyſias, an orator of Syracuſe, who had been baniſhed by the Thirty, * raiſed five hundred ſoldiers at his own expence, and ſent them to the aid of the common country of eloquence.

Thraſybulus loſt no time. After having taken Phyla, a ſmall fort in Attica, he marched to the Piræus, of which he made himſelf maſter. The Thirty flew thither with their troops, and a battle ſufficiently warm enſued. But as the ſoldiers on one ſide fought with valour and vigour for their liberty, and on the other with indolence and neglect for the power of others, the ſucceſs was not doubtful, but followed the better cauſe.

* Quingentos milites, ſtipendio ſuo inſtructos, in auxilium patriæ communis eloquentiæ miſit. *Juſtin.* l. 5. c. 9.

The

The tyrants were overthrown. Critias was killed upon the ſpot. And as the reſt of the army were taking to flight, Thraſybulus cried out; "Wherefore do you "fly from me as from a victor, rather than aſſiſt me "as the avenger of your liberty? We are not enemies "but fellow-citizens; nor have we declared war a-"gainſt the city, but againſt the thirty tyrants." He continued with bidding them remember, that they had the ſame origin, country, laws, and religion; he exhorted them to compaſſionate their exiled brethren, to reſtore their country to them, and reſume their liberty themſelves. This diſcourſe had ſuitable effects. The army upon their return to Athens, expelled the Thirty, and ſubſtituted ten perſons to govern in their room, whoſe conduct proved no better than theirs.

It is a matter of ſurprize, that ſo ſudden, ſo univerſal, ſo tenacious, and ſo uniform a conſpiracy againſt the public good ſhould always actuate the ſeveral bodies of perſons eſtabliſhed in the adminiſtration of this government. This we have ſeen in the Four Hundred formerly choſen by Athens; again in the Thirty; and now in the Ten. And what augments our wonder is, that this paſſion for tyranny ſhould poſſeſs ſo immediately republicans, born in the boſom of liberty, accuſtomed to an equality of condition on which it is founded, and principled from their earlieſt infancy in an abhorrence of all ſubjection and dependency. (r) There muſt be on the one ſide in power and authority ſome violent impulſe, to actuate in this manner ſo many perſons, of whom many no doubt were not without ſentiments of virtue and honour; and to baniſh ſo ſuddenly the principles and manners natural to them; and on the other an exceſſive propenſity in the mind of man to ſubject his equals, to rule over them imperiouſly, to carry him on to the laſt extremes of oppreſſion and cruelty, and to make him forget at once all laws, nature, and religion.

The Thirty being fallen from their power and

(r) Vi dominationis convulſus. *Tacit.*

hopes,

hopes, ſent deputies to Lacedæmon to demand aid. It was not Lyſander's fault, who was ſent to them with troops, that the tyrants were not re-eſtabliſhed. But king Pauſanias, moved with compaſſion for the deplorable condition, to which a city, once ſo flouriſhing, was reduced, had the generoſity to favour the Athenians in ſecret, and at length obtained a peace for them. It was ſealed with the blood of the tyrants, who, having taken arms to re-inſtate themſelves in the government, and being preſent at a parley for that purpoſe, were all put to the ſword, and left Athens in the full poſſeſſion of its liberty. All the exiles were recalled. Thraſybulus at that time propoſed the celebrated amneſty, by which the citizens engaged upon oath that all paſt tranſactions ſhould be buried in oblivion. The government was re-eſtabliſhed upon its ancient foot, the laws reſtored to their priſtine vigour, and magiſtrates elected with the uſual forms.

I cannot forbear obſerving in this place the wiſdom and moderation of Thraſybulus, ſo ſalutary and eſſential after ſo long a continuance of domeſtic troubles. This is one of the fineſt events in antient hiſtory, worthy the Athenian lenity and benevolence, and has ſerved as a model to ſucceſſive ages in good governments.

Never had tyranny been more cruel and bloody than that the Athenians had lately thrown off. Every houſe was in mourning; every family bewailed the loſs of ſome relation. It had been a ſeries of public robbery and rapine, in which licence and impunity had authorized all manner of crimes. The people ſeemed to have a right to demand the blood of all accomplices in ſuch notorious malverſations, and even the intereſt of the ſtate to authorize ſuch a claim, that by exemplary ſeverities ſuch enormous crimes might be prevented for the future. But Thraſybulus riſing above thoſe ſentiments, from the ſuperiority of his more extenſive genius, and the views of a more diſcerning and profound policy, foreſaw, that by giving in to the puniſhment

niſhment of the guilty, eternal ſeeds of diſcord and enmity would remain, to weaken the republic by domeſtic diviſions, which it was neceſſary to unite againſt the common enemy, and occaſion the loſs to the ſtate of a great number of citizens, who might render it important ſervices from the view itſelf of making amends for paſt miſbehaviour.

Such a conduct after great troubles in a ſtate has always ſeemed, with the ableſt politicians, the moſt certain and ready means to reſtore the public peace and tranquillity. * Cicero, when Rome was divided into two factions upon the occaſion of Cæſar's death, who had been killed by the conſpirators, calling to mind this celebrated amneſty, propoſed, after the example of the Athenians, to bury all that had paſſed in eternal oblivion. (s) Cardinal Mazarin obſerved to Don Lewis de Haro, prime miniſter of Spain, that this gentle and humane conduct in France had prevented the troubles and revolts of that kingdom from having any fatal conſequences, and *that the king had not loſt a foot of land by them to that day*; whereas the inflexible ſeverity of the Spaniards *was the occaſion, that the ſubjects of that monarchy, whenever they threw off the mask, never returned to their obedience but by the force of arms; which ſufficiently appears*, ſays he, *in the example of the Hollanders, who are in the peaceable poſſeſſion of many provinces, that not an age ago were the patrimony of the king of Spain.*

Diodorus Siculus takes occaſion from the thirty tyrants of Athens, whoſe immoderate ambition induced them to treat their country with the moſt exceſſive

(s) Let. XV. of Card. Maz.

* In ædem Telluris convocati ſumus; in quo templo, quantum in me fuit, jeci fundamentum pacis; Athenienſiumque renovavi vetus exemplum, Græcum etiam † verbum uſurpavi, quod tum in ſedandis diſcordiis uſurpaverat civitas illa; atque omnem memoriam diſcordiarum oblivione ſempiterna delendam cenſui. *Philip.* 1. n. 1.

† *Some believe that word was* ἀμνηστία; *but as it is not found in the hiſtorians, who have treated this fact, it is more likely, that it was* μὴ μνησικακήσειν, *which has the ſame ſenſe, and is uſed by them all.*

cruelties, to obſerve how unfortunate it is for * perſons in power to want a ſenſe of honour, and to diſregard either the preſent opinion, or the judgment poſterity will form of their conduct: for from the contempt of reputation the tranſition is too common to that of virtue itſelf. They may perhaps, by the awe of their power, ſuppreſs for ſome time the public voice, and impoſe a forced ſilence upon cenſure; but the more conſtraint they lay upon it during their lives, the more liberal will it be after their deaths of complaints and reproaches, and the more infamy and imputation will be affixed to their memories. The power of the Thirty was of a very ſhort duration; their guilt immortal, which will be remembered with abhorrence throughout all ages, whilſt their names will be recorded in hiſtory only to render them odious, and to make their crimes deteſtable. He applies the ſame reflection to the Lacedæmonians, who after having made themſelves maſters of Greece by a wiſe and moderate conduct, fell from that glory, through the ſeverity, haughtineſs, and injuſtice, with which they treated their allies. There is doubtleſs no reader, whom their abject and cruel jealouſy, in regard to Athens enſlaved and humbled, has not prejudiced againſt them; nor is their any reſemblance in ſuch behaviour of the greatneſs of mind and noble generoſity of antient Sparta; ſo much power have the luſt of dominion and proſperity over even virtuous men. Diodorus concludes his reflection with a maxim very true, tho' very little known. "The greatneſs and majeſty of princes," ſays he, (and the ſame may be ſaid of all perſons in high authority) "can be ſupported only by humanity "and juſtice with regard to their ſubjects; as on the "contrary, they are ruined and deſtroyed by a cruel

* Cetera principibus ſtatim adeſſe: unum inſatiabiliter parandum, proſperam ſui memoriam; nam contemptâ famâ, contemni virtutes——Quo magis ſocordiam eorum inrideri libet, qui præſenti potentiâ credunt extingui poſſe etiam ſequentis ævi memoriam—— ſuum cuique decus poſteritas rependit. *Tacit. Annal.* l.4. c.30 & 35.

"and

"and oppreſſive government, which never fails to "draw upon them the hatred of their people."

SECT. III. *Lyſander abuſes his power in an extraordinary manner. He is recalled to Sparta upon the complaint of Pharnabaſus.*

(*t*) AS Lyſander had the greateſt ſhare in the celebrated exploits, which had raiſed the glory of the Lacedæmonians to ſo high a pitch; ſo had he acquired a degree of power and authority, of which there was no example before in Sparta; but he ſuffered himſelf to be carried away by a preſumption and vanity ſtill greater than his power. He permitted the Grecian cities to dedicate altars to him as to a god, and to offer ſacrifices, and ſing hymns and canticles in honour of him. The Samians ordained by a public decree, that the feaſts celebrated in honour of Juno, and which bore the name of that goddeſs, ſhould be called, *the feaſts of Lyſander*. He had always a crowd of poets about him, (who are often a tribe of venal flatterers,) that emulated each other in ſinging his great exploits, for which they were magnificently paid. Praiſe is undoubtedly due to noble deeds; but diminiſhes their luſtre, when either forged or exceſſive.

This ſort of vanity and ambition, had he ſtopt there, would have hurt only himſelf, by expoſing him to envy and contempt; but a natural conſequence of it was, that through his arrogance and pride, in conjunction with the inceſſant flatteries of thoſe around him, he carried the ſpirit of command and authority to an inſupportable exceſs, and obſerved no longer any meaſures either in rewarding or puniſhing. The abſolute government of cities with tyrannic power were the fruits of his friendſhip, and the ties of hoſpitality with him; and only the death of thoſe he hated, could put an end to his reſentment and diſpleaſure, without its being poſſible to eſcape his vengeance. What Sylla cauſed to be inſcribed upon his tomb, might with equal

(*t*) Plut. in Lyſ. p. 443—445.

propriety

propriety have been engraved upon Lyſander's: That no man had ever ſurpaſſed him in doing good to his friends, or evil to his enemies.

Treachery and perjury coſt him nothing whenever they prompted his deſigns; nor was he leſs cruel than revengeful; of which what he did at Miletus is a ſufficient proof. Apprehending that thoſe who were at the head of the people would eſcape him, he ſwore not to do them any hurt. Thoſe unfortunates gave credit to his oath, and no ſooner appeared in public, than they were put to the ſword with his conſent by the nobility, who killed them all, tho' no leſs than eight hundred. The number of thoſe in the party of the people, whom he cauſed to be maſſacred in the other cities, is incredible; for he did not only deſtroy to ſatiate his own reſentments, but to ſerve in all places the enmity, malice, and avarice of his friends, whom he ſupported in gratifying their paſſions by the death of their enemies.

There was no kind of injuſtice and violence which the people did not ſuffer under the government of Lyſander; whilſt the Lacedæmonians, who were ſufficiently informed of his conduct, gave themſelves no trouble to prevent its effects. It is too common for thoſe in power to be little affected with the vexations and oppreſſions laid upon perſons of low condition and credit, and to be deaf to their juſt complaints, though authority is principally confided in them for the defence of the weak and poor, who have no other protectors. But if ſuch remonſtrances are made by a great or powerful perſon, from whom they may have any thing to hope or fear, the ſame authority that was ſlow and drowſy, becomes immediately warm and officious; a certain proof that it is not the love of juſtice that actuates it: This appears here in the conduct of the Lacedæmonian magiſtrates. Pharnabaſus, weary of Lyſander's repeated injuſtices, who ravaged and pillaged the provinces under his command, having ſent ambaſſadors to Sparta, to complain of the wrongs he had received from that

general, the Ephori recalled them. Lyſander was at that time in the Helleſpont. The letter of the Ephori threw him into great conſternation. As he principally feared the complaints and accuſations of Pharnabaſus, he made all the haſte he could to come to an explanation with him, from the hope of ſoftening him, and making his peace. He went for that purpoſe to him, and deſired, that he would write another letter to the Ephori, intimating a ſatisfaction in his conduct. But Lyſander, ſays Plutarch, in ſuch an application to Pharnabaſus, forgot the * proverb, *Set a thief to catch a thief.* The ſatrap promiſed all he deſired, and accordingly wrote ſuch a letter in Lyſander's preſence as he had aſked of him, but prepared another to a quite different effect. When he was to ſeal it, as both letters were of the ſame ſize and form, he dexterouſly put that he had wrote in ſecret into the place of the other without being obſerved, which he ſealed, and gave him.

Lyſander departed well ſatisfied, and being arrived at Sparta, alighted at the palace where the ſenate was aſſembled, and delivered Pharnabaſus's letter to the Ephori. But he was ſtrangely ſurprized when he heard the contents, and withdrew in extreme confuſion and diſorder. Some days after he returned to the ſenate, and told the Ephori, that he was obliged to go to the temple of Ammon to acquit himſelf of the ſacrifices he had vowed to that god before his battles. That pilgrimage was no more than a pretence, to cover the pain it gave him to live as a private perſon in Sparta, and to ſubmit to the yoke of obeying; he, who till then had always governed. Accuſtomed long to commanding armies, and to the flattering diſtinctions of a kind of ſovereignty exerciſed by him in Aſia, he could not endure the mortifying equality with the multitude, nor reſtrain himſelf to the ſimplicity of a private life.

* *The Greek proverb is,* Cretan *againſt* Cretan, *from the people of Crete, who paſſed for the greateſt cheats and liars in the world.*

Having

Having obtained permiſſion, not without great difficulties, he embarked.

Aſſoon as he was gone, the kings, reflecting that he held all the cities in his dependance, by the means of their governors and magiſtrates eſtabliſhed by him, to whom they were alſo indebted for their unlimited authority, and that he was thereby effectually lord and maſter of all Greece, applied themſelves vigorouſly to reſtore the government of the people, and to depoſe all his creatures and friends from any ſhare in it. This alteration occaſioned great tumults at firſt. About the ſame time Lyſander, being apprized of the deſign of Thraſybulus to re-eſtabliſhed the liberty of his country, returned with the utmoſt diligence to Sparta, and endeavoured to engage the Lacedæmonians to ſupport the party of the nobility at Athens. We have before obſerved, that Pauſanias, from a more noble ſpirit of of equity and generoſity, gave peace to Athens, and by that means, ſays Plutarch, clipped the wings of Lyſander's ambition.

CHAPTER II.

Young Cyrus, with the aid of the Grecian troops, endeavours to dethrone his brother Artaxerxes. He is killed in battle. Famous retreat of the ten thouſand.

ANTIQUITY has few events ſo memorable, as thoſe I am about to relate in this place. We ſee on one ſide a young prince, abounding otherwiſe with excellent qualities, abandoned to his violent ambition, carry the war from far againſt his brother and ſovereign, and go to attack him almoſt in his own palace, with the view of depriving him at once of his crown and life. We ſee him, I ſay, fall dead in the battle at the feet of that brother, and terminate by ſo unhappy a fate an enterprize equally glaring and criminal. On the other hand, the Greeks who follow him *, deſtitute of all ſuccour after the loſs of their chiefs,

* Poſt mortem Cyri, neque armis à tanto exercitu vinci, neque dolo capi potuerunt; revertenteſque inter tot indomitas nationes et bar-

bar-

chiefs, without allies, provifions, money, horfe, or archers, reduced to lefs than ten thoufand men, with no refource but in their own perfons and valour, fupported only by the warm defire of preferving their liberty and of returning to their native countries; thefe Greeks with bold and intrepid refolution make their retreat before a victorious army of a million of men, traverfe five or fix hundred leagues, notwithftanding vaft rivers and innumerable paffes, and arrive at laft in their own country through a thoufand fierce and barbarous nations, victorious over all obftacles in their way, and over all the dangers which either concealed fraud or open force reduce them to undergo.

This retreat in the opinion of the beft judges and moft experienced in the art of war, is the boldeft and beft conducted exploit to be found in antient hiftory, and is deemed a perfect model in its kind. Happily for us it is defcribed to the moft minute circumftance by an hiftorian, who was not only eye-witnefs of the facts he relates, but the firft mover, the foul of this great enterprize. I fhall only abridge it, and abftract its moft material circumftances; but I cannot omit advifing young perfons who make arms their profeffion to confult the original, of which there is a good tranflation extant in French, though far fhort of the admirable beauties of the text. It is very difficult to meet with a more able maffer than Xenophon in the art of war, to whom may be well applied here what Homer fays of Phœnix the governor of Achilles, (*u*) *That he was equally capable of forming his pupil for eloquence or arms.*

Μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμμεναι, πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων.

SECT. I. *Cyrus raifes troops fecretly againft his brother Artaxerxes. Thirteen thoufand Greeks join him. He fets out for Sardis, and arrives in Babylonia after a march of fix months.*

(*u*) Iliad. 10. v. 443.

baras gentes, per tanta itineris fpatia, virtute fe ufque terminos patriæ defenderunt. *Juftin.* l. 5. c. 11.

A MAP OF THE RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND

45 50 55 60 65

EUXINE OR BLACK SEA

CASPIAN SEA

COLCHIS

IBERIA OR GEORGIA

CHALYBES TAOCHI

ARMENIA

PAPHLAGONIA

ASIA MINOR OR NATOLIA

ASIA SUPERIOR

TURKEY IN ASIA

PISIDIA

CILICIA

ARMENIA

MESOPOTAMIA OR DIARBEK

CARDUCHI

SYRIA

MEDIA

PHOENICIA

CYPRUS

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

ARABIA DESERTA

HOLY LAND

ARABIA PETRÆA

EGYPT

ASSYRIA

BABYLONIA

Salmydessus

Byzantium or Constantinople

Chrysopolis

Heraclea

Return of the Greeks

Sinope

Trebisond Cerasus

Colyora

TIBARENI

Return of the Greeks

Harpasus

Thermodon

Phasis

Return of the Greeks

Araxes R.

Lampsacus

Troy

Pergamus

Parthenia where the expedition ends.

Smyrna

IONIA

Sardis

Ephesus

March of Cyrus

Pass of Cilicia

Miletus

Cilicia

Alexandretta

Aleppo

Chalus R.

Source of the Euphrates

Source of the Tigris

Centrites

Return of the Greeks

Tigris R.

Lab-a-tus

Portæ Caspiæ or the Caspian Passes

Ecbatana

Diapsacus

Araxes R.

Coena

March of Cyrus

Euphrates R.

Bagdad

Opis

Ctesiphon

Feluja

Canaxa

Sitace

Babylon

Tigris R.

Susa

A SCALE

Stadia, 700 to a Degree

500 1000 1500 2000 2500

Parasangas 2 3 ⅓ to a Degree

25 50 75

Leagues 2.5 to a degree

25 50 75 100

45 50 55 60 65

40

35

30

arming againſt Tiſſaphernes, aſſembled troops openly; and to amuſe the court the more ſpeciouſly, ſent grievous complaints to the king againſt that governor, demanding his protection and aid in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner. Artaxerxes was deceived by theſe appearances, and believed, that all Cyrus's preparations regarded only Tiſſaphernes, and continued quiet from the aſſurance of having nothing to apprehend for himſelf.

(a) Cyrus knew well how to improve the imprudent ſecurity and indolence of his brother, which ſome people conceived the effect of his goodneſs and humanity. And indeed in the beginning of his reign he ſeemed to imitate the virtues of the firſt Artaxerxes, whoſe name he bore. For he demeaned himſelf with great mildneſs and affability to ſuch as approached him; he honoured and rewarded magnificently all thoſe whoſe ſervices had merited favour; when he paſſed ſentence to puniſh, it was without either outrage or inſult; and when he made preſents, it was with a gracious air, and ſuch obliging circumſtances as infinitely exalted their value, and implied, that he was never better pleaſed than when he had an opportunity of doing good to his ſubjects. To all theſe excellent qualities it had been very neceſſary for him to have added one no leſs royal, and which would have put him upon his guard againſt the enterprizes of a brother, whoſe character he ought to have known; I mean a wiſe foreſight, that penetrates the future, and renders a prince attentive to prevent or fruſtrate whatever may diſturb the tranquillity of the ſtate.

The emiſſaries of Cyrus at the court were perpetually diſperſing reports and opinions amongſt the people, to prepare their minds for the intended change and revolt. They talked that the ſtate required a king of Cyrus's character; a king magnificent, liberal, who loved war, and ſhowered his favours upon thoſe that ſerved him; and that it was neceſſary for the grandeur of the empire to have a prince upon the throne, fired

(a) Plut. in Artax. p. 1013.

with

with ambition and valour for the ſupport and augmentation of its glory.

(*b*) The young prince loſt no time on his ſide, and haſtened the execution of his great deſign. He was then twenty-three years old at moſt. After the important ſervices he had done the Lacedæmonians, without which they had never obtained the victories that had made them maſters of Greece, he thought he might ſafely open himſelf to them. He therefore imparted to them the preſent ſituation of his affairs, and the end he had in view; convinced that ſuch a confidence could not but incline them the more in his favour.

In the letter he wrote them he ſpoke of himſelf in very magnificent terms. He told them he had a greater and more royal heart than his brother; that he was better verſed in philoſophy and the * knowledge of the Magi, and that he could drink more wine without being diſordered in his ſenſes, a very meritorious quality amongſt the Barbarians, but not ſo proper to recommend him to the opinion of thoſe he wrote to. The Lacedæmonians ſent orders to their fleet to join that of the prince immediately, and to obey the commands of Tamos his admiral in all things, but without the leaſt mention of Artaxerxes, or ſeeming in any manner privy to his deſign. They thought that precaution † neceſſary for their juſtification with Artaxerxes, in caſe affairs ſhould happen to terminate in his favour.

The troops of Cyrus, according to the review afterwards made, conſiſted of thirteen thouſand Greeks, which were the flower and chief force of his army, and of an hundred thouſand regular men of the barbarous nations. Clearchus the Lacedæmonian commanded all the Peloponneſian troops, except the Achæans, who had Socrates of Achaia for their leader.

(*b*) A. M. 3603. Ant. J. C. 401.

* *By the knowledge of the Magi, amongſt the Perſians, was meant the ſcience of religion and government.*

† Quærentes apud Cyrum gratiam; et apud Artaxerxem, ſi viciſſet, veniæ patrocinia, cum nihil adverſus eum aperte decreviſſent. *Juſtin.* l. 5. c. 11.

The Bœotians were under Proxenes the Theban, and the Theſſalians under Menon. (*c*) The Barbarians had Perſian generals, of whom the chief was Ariæus. The fleet conſiſted of thirty-five ſhips under Pythagoras the Lacedæmonian, and of twenty-five commanded by Tamos the Ægyptian, admiral of the whole fleet. It followed the land-army, coaſting along near the ſhore.

Cyrus had opened his deſign only to Clearchus of all the Greeks, foreſeeing aright that the length and boldneſs of the enterprize could not fail of diſcouraging and diſguſting the officers, as well as ſoldiers. He made it his ſole application to gain their affections during the march, by treating them with kindneſs and humanity, converſing freely with them, and giving effectual orders that they ſhould want for nothing. Proxenes, between whoſe family and Xenophon's an antient friendſhip ſubſiſted, preſented that young Athenian to Cyrus, (*d*) who received him very favourably, and gave him an employment in his army amongſt the Greeks. He ſet out from Sardis at length, and marched towards the upper provinces of Aſia. The troops knew neither the occaſion of the war, nor into what countries they were going. Cyrus had only cauſed it to be given out, that he ſhould act againſt the Piſidians, who had infeſted his province by their incurſions.

(*e*) Tiſſaphernes, rightly judging that all theſe preparations were too great for ſo ſmall an enterprize as againſt Piſidia, had ſet out poſt from Miletus to give the king an account of them. This news occaſioned great trouble at court. Paryſatis, the mother of Artaxerxes and Cyrus, was looked upon as the principal cauſe of this war; and all perſons in her ſervice and intereſt were ſuſpected of holding intelligence with Cyrus. Statira eſpecially, the reigning queen, reproached her inceſſantly in the moſt violent terms. "Where "is now," ſaid ſhe to her, "that faith you have ſo "often engaged for your ſon's behaviour? Where

(*c*) Xenoph. Cyri ex. l. 1. p. 252. (*d*) Xenoph. l. 2. p. 294.
(*e*) Plut. in Artax. p. 1014.

"thoſe

" thoſe ardent prayers you employed to preſerve from " death that conſpirator againſt his king and brother ? " 'Tis your unhappy fondneſs has kindled this war, " and plunged us into an abyſs of misfortunes." The antipathy and hatred of the two queens for each other were already very great, and much enflamed by ſuch warm reproaches. We ſhall ſee what conſequences they have. Artaxerxes aſſembled a numerous army to receive his brother.

(*f*) Cyrus advanced continually by great marches. What troubled him moſt on the way was the paſs of Cilicia, which was a narrow defile between very high and ſteep mountains, that would admit no more than one carriage to paſs at a time. Syenneſis, king of the country, prepared to diſpute this paſſage with him, and would infallibly have ſucceeded, but for the diverſion made by Tamos with his fleet in conjunction with that of the Lacedæmonians. To defend the coaſts againſt the inſults of the fleet, Syenneſis abandoned that important poſt, which a ſmall body of troops might have made good againſt the greateſt army.

When they arrived at Tarſus, the Greeks refuſed to march any farther, rightly ſuſpecting that they were intended againſt the king, and loudly exclaiming that they had not entered into the ſervice upon that condition. Clearchus, who commanded them, had occaſion for all his addreſs and ability to ſtifle this commotion in its birth. At firſt he made uſe of authority and force, but with very ill ſucceſs, and deſiſted therefore from an open oppoſition to their ſentiments: He even affected to enter into their views, and to ſupport them with his approbation and credit. He declared publickly, that he would not ſeparate himſelf from them, and adviſed them to depute perſons to the prince, to know from his own mouth againſt whom they were to be led, that they might follow him voluntarily if they approved his meaſures; if not, that they might demand his permiſſion to withdraw. By this artful eva-

(*f*) Xenoph. l. 1. p. 248—261.

ſion he appeaſed the tumult, and made them eaſy, and they choſe him and ſome other officers for their deputies. Cyrus, whom he had ſecretly apprized of every thing, made anſwer that he was going to attack * Abrocomas his enemy, at twelve days march from thence upon the Euphrates. When this anſwer was repeated to them, though they plainly ſaw againſt whom they were going, they reſolved to proceed, and only demanded an augmentation of their pay. Cyrus, inſtead of one † Daric a month to each ſoldier, promiſed to give them one and a half.

Some time after, Cyrus was informed that two of the principal officers, upon account of a private quarrel with Clearchus, had deſerted with part of their equipage on board a merchant-ſhip. Many were of opinion, that it was proper to ſend two galleys after them; which might be done with great eaſe, and that when they were brought back, they ſhould be made an example by ſuffering death in the ſight of the whole army. Cyrus, convinced that ‖ favour was the moſt certain means to the attainment of affection, and that puniſhments, like violent remedies, ought never to be uſed but in extreme neceſſity, declared publickly that he would not ſuffer it to be ſaid, that he had detained any one in his ſervice by force; and added, that he would ſend them their wives and children, whom they had left as hoſtages in his hands. An anſwer of ſo much wiſdom and generoſity had a ſurprizing effect, and made even thoſe his firm adherents, who were before inclined to retire. This is an excellent leſſon for all who govern. There is in the mind of man a fund of natural generoſity, which it is neceſſary to know and apply. Threats exaſperate them, and chaſtiſement makes them revolt, when endeavours are uſed to force

* *It is not ſaid where he commanded. It appears to be upon the Euphrates. He marched with three hundred thouſand men to join the king's army, but did not arrive till after the battle.*

† *The Daric was worth ten livres.*

‖ Beneficiis potius quam remediis ingenia experiri placuit. *Plin. in Traj.*

them

them to do their duty againſt their will. * They deſire a certain degree of confidence in their honour, and that the glory of acquitting themſelves of it out of choice be left in their power: To ſhew that you believe men faithful, is often the beſt means to make them ſo.

Cyrus ſoon after declared, that he marched againſt Artaxerxes. Upon which ſome murmuring was heard at firſt, but it ſoon gave place to the expreſſions of joy and ſatisfaction, occaſioned by that prince's magnificent promiſes to the army.

(g) As Cyrus advanced by long marches, he was informed from all parts, that the king did not intend to come directly to a battle, but had reſolved to wait in the remote parts of Perſia, till all his forces were aſſembled; and that to ſtop his enemies, he had ordered an intrenchment to be thrown up in the plains of Babylonia, with a foſsé of five fathom broad, and three deep, extending the ſpace of twelve † paraſangas or leagues from the Euphrates to the wall of Media. Between the Euphrates and the foſsé a way had been left of twenty feet in breadth, by which Cyrus paſſed with his whole army, having reviewed it the day before. The king had neglected to diſpute this paſs with him, and ſuffered him to continue his march towards Babylon. It was Tiribaſus, who determined him not to fly in ſuch a manner before an enemy, againſt whom he had infinite advantages as well from the number of his troops as the valour of his generals. He reſolved therefore to advance againſt the enemy.

(g) Plut. in Artax. p. 1014. Xenoph. l. 1. p. 261—266.

* Neſcio an plus moribus conferat princeps, qui bonos eſſe patitur, quam qui cogit. *Plin. ibid.*

Plerumque habita fides ipſam obligat fidem. *Liv.*

† *The paraſanga is a meaſure of ways peculiar to the Perſians. It was commonly thirty ſtadia, which make about a league and a half French. Some were from twenty to ſixty ſtadia. In the march of Cyrus's army I ſuppoſe the paraſanga only twenty ſtadia, or one league, for reaſons I ſhall give hereafter.*

SECT.

SECT. II. *The battle of Cunaxa. The Greeks are victorious on their side, Artaxerxes on his. Cyrus is killed.*

(*b*) THE place where the battle was fought, was called Cunaxa, about * twenty-five leagues from Babylon. The army of Cyrus consisted of thirteen thousand Greeks, an hundred thousand Barbarians, and twenty charicts armed with scythes. The enemy in horse and foot might amount to about twelve hundred thousand under four generals, Tissaphernes, Gobryas, Arbaces, and Abrocomas, without including six thousand chosen horse, that fought where the king was present, and never quitted his person. But Abrocomas, who had the command of three hundred thousand men, did not arrive till five days after the battle. In the king's army were only an hundred and fifty chariots armed with scythes.

Cyrus believed from the enemy's not having defended the pass at the fossé, that there would be no battle; so that the next day the army marched with great negligence. But on the third, Cyrus being in his chariot with few soldiers in their ranks before him, and the rest marching without any order, or having their arms carried for them, an horseman came in full speed, crying out as he passed, that the enemy approached in order of battle. Upon this, great confusion ensued, from the apprehension that they should not have time to draw up the army. Cyrus, leaping from his chariot, put on his arms immediately, and getting on horseback with his javelins in his hand, he gave orders universally to the troops to stand to their arms, and fall into their ranks; which was executed with so much expedition, that the troops had not time to refresh themselves.

Cyrus posted upon his right a thousand Paphlago-

(*b*) Xenoph. in exped. Cyr. l. 1. p. 263—266. Diod. l. 14. p. 253, 254. Plut. p. 1014—1017.

* *Five hundred stadia.*

nian

nian horſe, ſupported by the Euphrates, and the light-armed infantry of the Greeks; and next them, Clearchus, Proxenes, and the reſt of the general officers to Menon, at the head of their ſeveral corps. The left wing, compoſed of Lydians, Phrygians, and other Aſiatic nations, were commanded by Ariæus, who had a thouſand horſe. Cyrus placed himſelf in the center, where the choſen troops of the Perſians and other Barbarians were poſted. He had around him ſix hundred horſemen, armed at all points, as were their horſes, with head and breaſt-pieces. The prince's head was uncovered, as were thoſe of all the Perſians, whoſe cuſtom it was to give battle in that manner; the arms of all his people were red, as thoſe of Artaxerxes were white.

A little before the onſet Clearchus adviſed Cyrus not to charge in perſon, but to cover himſelf in the rear of the Grecian battalions. *What is it you ſay*, replied Cyrus? *At the time I am endeavouring to make myſelf king, would you have me ſhew myſelf unworthy of being ſo?* That wiſe and generous anſwer proves, that he knew the duty of a general, eſpecially on a day of battle. Had he withdrawn when his preſence was moſt neceſſary, it would have argued his want of courage, and intimidated others. It is neceſſary, always preſerving the due diſtinction between the leader and the troops, that their danger ſhould be common, and no one exempt from it; leſt the latter ſhould be alarmed by a different conduct. Courage in an army depends upon example, upon the deſire of being diſtinguiſhed, the fear of diſhonour, the incapacity of doing otherwiſe than the reſt, and the equality of danger. The retiring of Cyrus had either ruined, or greatly weakened, all theſe potent motives, by diſcouraging as well the officers as ſoldiers of his army. He thought, that being their general, it was incumbent upon him to diſcharge all the functions of that office, and to ſhew himſelf worthy to be the leader and ſoul of ſuch a num-

ber of valiant men, ready to ſhed their blood for his ſervice.

It was now noon, and the enemy did not yet appear. But about three of the clock a great duſt like a white cloud aroſe, followed ſoon after with a blackneſs that overcaſt the whole plain; after which was ſeen the glittering of armour, lances, and ſtandards. Tiſſaphernes commanded the left, which conſiſted of cavalry armed with white cuiraſſes, and of light-armed infantry; in the center was the heavy-armed foot, a great part of which had bucklers made of wood, which covered the ſoldier entirely (theſe were Egyptians.) The reſt of the light-armed infantry and of the horſe formed the right wing. The foot were drawn up by nations, with as much depth as front, and in that order compoſed ſquare battalions. The king had poſted himſelf in the main body with the flower of the whole army, and had ſix thouſand horſe for his guard, commanded by Artagerſes. Though he was in the center, he was beyond the left wing of Cyrus's army, ſo much did the front of his own exceed that of the enemy in extent. An hundred and fifty chariots armed with ſcythes were placed in the front of the army at ſome diſtance from one another. The ſcythes were fixed to the axle downwards and aſlant, ſo as to cut down, and overthrow all before them.

As Cyrus relied very much upon the valour and experience of the Greeks, he bade Clearchus, as ſoon as he had beat the enemies in his front, to take care to incline to his left, and fall upon the center, where the king was poſted; the ſucceſs of the battle depending upon that attack. But Clearchus, finding it very difficult to make his way through ſo great a body of troops, replied, that he need be in no pain, and that he would take care to do what was neceſſary.

The enemy in the mean time advanced ſlowly in good order. Cyrus marched in the ſpace between the two armies, the neareſt his own, and conſidered both of them with great attention. Xenophon, perceiving him,

him, ſpurred directly up to him, to know whether he had any further orders to give. He called out to him, that the ſacrifices were favourable, and that he ſhould tell the troops ſo. He then haſtened through the ranks to give his orders, and ſhewed himſelf to the ſoldiers with ſuch a joy and ſerenity in his countenance, as inſpired them with new courage, and at the ſame time with an air of kindneſs and familiarity, that excited their zeal and affection. It is not eaſy to comprehend, what great effects a word, a kind air, or a look of a general will have upon a day of action; and with what ardour a common man will ruſh into danger, when believes himſelf not unknown to his general, and thinks his valour will oblige him.

Artaxerxes moved on continually, though with a ſlow ſpace, and without noiſe and confuſion. That good order and exact diſcipline extremely ſurprized the Greeks, who expected to ſee much hurry and tumult in ſo great a multitude, and to hear confuſed cries, as Cyrus had foretold them.

The armies were not diſtant above four or five hundred paces, when the Greeks began to ſing the hymn of battle, and to march on, ſoftly at firſt, and with ſilence. When they came near the enemy, they ſet up great cries, ſtriking their darts upon their ſhields to frighten the horſe, and then moving all together, they ſprung forwards upon the Barbarians with all their force, who did not wait their charge, but took to their heels, and fled univerſally; except Tiſſaphernes, who ſtood his ground with a ſmall part of his troops.

Cyrus ſaw with pleaſure the enemy routed by the Greeks, and was proclaimed king by thoſe around him. But he did not give himſelf up to a vain joy, nor as yet reckon himſelf victor. He perceived, that Artaxerxes was wheeling his right to attack him in flank, and marched directly againſt him with his ſix hundred horſe. He killed Artagerſes, who commanded the king's guards of ſix thouſand horſe with his own hand, and put the whole body to flight. Diſcovering his

his brother, he cried out with his eyes ſparkling with rage, *I ſee him*, and ſpurred againſt him followed only by his principal officers; for his troops had quitted their ranks to follow the runaways, which was an eſſential fault.

(*i*) The battle then became a ſingle combat, in ſome meaſure, between Artaxerxes and Cyrus, and the two brothers were ſeen, tranſported with rage and fury, endeavouring, like Eteocles and Polynices, to plunge their ſwords into each other's hearts, and to aſſure themſelves of the throne by the death of their rival.

Cyrus, having opened his way through thoſe who were drawn up in battle before Artaxerxes, joined him, and killed his horſe, that fell with him to the ground. He roſe, and was remounted upon another, when Cyrus attacked him again, gave him a ſecond wound, and was preparing to give him a third, in hopes that it would prove his laſt. The king, like a lion wounded by the hunters, was only the more furious from the ſmart, and ſprung forwards, impetuouſly puſhing his horſe againſt Cyrus, who, running headlong, and without regard to his perſon, threw himſelf into the midſt of a flight of darts aimed at him from all ſides, and received a wound from the king's javelin, at the inſtant all the reſt diſcharged upon him. Cyrus fell dead: ſome ſay by the wound given him by the king; others affirm, that he was killed by a Carian ſoldier. Mithridates, a young Perſian nobleman, aſſerted, that he had given him the mortal ſtroke with a javelin, which entered his temple, and pierced his head quite through. The greateſt perſons of his court, reſolving not to ſurvive ſo good a maſter, were all killed around his body; a certain proof, ſays Xenophon, that he well knew how to chuſe his friends, and that he was truly beloved by them. Ariæus, who ought to have been the firmeſt of all his adherents, fled with the left wing, as ſoon as he heard of his death.

Artaxerxes, after having cauſed the head and right

(*i*) Diod. l. 14. p. 254.

hand

hand of his brother to be cut off by the eunuch Mesabates, pursued the enemy into their camp. Ariæus had not stopt there, but having passed thro' it, continued his retreat to the place where the army had encamped the day before, which was about four leagues distant.

Tissaphernes, after the defeat of the greatest part of his left wing by the Greeks, led on the rest against them, and by the side of the river, passed through the light-armed infantry of the Greeks, who opened to give him passage, and made their discharge upon him as he passed without losing a man. They were commanded by Epistenes of Amphipolis, who was esteemed an able captain. Tissaphernes kept on without returning to the charge, because he perceived he was too weak, and went forward to Cyrus's camp, where he found the king, who was plundering it; but had not been able to force the quarter defended by the Greeks left to guard it, who saved their baggage.

The Greeks on their side, and Artaxerxes on his, who did not know what had passed elsewhere, believed each of them that they had gained the victory; the first, because they had put the enemy to flight, and pursued them; and the king, because he had killed his brother, beat the troops he had fought, and plundered their camp. The event was soon cleared up on both sides. Tissaphernes upon his arrival at the camp, informed the king, that the Greeks had defeated his left wing, and pursued it with great vigour; and the Greeks on their side learnt, that the king, in pursuing Cyrus's left, had penetrated into the camp. Upon this advice, the king rallied his troops, and marched in quest of the enemy; and Clearchus, being returned from pursuing the Persians, advanced to support the camp.

The two armies were soon very near each other, when by a movement made by the king, he seemed to intend to charge the Greeks by their left, who fearing to be surrounded on all sides, wheeled about, and halted with the river on their backs, to prevent their being

taken

taken in the rear. Upon ſeeing that, the king changed his form of battle alſo, drew up his army in front of them, and marched on to the attack. As ſoon as the Greeks ſaw him approach, they began to ſing the hymn of battle, and advanced againſt the enemy even with more ardor than in the firſt action.

The Barbarians again took to their heels, ran farther than before, and were purſued to a village at the foot of an hill, upon which their horſe halted. The king's ſtandard was obſerved to be there, which was a golden eagle upon the top of a pike having its wings diſplayed. The Greeks preparing to purſue them, they abandoned alſo the hill, fled precipitately with all their troops, broke, and in the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion. Clearchus, having drawn up the Greeks at the bottom of the hill, ordered Lycias the Syracuſan and another to go up it, and obſerve what paſſed in the plain. They returned with an account that the enemies fled on all ſides, and that their whole army was routed.

As it was almoſt night, the Greeks laid down their arms to reſt themſelves, much ſurprized, that neither Cyrus, nor any one from him, appeared; and imagining, that he was either engaged in the purſuit of the enemy, or was making haſte to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome important place, for they were ſtill ignorant of his death, and the defeat of the reſt of his army. They determined therefore to return to their camp, and found the greateſt part of the baggage taken, with all the proviſions, and four hundred waggons laden with corn and wine, which Cyrus had expreſsly cauſed to be carried along with the army for the Greeks, in caſe of any preſſing neceſſity. They paſſed the night in the camp, the greateſt part of them without any refreſhment, concluding that Cyrus was alive and victorious.

The ſucceſs of this battle ſhews the ſuperiority of valour and military knowledge to multitude without them. The ſmall army of the Greeks did not amount

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to more than twelve or thirteen thouſand men; but they were ſeaſoned and diſciplined troops, inured to fatigues, accuſtomed to confront dangers, ſenſible to glory, and who, during the long Peloponneſian war, had not wanted either time or means to acquire, and compleat themſelves in the art of war, and the methods of battle. Artaxerxes's ſide was computed at a million of men; but they were ſoldiers only in name, without force, courage, diſcipline, experience, or any ſenſe of honour. Hence it was, that as ſoon as the Greeks appeared, terror and diſorder enſued amongſt the enemy; and in the ſecond action, Artaxerxes himſelf did not dare to wait their attack, but ſhamefully betook himſelf to flight.

Plutarch here blames Clearchus the general of the Greeks very much, and imputes to him, as an unpardonable neglect, his not having followed Cyrus's order, who recommended to him above all things to incline and charge Artaxerxes's perſon. This reproach ſeems groundleſs. It is not eaſy to conceive, how it was poſſible for that captain, who was poſted on the right wing, to attack Artaxerxes immediately, who, in the centre of his own army, lay beyond the utmoſt extent of the enemy's left, as has been ſaid before. It ſeems that Cyrus, depending as he did with great reaſon upon the valour of the Greeks, and deſiring they ſhould charge Artaxerxes in his poſt, ought to have placed them in the left wing, which anſwered directly to the part where the king was; that is, to the main body, and not in the right, which was very remote from it.

Clearchus may indeed be reproached with having followed the purſuit too warmly and too long. If after having put the left wing which oppoſed him into diſorder, he had charged the reſt of the enemy in flank, and had opened his way to the centre, where Artaxerxes was, it is highly probable, that he had gained a compleat victory, and placed Cyrus upon the throne. The ſix hundred horſe of that prince's guard commit-

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ted the ſame fault, and by purſuing the body of troops they had put to flight too eagerly, left their maſter almoſt alone, and abandoned to the mercy of the enemy; without conſidering, that they were choſen from the whole army for the immediate guard of his perſon, and for no other purpoſe whatſoever. Too much ardor is often prejudicial in a battle, and it is the duty of an able general to know how to reſtrain and direct it.

Cyrus himſelf erred highly in this reſpect, and abandoned himſelf too much to his blind paſſion for glory and revenge. In running headlong to attack his brother, he forgot, that there is a wide difference between a general and a private ſoldier. He ought not to have expoſed himſelf, but as it was conſiſtent with a prince; as the head, not the hand; as the perſon who was to give orders, and not as thoſe who were to execute them.

I ſpeak in this manner after the judges in the art of war, and would not chuſe to advance my own opinion upon things out of my ſphere.

SECT. III. *Elogy of Cyrus.*

(*k*) XENOPHON gives us a magnificent character of Cyrus, and that not upon the credit of others, but from what he ſaw and knew of him in his own perſon. He was, ſays he, in the opinion of all that were acquainted with him, after Cyrus the Great, a prince the moſt worthy of the ſupreme authority, and had the moſt noble, and moſt truly royal ſoul. From his infancy he ſurpaſſed all of his own age in every exerciſe, whether it were in managing the horſe, drawing the bow, throwing the dart, or in the chace, in which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf once by fighting and killing a bear that attacked him. Thoſe advantages were exalted in him by the nobleneſs of his air, an engaging aſpect, and by all the graces of nature, that conduce to recommend merit.

(*k*) De exped. Cyr. l. 1. p. 266, 267.

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Whon his father had made him ſatrap of Lydia, and the * neighbouring provinces, his chief care was to make the people ſenſible, that he had nothing ſo much at heart, as to keep his word inviolably, not only with regard to public treaties, but the moſt minute of his promiſes; a quality very rare amongſt princes, and which however is the baſis of all good government, and the ſource of their own, as well as their people's, happineſs. Not only the places under his authority, but the enemy themſelves, repoſed an entire confidence in him.

Whether good or ill were done him, he always deſired to return it double, and that he might live no longer, (as he ſaid himſelf) than whilſt he ſurmounted his friends in benefits, and his enemies in vengeance. (It had been more glorious for him to have overcome the latter by the force of favour and benevolence.) Nor was there ever prince, that people were more afraid to offend, nor for whoſe ſake they were more ready to hazard their poſſeſſions, lives, and fortunes.

Leſs intent upon being feared than beloved, his ſtudy was to make his greatneſs appear only where it was uſeful and beneficial, and to extinguiſh all other ſentiments, but thoſe which flow from gratitude and affection. He was induſtrious to do good upon all occaſions, to conſer his favours with judgment and in ſeaſon, and to ſhew, that he thought himſelf rich, powerful, and happy, only as he made others ſenſible of his being ſo by his benevolence and liberality. But he took care not to exhauſt the means by an imprudent profuſion. He did not † laviſh, but diſtribute, his favours. He choſe rather to make his liberalities the rewards of merit, than mere donations, and that they ſhould be ſubſervient in promoting virtue, and not in ſupporting the ſoft and abject ſloth of vice.

He was particularly pleaſed with conferring his fa-

* *Great Phrygia and Cappadocia.*

† Habebit ſinum facilem, non perforatum: ex quo multa exeant, nihil excidat. *Senec. de vit. beat.* c. 23.

vours

vours upon valiant men, and governments and rewards were only beſtowed on thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their actions. He never granted any honour or dignity to favour, intrigue, or faction, but to merit only; upon which depends not only the glory but the proſperity of governments. By that means he ſoon made virtue eſtimable, and the purſuit of men, and rendered vice contemptible and horrid. The provinces, animated with a noble emulation to deſerve, furniſhed him in a very ſhort time with a conſiderable number of excellent ſubjects of every kind; who under a different government would have remained unknown, obſcure, and uſeleſs.

Never did any one know how to oblige with a better grace, or to win the hearts of thoſe who could ſerve him with more engaging behaviour. As he was fully ſenſible that he ſtood in need of the aſſiſtance of others for the execution of his deſigns, he thought juſtice and gratitude required that he ſhould render his adherents all the ſervices in his power. All the preſents made him, whether of ſplendid arms, or rich apparel, he diſtributed among his friends according to their ſeveral taſtes or occaſions; and uſed to ſay, that the brighteſt ornament, and moſt exalted riches, of a prince conſiſted in adorning and enriching thoſe who ſerved him well. In effect, ſays Xenophon, to do good to one's friends, and to excel them in liberality, does not ſeem ſo admirable in ſo high a fortune; but to tranſcend them in goodneſs of heart and ſentiments of friendſhip and affection, and to take more pleaſure in conferring, than receiving, obligations; in this, I find Cyrus truly worthy of eſteem and admiration. The firſt of theſe advantages he derives from his rank; the other from himſelf, and his intrinſic merit.

By theſe extraordinary qualities he acquired the univerſal eſteem and affection as well of the Greeks, as Barbarians. A great proof of what Xenophon here ſays, is, that none ever quitted the ſervice of Cyrus for the king's; whereas great numbers went over every

day to him from the king's party after the war was declared, and even of such as had most credit at the court; because they were all convinced, that Cyrus knew best how distinguish and reward their services.

It is most certain, that young Cyrus did not want great virtues, and a superior merit; but I am surprized, that Xenophon, in drawing his character, has described only the most beautiful features, and such as are proper to excite our admiration of him, without saying the least word of his defects, and especially of that immoderate ambition, that was the soul of all his actions, and which at length put arms into his hands against his elder brother and king. Is it allowable in an historian, whose chief duty it is to paint virtue and vice in their proper colours, to relate at large an enterprize of such a nature without intimating the least dislike or imputation aganst it? But with the Pagans, ambition was so far from being considered as a vice, that it often passed for a virtue.

SECT. IV. *The king is for compelling the Greeks to deliver up their arms. They resolved to die rather than surrender themselves. A treaty is made with them. Tissaphernes takes upon him to conduct them back to their own country. He treacherously seizes Clearchus and four other generals, who are all put to death.*

(*l*) THE Greeks, having learnt the day after the battle, that Cyrus was dead, sent deputies to Ariæus, the general of the Barbarians, who had retired with his troops to the place from whence they had marched the day before the action, to offer him, as victors, the crown of Persia in the room of Cyrus. At the same time arrived Persian heralds at arms from the king, to summon them to deliver up their arms; to whom they answered with an haughty air, that they talked a strange language to conquerors; that if the king would have their arms, he might come and take

(*l*) Xenoph. in exped. Cyr. l. 2. p. 272—292. Diod. l. 14. p. 255—257.

them

them if he could; but that they would die before they would part with them: That if he would receive them into the number of his allies, they would ſerve him with fidelity and valour; * but if he imagined to reduce them into ſlavery as conquered, he might know, they had wherewithal to defend themſelves, and were determined to loſe their lives and liberty together. The heralds added, that they had orders to tell them, that if they continued in the place where they were, they would be allowed a ſuſpenſion of arms, but if they advanced or retired, that they would be treated as enemies. The Greeks agreed, and were aſked by the heralds what anſwer they ſhould report. Peace in continuing here, or war in marching, replied Clearchus, without explaing himſelf farther; from the view of keeping the king always in ſuſpenſe and uncertainty.

The anſwer of Ariæus to the Grecian deputies was, that there were many Perſians more conſiderable than himſelf, who would not ſuffer him upon the throne, and that he ſhould ſet out early the next day to return into Ionia; that, if they would march thither with him, they might join him in the night. Clearchus, with the advice of the officers, prepared to depart. He commanded from thenceforth, as being the ſole perſon of ſufficient capacity; for he had not been actually elected general in chief.

The ſame night, Milthocytes the Thracian, who commanded forty horſe, and about three hundred foot of his own country, went and ſurrendered himſelf to the king; the reſt of the Greeks began their march under the conduct of Clearchus, and arrived about midnight at the camp of Ariæus. After they had drawn up in battle, the principal officers went to wait on him in his tent, where they ſwore alliance with him; and the Barbarian engaged to conduct the army without fraud. In confirmation of the treaty, they ſacri-

* Sin ut victis ſervitium indiceretur, eſſe ſibi ferrum et juventutem, et promtum libertati aut ad mortem animum. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 4. c. 46.

ficed a wolf, a ram, a boar, and a bull; the Greeks dipt their ſwords, and the Barbarians the points of their javelins, in the blood of the victims.

Ariæus did not think it proper to return by the ſame rout they came, becauſe, having found nothing for their ſubſiſtence the laſt ſeventeen days of their march, they muſt have ſuffered much more, had they taken the ſame way back again. He therefore took another; exhorting them only to make long marches at firſt; in order to evade the king's purſuit; which they could not effect. Towards the evening, when they were not far from ſome villages where they propoſed to halt, the ſcouts came in with advice, that they had ſeen ſeveral equipages and convoys, which made it reaſonable to judge, that the enemy were not far off. Upon which they ſtood their ground, and waited their coming up; and the next day, before ſun-riſing, drew up in the ſame order as in the preceding battle. So bold an appearance terrified the king, who ſent heralds, not to demand, as before, the ſurrender of their arms, but to propoſe peace and a treaty. Clearchus, who was informed of their arrival, whilſt he was buſy in drawing up his troops, gave orders to bid them wait, and to tell them, that he was not yet at leiſure to hear them. He aſſumed purpoſely an air of haughtineſs and grandeur, to denote his intrepidity, and at the ſame time to ſhew the fine appearance and good condition of his phalanx. When he advanced with the moſt ſhewy of his officers, expreſsly choſen for the occaſion, and had heard what the heralds had to propoſe; he made anſwer, that they muſt begin with giving battle, becauſe the army being in want of proviſions, had no time to loſe. The heralds having carried back this anſwer to their maſter, returned immediately; which ſhewed, that the king, or whoever ſpoke in his name, was not very diſtant. They ſaid, they had orders to conduct them to villages, where they would find proviſions in abundance, and conducted them thither accordingly.

The army ſtaid there three days, during which, Tiſſaphernes arrived from the king, with the queen's brother and three other Perſian grandees, attended by a great number of officers and domeſtics. After having ſaluted the generals, who advanced to receive him, he told them by his interpreter, that being a neighbour of Greece, and ſeeing them engaged in dangers, out of which it would be difficult to extricate themſelves, he had uſed his good offices with the king, to obtain permiſſion to re-conduct them into their own country; being convinced, that neither themſelves, nor their cities, would ever be unmindful of that favour: That the king, without having declared himſelf poſitively upon that head, had commanded him to come to them, to know for what cauſe they had taken arms againſt him; and he adviſed them to make the king ſuch an anſwer, as might not give any offence, and might enable him to do them ſervice. "We call the "gods to witneſs," replied Clearchus, "that we did "not liſt ourſelves to make war with the king, or to "march againſt him. Cyrus, concealing his true "motives under different pretexts, brought us almoſt "hither without explaining himſelf, the better to ſur-"prize you. And when we ſaw him ſurrounded with "dangers, we thought it infamous to abandon him, "after the favours we had received from him. But as "he is dead, we are releaſed from our engagement, "and neither deſire to conteſt the crown with Arta-"xerxes, nor to ravage his country; provided he does "not oppoſe our return. However if we are attacked, "we ſhall endeavour, with the aſſiſtance of the gods, "to make a good defence; and ſhall not be ungrate-"ful in regard to thoſe, who render us any ſervice." Tiſſaphernes replied, that he would let the king know what they ſaid, and return with his anſwer. But his not coming the next day gave the Greeks ſome anxiety: he however arrived on the third, and told them, that after much controverſy, he had at length obtained the king's grace for them: For, that it had been repreſented

preſented to the king, that he ought not to ſuffer people to return with impunity into their country, who had been ſo inſolent to come thither to make war upon him. "In fine," ſaid he, "you may now aſſure "yourſelves of not finding any obſtacle to your re- "turn, and of being ſupplied with proviſions, or ſuf- "fered to buy them; and you may judge, that you are "to paſs without committing any diſorders in your "march, and that you are to take only what is ne- "ceſſary; provided you are not furniſhed with it." Theſe conditions were ſworn to on both ſides. Tiſſaphernes and the queen's brother gave their hands to the colonels and captains in token of amity. After which Tiſſaphernes withdrew, to diſpoſe his affairs; promiſing to return as ſoon as they would admit, in order to go back with them into his government.

The Greeks waited for him above twenty days, continuing encamped near Ariæus, who received frequent viſits from his brothers, and other relations, as did the officers of his army from the Perſians of the different party; who aſſured them from the king of an entire oblivion of the paſt; ſo that the friendſhip of Ariæus for the Greeks appeared to cool every day more and more. This change gave them cauſe of uneaſineſs. Several of the officers went to Clearchus and the other generals, and ſaid to them, "What do we "here any longer? Are we not ſenſible, that the king "deſires to ſee us all periſh, that others may be terri- "fied by our example? Perhaps he keeps us waiting "here, till he re-aſſembles his diſperſed troops, or "ſends to ſeize the paſſes in our way; for he will "never ſuffer us to return into Greece, to divulge our "own glory and his ſhame." Clearchus made anſwer to this diſcourſe, that to depart without conſulting the king, was to break with him, and to declare war by violating the treaty; that they ſhould remain without a conductor in a country where no body would ſupply them with proviſions; that Ariæus would abandon them; and that even their friends would become

their enemies; that he did not know, but there might be other rivers to pass, and that, though the Euphrates were the only one, they could not get over it, were the passage ever so little disputed. That if it were necessary to come to a battle, they should find themselves without cavalry against an enemy, that had a very numerous and excellent body of horse; so that if they gained the victory, they could make no great advantage of it, and if they were overcome, they were utterly and irretrievably lost. "Besides, why should the "king, who has so many other means to destroy us, "engage his word only to violate it, and thereby ren-"der himself execrable in the sight of gods and men?"

Tissaphernes however arrived with his troops, in order to return into his government, and they set forwards all together under the conduct of that satrap, who supplied them with provisions. Ariæus with his troops encamped with the Barbarians, and the Greeks separately at some distance, which kept up a continual distrust amongst them. Besides which, there happened frequent quarrels for wood or forage, that augmented their aversion for each other. After three days march, they arrived at the wall of Media, which is an hundred foot high, twenty broad, and twenty leagues * in extent, all built of bricks, cemented with bitumen, like the walls of Babylon, from which it was not very distant at one of its extremities. When they had passed it, they marched eight leagues in two days, and came to the river Tygris, after having croft two of its canals, cut expressly for watering the country. They then passed the † Tygris upon a bridge of twenty-seven boats near Sitacum, a very great and populous city. After four days march they arrived at another city very powerful also, called Opis.

* *Twenty parasangas.*

† *The march of the Greeks and the rest of the army, from the day after the battle till the passing of the Tygris, abounds in the text of Xenophon with very great obscurities, to explain which fully require a long dissertation. My plan does not admit me to enter into such discussions, which I must therefore refer to those who are more able than me.*

They found there a baſtard brother of Artaxerxes with a very conſiderable body of troops, which he was bringing from Suſa and Ecbatana to his aid. He admired the fine order of the Greeks. From thence, having paſſed the deſerts of Media, they came after a march of ſix days, to a place called the lands of Paryſatis; the revenues of which appertained to that princeſs. Tiſſaphernes, to inſult the memory of her ſon Cyrus ſo dearly beloved by her, gave the villages to be plundered by the Greeks. Continuing their march through the deſert on the ſide of the Tygris, which they had on their left, they arrived at Cænæ, a very great and rich city, and from thence at the river Zabates.

The occaſions of diſtruſt increaſed every day between the Greeks and Barbarians. Clearchus thought it incumbent on him to come to an explanation once for all with Tiſſaphernes. He began with obſerving upon the ſacred and inviolable nature of the treaties ſubſiſting between them. "Can a man," ſaid he, "conſcious of the guilt of perjury, be capable of liv-"ing at eaſe? How would he ſhun the wrath of the "gods, the witneſſes of treaties, and eſcape their ven-"geance whoſe power is univerſal?" He added afterwards many things to prove, that the Greeks were obliged by their own intereſt to continue faithful to him, and that, by renouncing his alliance, they muſt firſt inevitably renounce not only all religion, but reaſon and common ſenſe. Tiſſaphernes ſeemed to reliſh this diſcourſe, and ſpoke to him with all the appearance of the moſt perfect ſincerity; inſinuating at the ſame time, that ſome perſons had done him bad offices with him. If you will bring your officers hither, ſaid he, I will ſhew you thoſe, who have wronged you in their repreſentations. He kept him to ſupper, and profeſſed more friendſhip for him than ever.

The next day Clearchus propoſed in the aſſembly, to go with the ſeveral commanders of the troops to Tiſſaphernes. He ſuſpected Menon in particular,

whom he knew to have had a ſecret conference with the ſatrap in the preſence of Ariæus; beſides which, they had already differed ſeveral times with each other. Some objected, that it was not proper that all the generals ſhould go to Tiſſaphernes, and that it did not conſiſt with prudence to rely implicitly upon the profeſſions of a Barbarian. But Clearchus continued to inſiſt upon what he had moved, till it was agreed, that the four other commanders, with twenty captains, and about two hundred ſoldiers, under the pretext of buying proviſions in the Perſian camp, where there was a market, ſhould be ſent along with him. When they came to the tent of Tiſſaphernes, the five commanders, Clearchus, Menon, Proxenes, Agias, and Socrates, were ſuffered to enter, but the captains remained without at the door. Immediately, on a certain ſignal before agreed on, thoſe within were ſeized, and the others put to the ſword. Some Perſian horſe afterwards ſcoured the country, and killed all the Greeks they met, whether freemen or ſlaves. Clearchus, with the other generals, was ſent to the king, who ordered their heads to be ſtruck off. Xenophon deſcribes with ſufficient extent the characters of thoſe officers.

Clearchus was valiant, bold, intrepid, and of a capacity for forming great enterprizes. His courage was not raſh, but directed by prudence, and he retained all the coolneſs of his temper and preſence of mind in the midſt of the greateſt dangers. He loved the troops, and let them want for nothing. He knew how to make them obey him; but out of fear. His mien was awful and ſevere; his language rough, his puniſhments inſtant and rigorous: He gave way ſometimes to paſſion, but preſently came to himſelf, and always chaſtiſed with juſtice. His great maxim was, that nothing could be done in an army without a ſevere diſcipline; and from him came the ſaying, that a ſoldier ought to fear his general more than the enemy.

The

The troops * eſteemed his valour, and did juſtice to his merit; but they were afraid of his humour, and did not love to ſerve under him. In a word, ſays Xenophon, the ſoldiers feared him as ſcholars do a ſevere pædagogue. We may ſay of him with Tacitus, that by an exceſs of ſeverity he made, what had otherwiſe been well done by him, unamiable: (*a*) *Cupidine ſeveritatis in his etiam, quæ rite faceret, acerbus.*

Proxenes was of Bœotia. From his infancy he aſpired at great things, and was induſtrious to make himſelf capable of them. He ſpared no means for the attainment of inſtruction, and was the diſciple of Gorgias the Leontine, a celebrated rhetorician, who ſold his lectures at a very high price. When he found himſelf capable of commanding, and of doing good to his friends, as well as of being ſerved by them, he entered into Cyrus's ſervice with the view of advancing himſelf. He did not want ambition, but would take no other path to glory than that of virtue. He had been a perfect captain, had he had to do with none but brave and diſciplined men, and it had been only neceſſary to be beloved. He was more apprehenſive of being in his ſoldiers diſpleaſure, than his ſoldiers in his. He thought it ſufficient for a commander to praiſe good actions, without puniſhing bad ones; for which reaſon he was beloved by the worthy; but thoſe of a different character abuſed his facility. He died at thirty years of age.

† Could the two great perſons, we have here drawn after Xenophon, have been moulded into one, ſomething perfect might have been made of them; retrenching their ſeveral defects, and retaining only their virtues: But it rarely happens, that the ſame man, ‖ as

(*a*) Tacit. Annal. c. 75.

* Manebat admiratio viri et fama; ſed oderant. *Tacit. Hiſtor.* l. 2. c. 68.

† Egregium principatûs temperamentum, ſi, demptis utriuſque vitiis, ſolæ virtutes miſcerentur. *Tacit. Hiſtor.* l. 2. c. 5.

‖ Pro variis temporibus ac negotiis ſeverus et comis—nec illi, quod eſt rariſſimum, aut facilitas authoritatem, aut ſeveritas amorem, deminuit. *Tacit. in Agric.* c. 9.

Tacitus says of Agricola, behaves, according to the exigency of times and circumstances, sometimes with gentleness, and sometimes with severity, without lessening his authority by the former, or the people's affection by the latter.

Menon was a Thessalian, avaritious and ambitious, but ambitious only from the motive of avarice, pursuing honour and estimation for the mere lucre of money. He courted the friendship of the great, and of persons in authority, that he might have it in his power to commit injustice and oppression with impunity. To obtain his ends, all means with him were virtue; falsehood, fraud, perjury; whilst sincerity, and integrity of heart stood in his scheme for weakness and stupidity. He loved nobody; and if he professed friendship, it was only to deceive. As others made their glory consist in religion, probity, and honour, he valued himself upon injustice, deceit and treachery. He gained the favour of the great by false reports, whispering, and calumny; and that of the soldiery by licence and impunity. In fine, he endeavoured to render himself terrible by the mischief it was in his power to do, and imagined he favoured those to whom he did none.

It was in my thoughts to have retrenched these characters, which interrupt the thread of the history. But as they are a lively image of the manners of men, which in all times are the same, I thought retaining them would neither be useless nor disagreeable to the reader.

SECT. V. *Retreat of the ten thousand Greeks from the province of Babylon to Trebisond.*

(*b*) THE generals of the Greeks having been seized, and the officers who attended them massacred, the troops were in the highest consternation. They were five or six hundred leagues from Greece, surrounded with great rivers and enemy-nations, without any supplies of provisions. In this state of general dejection, they could not think of taking either nourish-

(*b*) Xenoph. in exped. Cyr. l. 3 & 4.

ment

ment or repoſe. In the middle of the night, Xenophon, a young Athenian, but of prudence and capacity ſuperior to his years, went to ſome of the officers, and repreſented to them, that they had no time to loſe; that it was of the laſt importance to prevent the bad deſigns of the enemy; that, however ſmall their number, they would render themſelves formidable, if they behaved with boldneſs and reſolution; that valour and not multitude determines the ſucceſs of arms; and that it was neceſſary above all things to nominate generals immediately; becauſe an army without commanders is like a body without a ſoul. A council was immediately held, at which an hundred officers were preſent, and Xenophon, being deſired to ſpeak, deduced the reaſons at large, he had at firſt but lightly touched upon; and by his advice commanders were appointed. They were Timaſion for Clearchus, Xanthicles for Socrates, Cleanor for Agias, Phileſius for Menon, and Xenophon for Proxenes.

Before the break of day, they aſſembled the army. The generals made ſpeeches to animate the troops, and Xenophon amongſt the reſt. "Fellow ſoldiers," ſaid he, "the loſs of ſo many brave men by vile treachery, "and the being abandoned by our friends, is very de- "plorable: But we muſt not ſink under our misfor- "tunes, and, if we cannot conquer, let us chuſe ra- "ther to periſh glorioufly, than to fall into the hands "of Barbarians, who would inflict upon us the greateſt "miſeries. Let us call to mind the glorious battles of "Platæa, Thermopylæ, Salamin, and the many others "wherein our anceſtors, though with a ſmall num- "ber, have fought and defeated the innumerable ar- "mies of the Perſians, and thereby rendered the name "alone of Greek for ever formidable. It is to their "invincible valour we owe the honour we poſſeſs, of "acknowledging no maſters upon earth but the gods, "nor any happineſs but what conſiſts with liberty. "Thoſe gods, the avengers of perjury, and witneſſes "of the enemy's treaſon, will be favourable to us;

" and as they are attacked in the violation of treaties,
" and take pleasure in humbling the proud, and ex-
" alting the low, they will also follow us to battle,
" and combat for us. For the rest, fellow-soldiers, as
" we have no refuge but in victory, which must be our
" hope, and will make us ample amends for whatever
" it costs to attain it; I should believe, if it were your
" opinion, that, for the making a more ready and less
" difficult retreat, it would be very proper to rid our-
" selves of all the useless baggage, and to keep only
" what is absolutely necessary in our march." All the soldiers that moment lifted up their hands to signify their approbation and consent to all that had been said, and without loss of time set fire to their tents and carriages; such of them as had too much equipage giving it others who had too little, and destroying the rest.

It was resolved to march the army without tumult or violence, if their return was not opposed; but otherwise to open themselves a passage sword in hand through the enemy. They began their march in the form of a great hollow square with the baggage in the centre. Chirisophus the Lacedæmonian had the vanguard; two of the oldest captains the right and left; and Timasion with Xenophon were posted in the rear, as the youngest officers. The first day was rude; because, having neither horse nor slingers, they were extremely harrassed by a detachment sent against them: But they provided against that inconvenience by following Xenophon's advice. They chose two hundred men out of the Rhodians in the army, whom they armed with slings, and augmented their pay for their encouragement. They could throw as far again as the Persians, because they discharged balls of lead, and the others made use of large flints. They mounted also a squadron of fifty men upon the horses intended for the baggage, and supplied their places with other beasts of burden. By the means of this supply a second detachment of the enemy were very severely handled.

After

After ſome days march, Tiſſaphernes appeared with all his forces. He contented himſelf with harraſſing the Greeks, who moved on continually. The latter obſerving the difficulty of retreating in an hollow ſquare in the face of the enemy, from the unevenneſs of ground, hedges, and other obſtacles, which might oblige them to break it, changed their order of battle, and marched in two columns, with the little baggage they had in the ſpace between them. They formed a body of reſerve of ſix hundred choſen men, whom they divided into ſix companies, and ſub-divided by fifties and tens, to facilitate their motions according to occaſion. When the columns came cloſe to each other, they either remained in the rear, or filed off upon the flanks on both ſides, to avoid diſorder; and when they opened, they fell into the void ſpace in the rear between the two columns. Upon any occaſion of attack they immediately ran where it was neceſſary. The Greeks ſtood ſeveral charges, but they were neither conſiderable, nor attended with much loſs.

They arrived at the river Tygris. As its depth would not admit them to repaſs it without boats, they were obliged to croſs the Carducian mountains, becauſe there was no other way, and the priſoners reported, that from thence they would enter Armenia, where they might paſs the Tygris at its ſource, and afterwards the Euphrates not very diſtant from it. To gain thoſe defiles before the enemy could ſeize them, it was thought proper to ſet forwards in the night, in order to arrive at the foot of the mountains by the break of day; which was done accordingly. Chiriſophus continued at the head of the advanced guard, with the troops armed with miſſive weapons, beſides his ordinary corps; and Xenophon in the rear, with only the heavy-armed ſoldiers, becauſe at that time there was nothing to fear on that ſide. The inhabitants of the country had taken poſſeſſion of ſeveral of the heights, from whence it was neceſſary to drive them, which could not be done without great danger and difficulty.

The

The officers, having held a council of war, were of opinion, that it was proper to leave behind them all the beaſts of burden not abſolutely neceſſary, with all the ſlaves lately taken; becauſe both the one and the other would retard their march too much in the great defiles they had to paſs; beſides which, it required a greater quantity of proviſions to ſupport them, and thoſe who had the care of the beaſts were uſeleſs in fight. That regulation was executed without delay, and they continued their march, ſometimes fighting, and ſometimes halting. The paſſing of the mountains, which took up ſeven days, fatigued the troops exceedingly, and occaſioned ſome loſs; but at length they arrived at villages, where they found proviſions in abundance, and reſted ſome days, to recover the ſevere fatigues the army had ſuffered; in compariſon with which all they had undergone in Perſia was trivial.

They found themſelves ſoon after expoſed to new danger. Almoſt at the foot of the mountains they came to a river, two hundred foot in breadth, called Centrites, which ſtopped their march. They had to defend themſelves againſt the enemy, who purſued them in the rear, and the Armenians, the ſoldiers of the country, who defended the oppoſite ſide of the river. They attempted in vain to paſs it in a place where the water came up to their arm-pits, and were carried away by the rapidity of the current, againſt which the weight of their arms made them unable to reſiſt. By good fortune they diſcovered another place not ſo deep, where ſome ſoldiers had ſeen the people of the country paſs. It required abundance of addreſs, diligence, and valour, to keep off the enemy on both ſides of them. The army however paſſed the river at length without much loſs.

They marched afterwards with leſs interruption; paſſed the ſources of the Tygris, and arrived at the little river Teleboa, which is very beautiful, and has many villages on its banks. Here began the weſtern Armenia; which was governed by Tiribaſus, a ſatrap much

much beloved by the king, and had the honour to help him to * mount on horſeback when at the court: He offered to let the army paſs, and to ſuffer the ſoldiers to take all they wanted, upon condition, that they ſhould commit no ravages in their march; which propoſal was accepted and ratified on each ſide. Tiribaſus kept always a flying camp at a ſmall diſtance from the army. There fell a great quantity of ſnow, which gave the troops ſome inconvenience; and they learnt from a priſoner, that Tiribaſus had a deſign to attack the Greeks at a paſs of the mountains, in a defile, through which they muſt neceſſarily march. They prevented him by ſeizing that poſt, after having put the enemy to flight. After ſome days march through deſerts, they paſſed the Euphrates near its ſource, not having the water above their middles.

They ſuffered exceedingly afterwards from a north wind, which blew in their faces, and prevented reſpiration; ſo that it was thought neceſſary to ſacrifice to the wind, upon which it ſeemed to abate. They marched on in ſnow five or ſix foot deep, which killed ſeveral ſervants and beaſts of burden, beſides thirty ſoldiers. They made fires during the night, for they found plenty of wood. All the next day, they continued their march through the ſnow, when many of them from the exceſs of hunger, followed with langour or fainting, continued lying upon the ground thro' weakneſs and want of ſpirits. When ſomething had been given them to eat, they found themſelves relieved, and continued their march.

The enemy ſtill purſued them, of whom many, overtaken by the night, remained on the way without fire or proviſions, ſo that ſeveral died of their hardſhips, and the enemy who followed them took ſome baggage. Some ſoldiers were alſo left behind, that had loſt their ſight, and others their toes by the ſnow. Againſt the

* *The French tranſlator of Xenophon ſays,* he held the king's ſtirrup when he got on horſeback, *without conſidering, that the antients uſed none.*

firſt

firſt evil it was good to wear ſomething black before the eyes; and againſt the other, to keep the legs always in motion, and to bare the feet at night. Arriving in a more commodious place, they diſperſed themſelves into the neighbouring villages, to recover and repoſe after their fatigues. The houſes were built under-ground, with an opening at top, like a well, through which the deſcent was by a ladder; but there was another entrance for cattle. They found there, ſheep, cows, goats, poultry; with wheat, barley, and pulſe; and for drink, there was beer, which was very ſtrong, when not mingled with water, but was agreeable to thoſe who were uſed to it. They drank this with a reed out of the veſſels that held the beer, upon which they ſaw the barley ſwim. The maſter of the houſe, where Xenophon lay, received him very kindly, and even ſhewed him where he had concealed ſome wine; beſides which he made him a preſent of ſeveral horſes. He taught him alſo to faſten a kind of hurdles to their feet, and to do the ſame to the other beaſts of burden, to prevent their ſinking in the ſnow; without which they would have been up to the girth in it at every ſtep. The army, after having reſted ſeven days in theſe villages, reſumed their rout.

After a march of ſeven days they arrived at the river Araxes, called alſo the Phaſus, which is about an hundred feet in breadth. Two days after they diſcovered the Phaſians, the Chalybes, and the Taochians, who kept the paſs of the mountains, to prevent their deſcending into the plain. They ſaw it was impoſſible to avoid coming to a battle with them, and reſolved to give it the ſame day. Xenophon, who had obſerved, that the enemy defended only the ordinary paſſage, and that the mountain was three leagues in extent, propoſed the ſending of a detachment to take poſſeſſion of the heights, that commanded the enemy; which would not be difficult, as they might prevent all ſuſpicion of their deſign by a march in the night, and by making a falſe attack by the main road, to

amuſe the Barbarians. This was accordingly executed, the enemy put to flight, and the paſs cleared.

They croſſed the country of the Chalybes, who are the moſt valiant of all the Barbarians in thoſe parts. When they killed an enemy, they cut off his head, and carried it about in triumph, ſinging and dancing. They kept themſelves cloſe ſhut up in their cities, and when the army marched, fell ſuddenly upon the rear, after having carried every thing of value in the country into places of ſafety. After twelve or fifteen days march, they arrived at a very high mountain, called Tecqua, from whence they deſcried the ſea. The firſt who perceived it, raiſed great ſhouts of joy for a conſiderable time; which made Xenophon imagine, that the vanguard was attacked, and go with all haſte to ſupport it. As he approached nearer, the cry of *the ſea! the ſea!* was heard diſtinctly, and the alarm changed into joy and gaiety; and when they came to the top, nothing was heard but a confuſed noiſe of the whole army, crying out together, *the ſea! the ſea!* whilſt they could not refrain from tears, nor from embracing their generals and officers. And then, without waiting for orders, they heaped up a pile of ſtones, and erected a trophy with broken bucklers and other arms.

From thence they advanced to the mountains of Cholchis, one of which was higher than the reſt, and of that the people of the country had poſſeſſed themſelves. The Greeks drew up in battle at the bottom of it to aſcend, for the acceſs was not impracticable. Xenophon did not judge it proper to march in line of battle, but by files; becauſe the ſoldiers could not keep their ranks from the inequality of the ground, that in ſome places was eaſy, and in others difficult, to climb, which might diſcourage them. That advice was approved, and the army formed according to it. The heavy-armed troops amounted to fourſcore files, each conſiſting of about an hundred men, with eighteen hundred light-armed ſoldiers, divided in three bodies,

one

one of which was poſted on the right, another on the left, and a third in the center. After having encouraged his troops by repreſenting to them, that this was the laſt obſtacle they had to ſurmount, and implored the aſſiſtance of the gods, the army began to aſcend the hill. The enemy were not able to ſupport their charge, and diſperſed. They paſſed the mountain, and encamped in villages, where they found proviſions in abundance.

A very ſtrange accident happened there to the army, which put them into great conſternation. For the ſoldiers, finding abundance of bee-hives in that place, and eating the honey, they were taken with violent vomiting and fluxes, attended with raving fits; ſo that thoſe, who were leaſt ill, ſeemed like drunken men, and the reſt, either furiouſly mad, or dying. The earth was ſtrewed with their bodies as after a defeat; however none of them died, and the diſtemper ceaſed the next day about the ſame hour it had taken them. The third or fourth day the ſoldiers got up, but in the condition people are after taken a violent medicine.

Two days after, the army arrived near Trebiſond, a Greek colony of Sinopians, ſituate upon the Euxine or *Black ſea*, in the province of Colchis. Here they lay encamped for thirty days, and acquitted themſelves of the vows they had made to Jupiter, Hercules, and the other deities, to obtain an happy return into their own country. They alſo celebrated the games of the horſe and foot races, wreſtling, boxing, the pancratium; the whole attended with the greateſt joy and ſolemnity.

SECT. VI. *The Greeks, after having undergone exceſſive fatigues, and ſurmounted many dangers, arrive upon the ſea-coaſt oppoſite to Byzantium. They paſs the ſtrait, and engage in the ſervice of Seuthes prince of Thrace. Xenophon afterwards re-paſſes the ſea, advances to Pergamus, and joins Thimbro general of the Lacedæmonians,*

monians, who marches againſt Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabaſus.

(c) AFTER having offered ſacrifices to the ſeveral divinities, and celebrated the games, they deliberated upon the proper meaſures for their return into Greece. They concluded upon going thither by ſea, and for that purpoſe Chiriſophus offered to go to Anaxibius, the admiral of Sparta, who was his friend, to obtain ſhips of him. He ſet out directly, and Xenophon regulated the order it was neceſſary to obſerve, and the precautions to be taken for the ſecurity of the camp, proviſions, and forage. He believed it alſo proper to make ſure of ſome veſſels, beſides thoſe that were expected, and made ſome expeditions againſt the neighbouring people.

As Chiriſophus did not return ſo ſoon as was expected, and proviſions began to be wanting, it was reſolved to proceed by land; becauſe there was not a ſufficient number of ſhips to tranſport the whole army, and thoſe, which the precaution of Xenophon had procured, were allotted to carry the women, the old and ſick men, with all the unneceſſary baggage. The army continued its march, and lay ten days at * Ceraſus, where there was a general review of the troops, who were found to amount to eight thouſand ſix hundred men, out of about ten thouſand; the reſt having died in the retreat, of their wounds, fatigues, or diſeaſes.

In the ſmall time the Greeks continued in theſe parts, ſeveral diviſions aroſe, as well with the inhabitants of the country, as with ſome of the officers, who were jealous of Xenophon's authority, and endeavoured to render him odious to the army. But his wiſdom and moderation put a ſtop to thoſe diſorders; having made the ſoldiers ſenſible, that their ſafety depended

(c) Xenoph. l. 3.

* *The city of Ceraſus became famous from the cherry-trees, which Lucullus firſt brought into Italy, and which from thence have been diſperſed all over the weſtern world.*

upon

upon preſerving union and a good underſtanding amongſt themſelves, and obedience to their generals.

From Ceraſus they went to Cotyora, which is not very remote from it. They there deliberated again upon the proper meaſures for their return. The inhabitants of the country repreſented the almoſt inſuperable difficulties of going by land, from the defiles and rivers they had to paſs, and offered to ſupply the Greeks with ſhips. This ſeemed the beſt expedient, and the army embarked accordingly. They arrived the next day at Sinope, a city of Paphlagonia, and a colony of the Mileſians. Chiriſophus repaired thither with galleys, but without money, though the troops expected to receive ſome. He aſſured them that the army ſhould be paid, as ſoon as they were out of the Euxine ſea; and that their retreat was univerſally celebrated, and the ſubject of the diſcourſe and admiration of all Greece.

The ſoldiers, finding themſelves near enough to Greece, deſired to make ſome booty before they arrived there, and with that view reſolved to nominate a general with full authority, whereas till then, all affairs were determined in the council of war by the plurality of voices. They caſt their eyes upon Xenophon, and cauſed him to be deſired to accept that office. He was not inſenſible of the honour of commanding in chief; but he foreſaw the conſequences, and deſired time to conſider. After having expreſſed the higheſt ſenſe of gratitude for an offer ſo much to his honour, he repreſented, that to avoid jealouſy and diviſion, the ſucceſs of affairs, and the intereſt of the army, ſeemed to require, that they ſhould chuſe a Lacedæmonian for their general; the Spartan ſtate at that time actually ruling Greece, and in conſideration of that choice, would be diſpoſed to ſupport them. This reaſon was not reliſhed, and they objected to it, that they were far from intending a ſervile dependance upon Sparta, or to ſubmit to regulate their enterprizes by the pleaſure or diſlike of that ſtate; and preſſed him again to accept the command. He was then obliged to explain himſelf

ſincerely,

ſincerely, and without evaſion; and declared, that having conſulted the gods by ſacrifice, upon the offer they made him, they had manifeſted their will by evident ſigns, from whence it appeared that they did not approve their choice. It was ſurprizing to ſee the impreſſion, which the ſole mention of the gods made upon the ſoldiers, otherwiſe very warm and tenacious; and who beſides are commonly little affected with the motives of religion. Their great ardor abated immediately, and without making any reply, they proceeded to elect Chiriſophus, though a Lacedæmonian, for their general.

His authority was of no long continuance. Diſcord, as Xenophon had foreſeen, aroſe amongſt the troops, who were angry that their general prevented their plundering the Grecian cities, by which they paſſed. This diſturbance was principally excited by the Peloponneſians, who compoſed one half of the army, and could not ſee Xenophon an Athenian in authority without pain. Different meaſures were propoſed; but nothing being concluded, the troops divided themſelves into three bodies, of which the Achaians and Arcadians, that is, the Peloponneſians, were the principal, amounting to four thouſand five hundred heavy-armed foot, with Lycon and Callimachus for their generals. Chiriſophus commanded another party of about fourteen hundred men, beſides ſeven hundred light-armed infantry. Xenophon had the third, almoſt the ſame in number, of which three hundred were light-armed ſoldiers, with about forty horſe, which were all the cavalry of the army. The firſt having obtained ſhips from the people of * Heraclea, to whom they had ſent to demand them, ſet out before the reſt to make ſome booty, and made a deſcent in the port of Calpe. Chiriſophus, who was ſick, marched by land; but without quitting the coaſt. Xenophon landed at Heraclea, and entered into the heart of the country.

New diviſions aroſe. The imprudence of the troops

* *A city of Pontus.*

and

and their leaders had involved them in ill measures, not without loss, from whence the address of Xenophon extricated them more than once. Being all reunited again, after various success, they arrived by land at Chrysopolis in Caledonia facing Byzantium, whither they repaired some days after, having passed the small arm of the sea which separates the two continents. They were upon the point of plundering that rich and powerful city, to revenge a fraud and injury which had been done them, and from the hope of enriching themselves once for all, when Xenophon made all possible haste thither. He admitted the justness of their revenge, but he made them sensible of the fatal consequences which would attend it. "After your plunder-
" ing this city, and destroying the Lacedæmonians
" established in it, you will be deemed the mortal ene-
" mies of their republic, and of all their allies. Athens
" my country, that had four hundred galleys at sea
" and in the arsenals, when it took up arms against
" them, great sums of money in its treasury, a re-
" venue of a thousand talents, and was in possession of
" all the isles of Greece, and of many cities in Europe
" and Asia, of which this was one, has nevertheless
" been reduced to yield to their power, and submit to
" their sway. And do you hope, who are but an
" handful of men, without generals, provisions, allies,
" or any resource either from Tissaphernes, who has
" betrayed you, or the king of Persia, whom you
" have attempted to dethrone; can you hope, I say,
" in such a condition to make head against the Lace-
" dæmonians? Let us demand satisfaction from the
" Byzantines, and not avenge their fault by a much
" greater of our own, which must draw upon us ine-
" vitable ruin." He was believed, and the affair accommodated.

(*d*) From thence he led them to Salmydessa, to serve Seuthes prince of Thrace, who had before sollicited him by his envoys to bring troops to his aid, in order

(*d*) Xenoph. l. 7.

to

to his re-eſtabliſhment in his father's dominions, of which his enemies had deprived him. He had made Xenophon great promiſes for himſelf and his troops; but when they had done him the ſervice he wanted, he was ſo far from keeping his word, that he did not give them the pay agreed upon. Xenophon reproached him exceedingly with this breach of faith; imputing his perfidy to his miniſter Heraclides, who thought to make his court to his maſter, by ſaving him a ſum of money at the expence of juſtice, faith, and honeſty; qualities which ought to be dearer than all others to a prince, as they contribute the moſt to his reputation, as well as to the ſucceſs of affairs, and the ſecurity of a ſtate. But that treacherous miniſter, who looked upon honour, probity, and juſtice, as mere chimæra's, and that there was nothing real but the poſſeſſion of much money, had no thoughts, in conſequence, but of enriching himſelf by any means whatſoever, and robbed his maſter firſt with impunity, and all his ſubjects along with him. "However," continued Xenophon, "every wiſe man, eſpecially in authority and com-"mand, ought to regard juſtice, probity, and the "faith of engagements, as the moſt precious treaſure "he can poſſeſs; and as an aſſured reſource, and an "infallible ſupport in all the events that can happen." Heraclides was the more in the wrong for acting in this manner with regard to the troops, as he was a native of Greece, and not a Thracian; but avarice had extinguiſhed all ſenſe of honour in him.

Whilſt the diſpute between Seuthes and Xenophon was warmeſt, Charminus and Polynices arrived, as ambaſſadors from Lacedæmon, and brought advice, that the republic had declared war againſt Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabaſus; that Thimbron had already embarked with the troops, and promiſed a Daric a month to every ſoldier, two to each officer, and four to the colonels, who ſhould engage in the ſervice. Xenophon accepted the offer, and having obtained from Seuthes, by the mediation of the ambaſſadors, part of the pay

due

due to him, he went by sea to Lampsacus with the army, which amounted at that time to almost six thousand men. From thence he advanced to Pergamus, a city in the province of Troas. Having met near Parthenia, where ended the expedition of the Greeks, a great nobleman returning into Persia, he took him, his wife and children, with all his equipage, and by that means found himself in a condition to bestow great liberalities amongst the soldiers, and to make them a satisfactory amends for all the losses they had sustained. Thimbron at length arrived, who took upon him the command of the troops, and having joined them with his own, marched against Tissaphernes and Pharnabasus.

(*e*) Such was the event of Cyrus's expedition. Xenophon reckons from the first setting out of that prince's army from the city of Ephesus to their arrival where the battle was fought, five hundred and thirty parasangas or leagues, and fourscore and thirteen days march; (*f*) and in their return from the place of battle to Cotyora, a city upon the coast of the Euxine or Black sea, six hundred and twenty parasangas or leagues, and an hundred and twenty days march. And adding both together, he says, the way, going and coming, was eleven hundred and fifty * five parasangas or leagues,(*g*) and two hundred and fifteen days march; and that the whole time the army took to perform that journey, including the days of rest, was fifteen months.

It appears by this calculation, that the army of Cyrus marched daily, one day with another, almost six parasangas † or leagues in going, and only five in their return.

(*e*) Xenoph. de exped. Cyr. l. 2. p. 276. (*f*) Id. l. 3. p. 355.
(*g*) Xenoph. l. 7. p. 427.

* *I add,* five, *which are left out in the text, to make the total agree with the two parts.*

† *The parasanga is a measure of the ways peculiar to the Persians, and consists of three stadia. The stadium is the same with the Greeks, and contains, according to the most received opinion, one hundred and twenty-five geometrical paces; twenty of which in consequence are required to the common French league. And this has been my rule hitherto, according to which*

in

return. It was natural, that Cyrus, who desired to surprize his brother, should use all possible diligence for that purpose.

This retreat of the ten thousand Greeks has always passed amongst the judges in the art of war, as I have already observed, for a perfect model in its kind, and never had a parallel. Indeed no enterprize could be formed with more valour and bravery, nor conducted with more prudence, nor executed with more success. Ten thousand men, five or six hundred leagues from their own country, who have lost their generals and best officers, and find themselves in the heart of the enemy's vast empire, undertake, in the sight of a victorious and numerous army, with the king at the head of them, to retire through the seat of his empire, and in a manner from the gates of his palace, and to traverse a vast extent of unknown countries, almost all in arms against them, without being dismayed by the prospect of the innumerable obstacles and dangers, to which they were every moment exposed; passes of rivers, of mountains and defiles; open attacks; secret ambuscades from the people upon their rout; famine, almost inevitable in vast and desert regions; and above all, the treachery they had to fear from the troops, who seemed to be employed in escorting them, but in reality had orders to destroy them. For Artaxerxes, who was sensible how much the return of those Greeks into their country would cover him with disgrace, and decry the majesty of the empire in the sense of all nations, had left nothing undone to prevent it; and he desired their destruction, says Plutarch, more passion-

the parasanga is a league and a half.

I observe here a great difficulty. In this calculation we find, the ordinary days marches of Cyrus, with an army of more than an hundred thousand men, would have been one day with another nine leagues, during so long a time; which according to the judges in military affairs is absolutely impossible. This is what has determined me to compute the parasanga at no more than a league. Several authors have remarked, and indeed it is not to be doubted, that the stadium, and all the other measures of ways of the antients, have differed widely according to times and places, as they still do amongst us.

ately,

ately, than to conquer Cyrus himself, or to preserve the sovereignty of his estates. Those ten thousand men however, notwithstanding so many obstacles, carried their point, and arrived, through a thousand dangers, victorious and triumphant in their own country. (*b*) Anthony long after, when pursued by the Parthians almost in the same country, finding himself in like danger, cried out in admiration of their invincible valour, *Oh the retreat of the ten thousand!*

And it was the good success of this famous retreat, which filled the people of Greece with contempt for Artaxerxes, by demonstrating to them, that gold, silver, luxury, voluptuousness, and a numerous seraglio of women, were the sole merit of the grand monarch; but that, as to the rest, his opulence and all his boasted power were only pride and vain ostentation. It was this prejudice, more universal than ever in Greece after this celebrated expedition, that gave birth to those bold enterprizes of the Greeks, of which we shall soon treat, that made Artaxerxes tremble upon his throne, and brought the Persian empire to the very brink of destruction.

SECT. VII. *Consequences of Cyrus's death in the court of Artaxerxes. Cruelty and jealousy of Parysatis. Statira poisoned.*

(*i*) I Return to what passed after the battle of Cunaxa in the court of Artaxerxes. As he believed that he killed Cyrus with his own hand, and looked upon that action as the most glorious of his life, he desired that all the world should think the same; and it was wounding him in the most tender part, to dispute that honour, or endeavour to divide it, with him. The Carian soldier, whom we mentioned before, not contented with the great presents the king had made him upon a different pretext, perpetually declared to all that would hear him, that none but himself had killed Cy-

(*b*) Plut. in Anto. p. 937. Ὦ μύριοι.

(*i*) Plut. in Artax. p. 1018—1021.

rus,

rus, and that the king did him great injuſtice in depriving him of the glory due to him. The prince, upon being informed of that inſolence, conceived a jealouſy equally baſe and cruel, and had the weakneſs to cauſe him to be delivered to Paryſatis, who had ſworn the deſtruction of all thoſe that had any ſhare in the death of her ſon. Animated by her barbarous revenge, ſhe commanded the executioners to take that unfortunate wretch, and to make him ſuffer the moſt exquiſite tortures during ten days; then after they had torn out his eyes, to pour molten braſs into his ears, till he expired in that cruel miſery; which was accordingly executed.

Mithridates alſo, having boaſted in an entertainment where he had heated his brain with wine, that it was he gave Cyrus his mortal wound, paid very dear for that ſottiſh and imprudent vanity. He was condemned to ſuffer the puniſhment of the * troughs, one of the moſt cruel that was ever invented, and after having languiſhed in torment during ſeventeen days, died at laſt ſlowly in exquiſite miſery.

There only remained, for the final execution of her project, and fully to ſatiate her vengeance, the puniſhment of the king's eunuch Meſabates, who by his maſter's order had cut off the head and hand of Cyrus. But as there was nothing to take hold of in his conduct, Paryſatis laid this ſnare for him. She was a woman of great addreſs, had abundance of wit, and excelled in playing at a certain game with dice. After the war, ſhe had been reconciled with the king, played often with him, was of all his parties, had an unbounded complaiſance for him, and far from contradicting him in any thing, prevented his deſires, did not bluſh at indulging his paſſions, and even at ſupplying him with the means of gratifying them. But ſhe took eſpecial care never to loſe ſight of him, and to leave Statira as little alone with him as ſhe could, deſiring to gain an abſolute aſcendant over her ſon.

* *See the deſcription of this torture in the third volume of this hiſtory.*

One day ſeeing the king entirely unemployed, and with no thoughts but of diverting himſelf, ſhe propoſed playing at dice with him for a thouſand Darics *, to which he readily conſented. She ſuffered him to win, and paid down the money. But affecting regret and vexation, ſhe preſſed him to begin again, and to play with her for an eunuch. The king, who ſuſpected nothing, complied, and they agreed to except five of the favourite eunuchs on each ſide, that the winner ſhould take their choice out of the reſt, and the loſer be bound to deliver him. Having made theſe conditions, they ſat down to play. The queen was all attention to the game, and made uſe of all her ſkill and addreſs in it; beſides which the dice favoured her. She won, and choſe Meſabates, for he was not one of the excepted. Aſſoon as ſhe got him into her hands, before the king could have the leaſt ſuſpicion of the revenge ſhe meditated, ſhe delivered him to the executioners, and commanded them to flea him alive, to lay him afterwards upon three † croſs bars, and to ſtretch his ſkin at large before his eyes upon two ſtakes prepared for that purpoſe; which was performed accordingly. When the king knew this, he was very ſorry for it, and violently angry with his mother. But without giving herſelf any further trouble about it, ſhe told him with a ſmile, and in a jeſting way, "Really, you are a great loſer, and muſt be highly "in the right, to be ſo much out of humour for a "decrepid wretch of an eunuch, when I, who loſt a "thouſand good Darics, and paid them down upon "the ſpot, don't ſay a word, and am ſatisfied."

All theſe cruelties ſeem to have been only eſſays and preparations for a greater crime Paryſatis meditated. She had retained at heart a violent hatred for queen Statira, which ſhe had ſuffered to eſcape her upon many occaſions. She perceived plainly, that her cre-

* *The Daric was worth ten ſhillings.*

† *Plutarch explains this circumſtance no farther.*

dit

dit with the king her ſon, was only the effect of his reſpect and conſideration for her as his mother; whereas that for Statira was founded in love and confidence, the beſt ſecurity of credit with him. Of what is not the jealouſy of an ambitious woman capable! This reſolved to rid herſelf, whatever it coſt her, of ſo formidable a rival.

For the more certain attainment of her ends, ſhe feigned a reconciliation with her daughter-in-law, and treated her with all the exterior marks of ſincere friendſhip and real confidence. The two queens, appearing therefore to have forgot their former ſuſpicions and differences, lived well together, ſaw one another as before, and eat at each other's apartments. But as both of them knew, how much the friendſhips and careſſes of the court were to be relied upon, eſpecially amongſt the women, they were neither of them deceived in the other; and the ſame fears always ſubſiſting, they kept upon their guard, and never eat but of the ſame diſhes and pieces. Could one believe it poſſible to deceive ſo attentive and cautious a vigilance? Paryſatis one day, when her daughter-in-law was at table with her, took an extremely exquiſite bird, that had been ſerved up, cut it in two parts, gave one half to Statira, and eat the other herſelf. Statira ſoon after was ſeized with ſharp pains, and having quitted the table, died in the moſt horrible convulſions, not without inſpiring the king with the moſt violent ſuſpicions of his mother, of whoſe cruelty, and implacable and revengeful ſpirit, he was ſufficiently ſenſible before. He made the ſtricteſt enquiry into the crime. All his mother's officers and domeſtics were ſeized, and put to the queſtion; when Gygis, one of Paryſatis's women and confidents, confeſſed the whole. She had cauſed one ſide of a knife to be rubbed with poiſon, ſo that Paryſatis, having cut the bird in two, put the ſound part into her own mouth directly, and gave Statira the other that was poiſoned. Gygis was put to death after the manner the Perſians puniſhed poiſoners, which is thus:

They lay their heads upon a great and very broad ſtone, and beat upon it with another till they are entirely cruſhed, and have no remains of their former figure. As for Paryſatis, the king contented himſelf with confining her to Babylon, where ſhe demanded to retire, and told her, that he would never ſet his foot within it whilſt ſhe was there.

CHAPTER III.

THE principal contents of this chapter are the enterprizes of the Lacedæmonians in Aſia minor, their defeat at Cnidos, the re-eſtabliſhment of the walls and power of Athens, the famous peace of Antalcides preſcribed the Greeks by Artaxerxes Mnemon, the wars of that prince againſt Evagoras king of Cyprus, and the Caduſians. The perſons, who are moſt conſpicuous in this interval, are Lyſander and Ageſilaus on the ſide of the Lacedæmonians, and Conon on that of the Athenians.

SECT. I. *The Grecian cities of Ionia implore aid of the Lacedæmonians againſt Artaxerxes. Rare prudence of a lady continued in her husband's government after his death. Ageſilaus elected king of Sparta. His character.*

(*k*) THE cities of Ionia, that had taken party with Cyrus, apprehending the reſentment of Tiſſaphernes, had applied to the Lacedæmonians, as the deliverers of Greece, for their ſupport in the poſſeſſion of the liberty they enjoyed, and to prevent their country from being ravaged. We have already ſaid that Thimbron was ſent thither, to whoſe troops Xenophon had joined his, after their return from Perſia. (*l*) Thimbron was ſoon recalled upon ſome diſcontent, and had for his ſucceſſor Dercyllidas, ſurnamed Siſyphus, from his induſtry in finding reſources, and his capacity in

(*k*) Xenoph. hiſt. Græc. l. 3. p. 479—487. (*l*) A. M. 3605. Ant. J. C. 399.

inventing

inventing machines of war. He took upon him the command of the army at Epheſus. When he arrived there, he was apprized, that there was a difference between the two ſatraps, who commanded in the country.

The provinces of the Perſian monarchy, of which ſeveral, ſituate at the extremity of the empire, required too much application to be governed immediately by the prince, were confided to the care of the great lords, commonly called ſatraps. They had each of them in their government an almoſt ſovereign authority, and were, properly ſpeaking, not unlike the viceroys we ſee in our days in ſome neighbouring ſtates. They were ſupplied with a number of troops ſufficient for the defence of the country. They appointed all officers, diſpoſed of the governments of cities, and were charged with levying and remitting the tributes to the prince. They had power to raiſe troops, to treat with neighbouring ſtates, and even with the generals of the enemy; in a word, to do every thing neceſſary to the good order and tranquillity of their governments. They were independent of one another; and though they ſerved the ſame maſter, and it was their duty to concur to the ſame ends, nevertheleſs each being more affected with the particular advantage of his own province than the general good of the empire, they often differed among themſelves, formed oppoſite deſigns, refuſed aid to their collegues in neceſſity, and ſometimes even acted entirely againſt them. The remoteneſs of the court, and the abſence of the prince, gave room for theſe diſſenſions; and perhaps a ſecret policy contributed to keep them up, to elude, or prevent, conſpiracies, which too good an underſtanding amongſt the governors might have excited.

Dercyllidas having heard therefore, that Tiſſapher-nes and Pharnabaſus were at variance, made a truce with the former, that he might not have them both upon his hands at the ſame time, entered Pharnabaſus's province, and advanced as far as *Æ*olia.

Zenis, the Dardanian, had governed that province

under the ſatrap's authority; and as after his death it was to have been given to another, Mania, his widow, went to Pharnabaſus with troops and preſents, and told him, that having been the wife of a man who had rendered him great ſervices, ſhe deſired him not to deprive her of her huſband's reward; that ſhe would ſerve him with the ſame zeal and fidelity; and that, if ſhe failed in either, he was always at liberty to take her government from her. She was continued in it by this means, and acquitted herſelf with all the judgment and ability, that could have been expected from the moſt conſummate perſon in the arts of ruling. To the ordinary tributes, which her huſband had paid, ſhe added preſents of an extraordinary magnificence, and when Pharnabaſus came into her province, ſhe entertained him more ſplendidly than any of the other governors. She was not contented with the conſervation of the cities committed to her care, ſhe made new conqueſts, and took * Lariſſa, Amaxita, and Colona.

Hence we may obſerve, that prudence, good ſenſe, and courage, are of all ſexes. She was preſent in all expeditions in a chariot, and in perſon decreed rewards and puniſhments. None of the neighbouring provinces had a finer army than hers, in which ſhe had a great number of Greek ſoldiers in her pay. She even attended Pharnabaſus in all his enterprizes, and was of no common ſupport to him. So that the ſatrap, who knew all the value of ſo extraordinary a merit, did more honour to this lady, than to all the other governors. He even admitted her into his council, and treated her with ſuch a diſtinction, as might have excited jealouſy, if the modeſty and affability of that lady had not prevented bad effects, by throwing in a manner a veil over all her perfections, which ſoftened their luſtre, and let them only appear to be the objects of admiration.

She had no enemies but in her own family. Midias,

* *From the Lydians and Piſidians.*

her

her ſon-in-law, ſtung with the reproach of ſuffering a woman to command in his place, and abuſing the entire confidence ſhe repoſed in him, which gave him acceſs to her at all times, ſtrangled her with her ſon. After her death he ſeized two fortreſſes, wherein ſhe had ſecured her treaſures; the other cities declared againſt him. He did not long enjoy the fruits of his crime. Dercyllidas happily arrived at this juncture. All the fortreſſes of Æolia, either voluntarily or by force, ſurrendered to him, and Midias was deprived of the poſſeſſions he had ſo unjuſtly acquired. The Lacedæmonian general having granted Pharnabaſus a truce, took up his winter quarters in Bithynia, to avoid being chargeable to his allies.

(*m*) The next year, being continued in the command, he marched into Thrace, and arrived at the Cherſoneſus. He knew, that the deputies of the country had been at Sparta to repreſent the neceſſity of fortifying the Iſthmus with a good wall againſt the frequent incurſions of the Barbarians, which prevented the cultivation of the lands. Having meaſured the ſpace, which is more than a league in breadth, he diſtributed the work amongſt the ſoldiers, and the wall was finiſhed in the autumn of the ſame year. Within this ſpace were encloſed eleven cities, ſeveral ports, a great number of arable lands, and plantations, with paſture of all kinds. The work being finiſhed, he returned into Aſia, after having reviewed the cities, and found them all in good condition.

(*n*) Conon the Athenian, after loſing the battle of Ægoſpotamos, having condemned himſelf to a voluntary baniſhment, continued in the iſle of Cyprus with king Evagoras, not only for the ſafety of his perſon, but in expectation of a change in affairs; like one, ſays Plutarch, who waits the return of the tide before he embarks. He had always in view the re-eſtabliſhment of the Athenian power, to which his defeat had given

(*m*) A. M. 3606. Ant. J. C. 398. Xenoph. p. 487, 438.
(*n*) Plut. in Artax. p. 1021.

a mortal wound; and full of fidelity and zeal for his country, though little favourable to him, perpetually meditated the means to raiſe it from its ruins, and reſtore it to its antient ſplendor.

This Athenian general, knowing the ſucceſs of his views had occaſion for a powerful ſupport, wrote to Artaxerxes to explain his projects to him, and ordered the perſon who carried his letter, to apply himſelf to Ctelias, who would give it to the king. It was accordingly delivered to that phyſician, who, it is ſaid, though he did not approve the contents of it, added to what Conon had wrote, *that he deſired the king would ſend Cteſias to him, being a perſon very capable of his ſervice, eſpecially in maritime affairs.* (o) Pharnabaſus, in concert with Conon, was gone to court to complain againſt the conduct of Tiſſaphernes, as too much in favour of the Lacedæmonians. Upon the warm inſtances of Pharnabaſus, the king ordered five hundred talents * to be paid him for the equipment of a fleet, with inſtructions to give Conon the command of it. He ſent Cteſias into Greece, who, after having viſited Cnidos, his native country, went to Sparta.

(p) This Cteſias was at firſt in the ſervice of Cyrus, whom he had followed in his expedition. He was taken priſoner in the battle wherein Cyrus was killed, and was made uſe of to dreſs the wounds Artaxerxes had received, of which he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that the king retained him in his ſervice, and made him his firſt phyſician. He paſſed ſeveral years in his ſervice in that quality. Whilſt he was there, the Greeks, upon all their occaſions at the court, applied themſelves to him; as Conon did on this. His long reſidence in Perſia, and at the court, had given him the neceſſary time and means for his information in the hiſtory of the country, which he wrote in three and

(o) Diod. l. 14. p. 267. Juſtin. l. 6. c. 1. (p) Strab. l. 14. p. 656. Plut. in Artax. p. 1014—1017—1020. Diod. l. 14. p. 273. Ariſtot. de hiſt. anim. l. 8. c. 28. Phot. Cod. LXII.

* 500000 *crowns, about* 112000 *l. ſterling.*

twenty

twenty books. The firſt contained the hiſtory of the Aſſyrians and Babylonians from Ninus and Semiramis down to Cyrus. The other ſeventeen treated of the Perſian affairs from the beginning of Cyrus's reign to the third year of the XCVth olympiad, which agrees with the three hundred and ninety-eighth before JESUS CHRIST. He wrote alſo an hiſtory of India. Photius has given us ſeveral extracts of both theſe hiſtories, which are all that remain of Cteſias. He often contradicts Herodotus, and differs ſometimes alſo from Xenophon. He was in no great eſtimation with the antients, who ſpeak of him as of a very vain man, whoſe veracity is not to be relied on, and who has inſerted fables, and ſometimes even lies, in his hiſtory.

(q) Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabaſus, though ſecretly each other's enemies, had upon the king's orders united their troops, to oppoſe the enterprizes of Dercyllidas, who had marched into Caria. They had reduced him to poſt himſelf ſo diſadvantagiouſly, that he muſt inevitably have periſhed, had they charged him immediately, without giving him time to look about him. Pharnabaſus was of this opinion: but Tiſſaphernes apprehending the valour of the Greeks, who had been of Cyrus's army, which he had experienced, and to whom he conceived all others reſembled, propoſed an interview, which was accepted. Dercyllidas having demanded, that the Grecian cities ſhould continue free, and Tiſſaphernes, that the army and generals of Lacedæmon ſhould retire; they made a truce, till the anſwers of their reſpective maſters could be known.

(r) Whilſt theſe things paſſed in Aſia, the Lacedæmonians reſolved to chaſtiſe the inſolence of the people of Elis, who, not content with having entered into an alliance with their enemies in the Peloponneſian war, prevented their diſputing the prizes in the olympic games. Upon pretence of the non-payment of a fine by Sparta, they had inflicted their citizens du-

(q) A. M. 3607. Ant. J. C. 399. Xenoph. hiſt. Græc. l. 3. p. 489-490. Diod. l. 14. p. 267.

(r) Ibid. p. 492.

ring the games, and hindered Agis from ſacrificing in the temple of Jupiter Olympius. That king was charged with this expedition, which did not terminate till the third year after. He could have taken their city Olympia, which had no works, but contented himſelf with plundering the ſuburbs, and the places for the exerciſes, which were very fine. They demanded peace, which was granted, and were ſuffered to retain the ſuperintendency of the temple of Jupiter Olympius, to which they had not much right; but were more worthy of that honour than thoſe who diſputed it with him.

(*s*) Agis in his return fell ſick, and died upon arriving at Sparta. Almoſt divine honours were paid to his memory, and after the expiration of ſome days, according to cuſtom, Leotychides and Ageſilaus, the one ſon, and the other brother of the deceaſed, diſputed the crown. The latter maintained, that his competitor was not the ſon of Agis, and ſupported his aſſertion by the confeſſion of the queen herſelf, who knew beſt, and who had often, as well as her huſband, acknowledged as much. In effect there was a current report, that ſhe had him by Alcibiades (*t*), as has been related in its place, and that the Athenian general had corrupted her by a preſent of a * thouſand Darics. Agis proteſted the contrary at his death. Leotychides having thrown himſelf at his feet all bathed in his tears, he could not refuſe the grace he implored of him, and owned him for his ſon before all that were preſent.

Moſt of the Spartans, charmed with the virtue and great merit of Ageſilaus, and deeming it an extraordinary advantage to have a perſon for their king, who had been educated amongſt them, and paſſed like them through all the rigour of the Spartan education, ſupported him with their whole power. An ancient oracle, that adviſed Sparta to beware of *a lame reign*, was

(*s*) Xenoph. p. 493. Plut. in Lyſ. p. 445. In Ageſil. p. 597.
(*t*) Athen. l. 12. p. 534.

* 1000 *piſtoles*.

urged

urged againſt him. Lyſander only made a jeſt of it, and turned his ſenſe againſt Leotychides himſelf; endeavouring to prove, that as a baſtard, he was the lame king the oracle intended to caution them againſt. Ageſilaus as well by his own great qualities, as the powerful ſupport of Lyſander, carried it againſt his nephew, and was declared king.

As by the laws the kingdom had devolved to Agis, his brother Ageſilaus, who ſeemed to be deſtined to paſs his life as a private perſon, was educated like other children in the Spartan diſcipline, which was a very rough manner of life, and full of laborious exerciſe, but * taught youth obedience perfectly well. The law diſpenſed with this education only to ſuch children, as were deſigned for the throne. Ageſilaus therefore had this in peculiar, that he did not arrive at commanding, till he had firſt learnt perfectly well how to obey. From thence it was, that of all the kings of Sparta he beſt knew how to make his ſubjects love and eſteem him, † becauſe that prince, to the great qualities with which nature had endowed him for commanding and the ſovereignty, had united by his education the advantage of being humane and popular.

It is ſurprizing that Sparta, a city ſo renowned in point of education and policy, ſhould conceive it proper to abate any thing of its ſeverity and diſcipline in favour of the princes who were to reign; they having moſt need of being early habituated to the yoke of obedience, in order to their being the better qualified to command.

(*u*) Plutarch obſerves, that from his infancy Ageſi-

(*n*) In Ageſil. p. 596.

* *Hence it was, that the poet Simonides called Sparta,* the tamer of men, δαμαστόμβροτον, *as that of the Grecian cities, which rendered its inhabitants by good habits the moſt active and vigorous, and at the ſame time the moſt obedient to the laws, of all mankind.* ὡς μάλιστα δὲ τῶν ἐθῶν τοὺς πολίτας τοῖς νομοῖς πειθομένους καὶ χειροήθεις ποιοῦσαν.

† Τῷ φύσει ἡγεμονικῷ καὶ βασιλικῷ προστιθεὶς ἀγωγῆς τὸ δημότικον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον.

laus was remarkable for uniting qualities in himself, which are generally incompatible; a vivacity of spirit, a vehemence, an invincible resolution in appearance, an ardent passion for being first and surpassing all others, with a gentleness, submission, and docility, that complied at a single word, and made him infinitely sensible of the lightest reprimand; so that every thing might be obtained of him from the motives of honour, but nothing by fear or violence.

He was lame, but that defect was covered by the gracefulness of his person, and still more by the gaiety with which he supported and rallied it first himself. It may even be said, that the infirmity of his body set his valour and passion for glory in a stronger light; there being no labour nor enterprize, however difficult, that he would refuse upon account of that inconvenience.

(x) Praise, without an air of truth and sincerity, was so far from giving him pleasure, that it offended him, and was never received by him as such, but when it came from the mouths of those, who upon other occasions had represented his failings to him with freedom. He would never suffer during his life that his picture should be drawn, and even in dying, expressly forbad any image to be made of him, either in colours or relievo. (y) His reason was, that his great actions, if he had done any, would supply the place of monuments; without which, all the statues in the world would do him no manner of honour. We only know, that he was of small stature, which the Spartans did not affect in their kings; and Theophrastus affirms, that the Ephori laid a fine upon their king Archidamus, the father of him we speak of, for having espoused a very little woman: * *For*, said they, *he'll give us poppets instead of kings.*

(z) It has been remarked, that Agesilaus, in his way

(x) Plut. in moral. p. 55. (y) Id. p. 191. (z) Plut. in Agesil. p. 598.

* Οὐ γὰρ βασιλεῖς, ἔφασαν, ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ βασιλείδια γεννᾷς.

of living with the Spartans, behaved better with regard to his enemies than his friends; for he never did the leaſt wrong to the former, and often violated juſtice in favour of the latter. He would have been aſhamed not to have honoured and rewarded his enemies, when their actions deſerved it; and was not able to reprove his friends, when they committed faults. He would even ſupport them when they were in the wrong (*a*), and upon ſuch occaſions looked upon the zeal for juſtice as a vain pretence to cover the refuſal of ſerving them. And in proof of this, a ſhort letter is cited, wrote by him to a judge in recommendation of a friend; the words are: *If Nicias be not guilty, acquit him for his innocence; if he be, acquit him for my ſake; but however it be, acquit him.*

It is underſtanding the rights and privileges of friendſhip very ill, to be capable of rendering it in this manner the accomplice of crimes, and the protectreſs of bad actions. It is the fundamental law of friendſhip, ſays Cicero, never to aſk of, or grant any thing to, friends, that does not conſiſt with juſtice and honour: (*b*) *Hæc prima lex in amicitia ſanciatur, ut neque rogemus res turpes, nec faciamus rogati.*

Ageſilaus was not ſo delicate in this point, at leaſt in the beginning, and omitted no occaſion of gratifying his friends, and even his enemies. By this officious and obliging conduct, ſupported by his extraordinary merit, he acquired great credit, and almoſt abſolute power in the city, which ran ſo high as to render him ſuſpected by his country. The Ephori, to prevent its effects, and give a check to his ambition, laid a fine upon him; alledging as their ſole reaſon, * that he attached the hearts of the citizens to himſelf alone, which were the right of the republic, and ought not to be poſſeſſed but in common.

When he was declared king, he was put into poſſeſſion of the whole eſtate of his brother Agis, of which

(*a*) Ibid. p. 603. (*b*) De amicit. n. 40.

* Ὅτι τοὺς κοινοὺς πολίτας ἰδίους κλᾶται.

Leotychides was deprived as a baſtard. But ſeeing the relations of that prince, on the ſide of his mother Lampito, were all very poor, he divided the whole inheritance with them, and by that act of generoſity acquired great reputation, and the good-will of all the world, inſtead of the envy and hatred, he might have drawn upon himſelf by the inheritance. Theſe ſort of ſacrifices are glorious, tho' rare, and can never be ſufficiently eſteemed.

Never was king of Sparta ſo powerful as Ageſilaus, and it was only, as Xenophon ſays, by obeying his country in every thing, that he acquired ſo great an authority; which ſeems a kind of paradox, thus explained by Plutarch. The greateſt power veſted at that time in the Ephori and ſenate. The office of the Ephori ſubſiſted only one year; they were inſtituted to limit the too great power of the kings, and to ſerve as a barrier againſt it, as we have obſerved elſewhere. For this reaſon, the kings of Sparta, from their eſtabliſhment, had always retained a kind of hereditary averſion for them, and continually oppoſed their meaſures. Ageſilaus took a quite contrary method. Inſtead of being perpetually at war with them, and claſhing upon all occaſions with their meaſures, he made it his buſineſs to cultivate their good opinion, treated them always with the utmoſt deference and regard, never entered upon the leaſt enterprize, without having firſt communicated it to them, and upon their ſummons quitted every thing, and repaired to the ſenate with the utmoſt promptitude and reſignation: Whenever he ſat upon his throne to adminiſter juſtice, if the Ephori entered, he never failed to riſe up to do them honour. By all theſe inſtances of reſpect, he ſeemed to add new dignity to their office, whilſt in reality he augmented his own power, without its being obſerved, and added to the ſovereignty a grandeur the more ſolid and permanent, as it was the effect of the people's good-will and eſteem for him. The greateſt of the Roman

emperors,

emperors, as Auguſtus, Trajan, and Marcus Antoninus, were convinced, that the utmoſt a prince could do, to honour and exalt the principal magiſtrates, was only adding to his own power, and ſtrengthening his authority, which neither ſhould, nor can be founded in any thing but juſtice.

Such was Ageſilaus, of whom much will be ſaid hereafter, and with whoſe character it was therefore neceſſary to begin.

SECT. II. *Ageſilaus ſets out for Aſia. Lyſander falls out with him, and returns to Sparta. His ambitious deſigns to alter the ſucceſſion to the throne.*

(c) AGESILAUS had ſcarce aſcended the throne, when accounts came from Aſia, that the king of Perſia was fitting out a great fleet, with intent to deprive the Lacedæmonians of their empire at ſea. Conon's letters, ſeconded by the remonſtrances of Pharnabaſus, who had in concert repreſented to Artaxerxes the power of Sparta as formidable, had made a ſtrong impreſſion upon that prince. From that time he had it ſeriouſly in his thoughts to humble that proud republic, by raiſing up its rival, and by that means re-eſtabliſhing the antient ballance between them, which could alone aſſure his ſafety, by keeping them perpetually employed againſt each other, and thereby prevented from uniting their forces againſt him.

Lyſander, who deſired to be ſent into Aſia, in order to re-eſtabliſh his creatures and friends in the government of the cities, from which Sparta had removed them, ſtrongly diſpoſed Ageſilaus to take upon himſelf the charge of the war, and to prevent the Barbarian king, by attacking him remote from Greece, before he ſhould have finiſhed his preparations. The republic having made this propoſal to him, he could not refuſe it, and charged himſelf with the expedition againſt Artaxerxes, upon condition that thirty Spartan

(c) A. M. 3608. Ant. J. C. 396. Xenoph. hiſt. Græc. l. 3. p. 495, 496. Id. de Ageſil. p. 652, Plut. in Ageſil. p. 598, & in Lyſand. p. 446.

captains

captains ſhould be granted him, to aſſiſt him and compoſe his council, with two thouſand new citizens to be choſen out of the helots who had been lately made freemen, and ſix thouſand troops of the allies, which was immediately reſolved. Lyſander was placed at the head of the thirty Spartans, not only upon account of his great reputation, and the authority he had acquired, but for the particular friendſhip between him and Ageſilaus, who was indebted to him for the throne, as well as the honour which had been lately conferred upon him of being elected generaliſſimo.

The glorious return of the Greeks who had followed Cyrus, and whom the whole power of Perſia was not able to prevent from retreating into their own country, had inſpired all Greece with a wonderful confidence in their forces, and a ſupreme contempt for the Barbarians. In this diſpoſition of the people, the Lacedæmonians conceived it would reproach them, to neglect ſo favourable a conjuncture for delivering the Greeks in Aſia from their ſubjection to thoſe Barbarians, and for putting an end to the outrages and violences with which they were continually oppreſſing them. They had already attempted this by their generals Thimbron and Dercyllidas; but all their endeavours having hitherto proved ineffectual, they referred the conduct of this war to the care of Ageſilaus. He promiſed them either to conclude a glorious peace with the Perſians, or to employ them ſo effectually, as ſhould leave them neither leiſure nor inclination to carry the war into Greece. The king had great views, and thought of nothing leſs than attacking Artaxerxes in Perſia itſelf.

When he arrived at Epheſus, Tiſſaphernes ſent to demand what reaſon had induced his coming into Aſia, and why he had taken up arms. He replied, that he came to aid the Greeks who inhabited there, and to reeſtabliſh them in their antient liberty. (*d*) The ſatrap, who was not yet prepared, preferred art to force, and

(*d*) Xenoph. p. 496 & 652.

aſſured

assured him, that his master would give the Grecian cities of Asia their liberty, provided he committed no acts of hostility, till the return of the couriers. Agesilaus agreed, and the truce was sworn on both sides. Tissaphernes, who laid no great stress upon an oath, took the advantage of this delay to assemble troops on all sides. The Lacedæmonian general was apprized of it, but however kept his word; being convinced, that in affairs of state, the breach of faith can have but a very short and precarious success; whereas a reputation established upon inviolable fidelity in the observance of engagements, which the perfidy itself of other contracting parties has not power to alter, will establish a credit and confidence, equally useful and glorious. In effect, Xenophon remarks, that this religious observation of treaties gained him the universal esteem and opinion of the cities; whilst the different conduct of Tissaphernes entirely lost him their favour.

(*e*) Agesilaus made use of this interval in acquiring an exact knowledge of the state of the cities, and in making suitable regulations. He found great disorder every where, their goverment being neither democratical, as under the Athenians, nor aristocratical, as Lysander had established it. (*f*) The people of the country had no communication with Agesilaus, nor had ever known him; for which reason they made no court to him, conceiving, that he had the title of general for form-sake only, and that the whole power really vested in Lysander. As no governor had ever done so much good to his friends, or hurt to his enemies, it is not wonderful, that he was so much beloved by the one and feared by the other. All therefore were eager to pay their homage to him, were every day in crowds at his door, and made his train very numerous when he went abroad; whilst Agesilaus remained almost alone. Such a conduct could not fail of offending a general and king, extremely sensible and

(*e*) A. M. 3609. Ant. J. C. 395. (*f*) Plut. in Agesil. p. 599, 600. In Lysand. p. 446, 447.

delicate

delicate in what regarded his authority; though otherwise not jealous of any one's merit, but on the contrary, much inclined to diſtinguiſh it with his favour. He did not diſſemble his diſguſt. He paid no regard to Lyſander's recommendations, and ceaſed to employ him himſelf. Lyſander preſently perceived this alteration in regard to him. He diſcontinued his applications for his friends to the king, deſired them not to viſit him any more, nor attach themſelves to him, but to addreſs themſelves directly to the king, and to cultivate the favour of thoſe, who in the preſent times had power to ſerve and advance their creatures. The greateſt part of them gave over importuning him with their affairs, but did not ceaſe to pay their court to him. On the contrary, they were only more aſſiduous than ever about his perſon, attended him in throngs when he took the air abroad, and regularly aſſiſted at all his exerciſes. Lyſander naturally vain, and long accuſtomed to the homage and ſubmiſſion that attended abſolute power, did not take ſufficient care to remove the buſy crowd from his perſon, that continually made their addreſſes to him with more application than ever.

This ridiculous affectation of authority and grandeur grew ſtill more and more offenſive to Ageſilaus, and ſeemed as if intended to inſult him. He reſented it ſo highly, that having given the moſt conſiderable commands and beſt governments to private officers, he appointed Lyſander commiſſary of the ſtores, and diſtributor of proviſions; and afterwards to inſult and deride the Ionians, he told them, *that they might now go and conſult his maſter-butcher.*

Lyſander thought it then incumbent upon him to ſpeak, and to come to an explanation with him. Their converſation was brief and Laconic. *Certainly, my lord,* ſaid Lyſander, *you very well know how to depreſs your friends. Yes, when they would ſet themſelves above me; but when they are ſtudious of my dignity, I know alſo how to let them ſhare in it. But perhaps, my lord,* replied Lyſander, *I have been injured by falſe reports, and*

things

things I never did, have been imputed to me. I muſt beg therefore, if it be only upon account of the ſtrangers, who have all of them their eyes upon us, that you would give me an employment in your army, wherein you ſhall think me leaſt capable of diſpleaſing, and moſt of ſerving you effectually.

The effect of this converſation was the lieutenancy of the Helleſpont, which Ageſilaus gave him. In this employment he retained all his reſentment, without however neglecting any part of his duty, or of what conduced to the ſucceſs of affairs. Some ſmall time after he returned to Sparta, without any marks of honour and diſtinction, extremely incenſed againſt Ageſilaus, and with the hope of making him perfectly ſenſible of it.

It muſt be allowed that Lyſander's conduct, as we have here repreſented it, denotes a vanity and narrowneſs of mind on his ſide, much unworthy of his reputation. Perhaps Ageſilaus carried too far his ſenſibility and delicacy in point of honour, and that he was a little too ſevere upon a friend and benefactor, whom ſecret animadverſions, attended with openneſs of heart and expreſſions of kindneſs, might have reclaimed to his duty. But as ſhining as Lyſander's merit, and as conſiderable as the ſervices he had rendered Ageſilaus, might be, they could not all of them give him a right, not only to an equality with his king and general, but to the ſuperiority he affected, which in ſome meaſure tended to making the other inſignificant. He ought to have remembered, that it is never allowable for an inferior to forget himſelf, and to exceed the bounds of a juſt ſubordination.

(*g*) Upon his return to Sparta, he had it ſeriouſly in his thoughts to execute a project, which he had many years revolved in his mind. At Sparta there was only two families, or rather branches, of the poſterity of Hercules, who had a right to the throne. When Lyſander had attained to that high degree of power, which

(g) Plut. in Lyſand. p. 447, 448. Diod. l. 14. p. 244, 245.

his

his great actions had acquired him, he began to see with pain a city, whose glory had been so much augmented by his exploits, under the government of princes, to whom he gave place neither in valour nor birth; for he descended, as well as themselves, from Hercules. He therefore sought means to deprive those two houses of the sole succession to the crown, and to extend that right to all the other branches of the Heraclides, and even according to some, to all the natives of Sparta; flattering himself, that if his design took effect, no Spartan could be capable of disputing that honour with him, and that he should have the preference to all others.

This ambitious project of Lysander's shews, that the greatest captains are often those, from whom a republic has most to apprehend. Those haughty valiant spirits, accustomed to absolute power in armies, bring back with victory a daring loftiness of mind, always to be dreaded in a free state. Sparta, in giving Lysander unlimited power, and leaving it for so many years in his hands, did not sufficiently consider, that nothing is more dangerous, than to confide to persons of superior merit and abilities, employments of supreme authority, which naturally exposes them to the temptation of rendering themselves independent, and absolute masters of power. Lysander was not proof against it, and practised secretly to open himself a way to the throne.

The undertaking was bold, and required long preparations. He thought it impossible to succeed without first making use of the fear of the divinity, and the terrors of superstition, to amaze and subdue the citizens into a more easy disposition to receive what he wanted to have them understand: for he knew that at Sparta, as well as throughout all Greece, nothing of the least importance was determined, without the oracle's being previously consulted. He tempted with great presents the priests and priestesses of Delphos, Dodona, and Ammon; though ineffectually at that time;

time; and the latter even ſent ambaſſadors to Sparta, to accuſe him of impiety and ſacrilege; but he extricated himſelf from that bad affair by his credit and addreſs.

It was neceſſary to ſet other engines at work. A woman in the kingdom of Pontus, affirming that ſhe was with child by Apollo, had been delivered ſome years before of a ſon, to whom the name of Silenus was given, and the greateſt perſons of that nation had diſputed the honour of nurſing and educating him. Lyſander, taking this wondrous birth for the commencement, and in a manner the foundation, of the piece he meditated, ſupplied the reſt himſelf, by employing a good number of perſons and thoſe not inconſiderable, to diſperſe, by way of prologue to the performance, the miraculous birth of this infant; whereby, no affectation appearing in them, people were diſpoſed to believe it. This being done, they brought certain diſcourſes from Delphos to Sparta, which were induſtriouſly ſpread abroad every where: That the prieſts of the temple had in their cuſtody ſome books of very antient oracles, which they kept concealed from all the world, and of which it was not permitted, either for them or any other perſons whatſoever, to have any knowledge; and that only a ſon of Apollo, who was to come in proceſs of time, after having given undoubted proofs of his birth to thoſe who had the books in their keeping, was to take and carry them away.

All this being well premiſed, Silenus was to preſent himſelf to the prieſts, and demand thoſe oracles as the ſon of Apollo; and the prieſts who were in the ſecret, as actors well prepared and fully inſtructed in their parts, were on their ſide to make the moſt exact and circumſtantial enquiry into every thing, not without affecting great difficulty, and aſking endleſs queſtions for the full proof of his birth. At length, as abſolutely convinced, that this Silenus was the real ſon of Apollo, they were to produce the books, and deliver them

them to him; after which, this ſon of Apollo was to read the prophecies contained in them, in the preſence of all the world; and particularly that for which the whole contrivance had been cooked up. The ſenſe of this was, *That it was more expedient and advantagious for the Spartans to elect no king for the future but the moſt worthy of their citizens.* Lyſander in conſequence was to mount the tribunal, to harangue the citizens, and induce them to make this alteration. Cleon of Halicarnaſſus, a celebrated rhetorician, had compoſed a very eloquent diſcourſe for him upon this ſubject, which he had got by heart.

Silenus grew up, and repaired to Greece in order to play his part, when Lyſander had the mortification to ſee his piece miſcarry, by the timidity and deſertion of one of his principal actors, who broke his word, and diſappeared at the very inſtant it was to have been performed. Though this intrigue had been carried on a great while, it was tranſacted with ſo much ſecreſy to to the time it was to have made its appearance, that nothing of it was known during the life of Lyſander. How it came to light after his death, we ſhall ſoon relate, but muſt at preſent return to Tiſſaphernes.

SECT. III. *Expeditions of Ageſilaus in Aſia. Diſgrace and death of Tiſſaphernes. Sparta gives Ageſilaus the command of its armies by ſea and land. He deputes Piſander to command the fleet. Interview of Ageſilaus and Pharnabaſus.*

(*b*) WHEN Tiſſaphernes had received the troops aſſigned him by the king, and drawn together all his forces, he ſent to command Ageſilaus to retire out of Aſia, and declared war againſt him in caſe of refuſal. His officers were all alarmed, not believing him in a condition to oppoſe the great army of the Perſian king. For himſelf, he heard Tiſſaphernes's heralds with a gay and eaſy countenance, and

(*b*) Xenoph. hiſt. Græc. l. 3. p. 497—502. Id. de Ageſil. p. 652—656. Plut. in Ageſil. p. 600.

bad them tell their maſter, that he was under a very great obligation to him *for having made the gods, by his perjury, the enemies of Perſia and the fricnds of Greece.* He promiſed himſelf great things from this expedition, and would have thought it an exceeding diſgrace for him, that ten thouſand Greeks, under the command of Xenophon, ſhould have paſſed through the heart of Aſia to the Grecian ſea, and beat the king of Perſia, as often as he appeared againſt them; and that he, who commanded the Lacedæmonians, whoſe empire extended all over Greece by ſea and land, ſhould not execute ſome exploit worthy of glory and remembrance.

At firſt therefore, to revenge the perfidy of Tiſſaphernes by a juſt and allowable deceit, he made a feint of marching his army into Caria, the reſidence of that ſatrap; and as ſoon as the Barbarian had cauſed his troops to march that way, he turned ſhort, and fell upon Phrygia, where he took many towns, and amaſſed immenſe treaſures, which he diſtributed amongſt the officers and ſoldiers; letting his friends ſee, ſays Plutarch, that to break a treaty, and violate an oath, is to deſpiſe the gods themſelves; and that on the contrary, to deceive an enemy by the ſtratagems of war, is not only juſt and glorious, but a ſenſible delight attended with the greateſt advantages.

The ſpring being come, he aſſembled all his forces at Epheſus; and to exerciſe his ſoldiers, he propoſed prizes both for the horſe and foot. This ſmall inducement ſet every thing in motion. The place for exerciſes was perpetually full of all kind of troops, and the city of Epheſus ſeemed only a palæſtra, and a ſchool of war. The whole market-place was filled with horſes and arms, and the ſhops with different kinds of military equipage. Ageſilaus was ſeen returning from the exerciſes, followed by a crowd of officers and ſoldiers, all of them crowned with wreaths, which they were going to depoſit in the temple of Diana, to the great admiration and delight of all the world, For, ſays Xenophon,

Xenophon, where piety and diſcipline are ſeen to flouriſh, the beſt hopes muſt be conceived.

To give his ſoldiers new valour from the contempt of their enemies, he made uſe of this contrivance. He ordered the commiſſaries, who had charge of the booty, to ſtrip the priſoners and expoſe them to ſale. There were abundance of buyers for their habits; but for themſelves, their bodies were ſo ſoft, white, and delicate, having been nurtured and brought up in the ſhade, that they laughed at them, as of neither ſervice nor value. Ageſilaus took this occaſion to approach and ſay to his ſoldiers, pointing to the men, *See there againſt whom ye fight*; and ſhewing them their rich ſpoils, *and there for what you fight.*

When the ſeaſon for taking the field returned, Ageſilaus gave out, that he would march into Lydia. Tiſſaphernes, who had not forgot the firſt ſtratagem he had uſed in regard to him, and was not willing to be deceived a ſecond time, made his troops march directly for Caria; not doubting, but at this time, Ageſilaus would turn his arms that way; the rather becauſe it was natural for him, as he wanted cavalry, to endeavour to make a rough and difficult country the ſeat of action, which might render the horſe of an enemy uſeleſs and unſerviceable. But he deceived himſelf: Ageſilaus entered Lydia, and approached Sardis. Tiſſaphernes haſtened thither with his horſe, with intent to relieve the place. Ageſilaus, knowing that his infantry had not had time to arrive, thought proper to take the advantage of ſo favourable an opportunity to give him battle, before he had re-aſſembled all his troops. He drew up his army in two lines; the firſt he formed of his ſquadrons, whoſe intervals he filled up with platoons of the light-armed foot, and ordered them to begin the charge, whilſt he followed with the ſecond line, compoſed of his heavy-armed infantry. The Barbarians did not ſuſtain the firſt ſhock, but took to their heels immediately. The Greeks purſued them, and

forced

forced their camp, where they made a great ſlaughter, and a ſtill greater booty.

(*i*) After this battle the troops of Ageſilaus were at entire liberty to plunder and ravage the whole country of the Perſians, and at the ſame time had the ſatisfaction to ſee that prince inflict an exemplary puniſhment upon Tiſſaphernes, who was a very wicked man, and the moſt dangerous enemy of the Greeks. (*k*) The king had already received abundance of complaints againſt his conduct. Upon this occaſion he was accuſed of treaſon, as not having done his duty in the battle. Queen Paryſatis, always actuated by her hatred and revenge againſt thoſe who had any ſhare in the death of her ſon Cyrus, did not a little contribute to the death of Tiſſaphernes, by aggravating with all her power the charges againſt him; for ſhe had been entirely reſtored to favour by the king her ſon.

As Tiſſaphernes had a great authority in Aſia, the king was afraid to attack him openly, but thought it neceſſary to take ſuitable precautions, in ſeizing ſo powerful an officer, who might have proved a dangerous enemy. He charged Tithrauſtes with that important commiſſion, and gave him two letters at the ſame time. The firſt was for Tiſſaphernes, and contained the king's orders in regard to the war with the Greeks, with full power to act as was requiſite. The ſecond was addreſſed to Ariæus, governor of Lariſſa; by which the king commanded him to aſſiſt Tithrauſtes with his counſel, and all his forces in ſeizing Tiſſaphernes. He loſt no time, and ſent to deſire Tiſſaphernes would come to him, that they might confer together upon the operations of the enſuing campaign. Tiſſaphernes, who ſuſpected nothing, went to him with only a guard of three hundred men. Whilſt he was in a bath, without ſabre or other arms, he was ſeized and put into the hands of Tithrauſtes, who cauſed his head to be ſtruck off, and ſent it im-

(*i*) Xenoph. p. 501 & 657. Plut. in Artax. p. 1022 & in Ageſil. p. 601.
(*k*) Diod. l. 14. p. 299. Polyæn. Stratag. l. 7.

mediately to Perſia. The king gave it to Paryſatis; an agreeable preſent to a princeſs of her violent and vindictive temper. Though this conduct of Artaxerxes ſeems little worthy of a king, no body lamented the death of that ſatrap, who had no veneration for the the gods, nor any regard for men; who looked upon probity and honour as empty names; who made a jeſt of the moſt ſacred oaths, and believed the whole ability and policy of a ſtateſman conſiſted in knowing how to deceive others by hypocriſy, fraud, perfidy, and perjury.

Tithrauſtes had a third writing from the king, whereby he was appointed to command the armies in the room of Tiſſaphernes. (*k*) After having executed his commiſſion, he ſent great preſents to Ageſilaus, to induce him to enter more readily into his views and intereſt; and ordered him to be told, that the cauſe of the war being removed, and the author of all differences put to death, nothing oppoſed an accommodation; that the king of Perſia conſented, that the cities of Aſia ſhould enjoy their liberty, paying him the cuſtomary tribute, provided he would withdraw his troops, and return into Greece. Ageſilaus replied, that he could conclude nothing without the orders of Sparta, upon whom alone depended the peace; that as for him, he was better pleaſed with enriching his ſoldiers than himſelf; that the Greeks beſides thought it more glorious and honourable to take ſpoils from their enemies, than to accept their preſents. However as he was not unwilling to give Tithrauſtes the ſatisfaction of removing out of his province, and of expreſſing his gratitude to him for having puniſhed the common enemy of the Greeks, he marched into Phrygia, which was the province of Pharnabaſus. Tithrauſtes had himſelf propoſed that expedition to him, and paid him thirty talents for the charges of his journey.

Upon his march, he received a letter from the magiſtrates of Sparta, with orders to take upon him the

(*k*) Xenoph. hiſt. Græc. l. 3. p. 501. Plut. in Ageſil. p. 601.

command

command of the naval army, and power to depute whom he thought fit in his ſtead. By theſe new powers he ſaw himſelf abſolute commander of all the troops in that ſtate in Aſia both by ſea and land. This reſolution was taken, in order that all operations being directed by one and the ſame head, and the two armies acting in concert, the plans for the ſervice might be executed with more uniformity, and every thing conſpire to the ſame end. Sparta till then had never done the honour to any of their generals, to confide to him at the ſame time the command of the armies by ſea and land. So that all the world agreed, that he was the greateſt perſonage of his time, and beſt ſuſtained the high reputation he enjoyed. But he was man, and had his failings.

The firſt thing he did was to eſtabliſh Piſander his lieutenant in the fleet; in which he ſeemed to have committed a conſiderable fault; becauſe having about him many older and more experienced captains, without regard to the ſervice of the public, to do honour to an ally, and to pleaſe his wife, who was Piſander's ſiſter, he entruſted him with the command of the fleet; that employment being much above his abilities, though he was not without his merit.

This is the common temptation of perſons in power, who believe they poſſeſs it only for themſelves and their families; as if the advantage of relation to them was a ſufficient title and qualification for poſts, which require great abilities. They do not reflect, that they not only expoſe the affairs of a ſtate to ruin by their private views, but ſacrifice beſides the intereſts of their own glory, which cannot be maintained, but by ſucceſſes it were inconſiſtent to expect from inſtruments ſo ill choſen.

(*l*) Ageſilaus continued with his army in Phrygia, upon the lands of Pharnabaſus's government, where he lived in the abundance of all things, and amaſſed great

(*l*) A. M. 3610. Ant. J. C. 394. Xenop. hiſt. Græc. l. 4. p. 507—510.

ſums of money. From thence advancing as far as Paphlagonia, he made an alliance with king Cotis, who paſſionately deſired his amity, from the ſenſe of his faith in the obſervance of treaties, and his other virtues. The ſame motive had already induced Spithridates, one of the king's principal officers, to quit the ſervice of Pharnabaſus, and go over to Ageſilaus, to whom from his revolt he had rendered great ſervices; for he had a great body of troops, and was very brave. This officer, having entered Phrygia, had laid waſte the whole country under Pharnabaſus, who never dared appear in the field againſt him, nor even rely upon his fortreſſes: but carrying away whatever was moſt valuable and dear to him, he kept flying continually before him, and retired from one place to another, changing his camp every day. Spithridates at length, taking with him ſome Spartan troops with Herippidas, (the chief of the council of thirty ſent by the republic to Ageſilaus the ſecond year,) watched him one day ſo cloſely, and attacked him ſo ſucceſsfully, that he made himſelf maſter of his camp, and of all the rich ſpoils with which it abounded. But Herippidas, injudiciouſly ſetting himſelf up as an inexorable comptroller, was for bringing the booty that had been ſunk, to an account; forced even the ſoldiers of Spithridates to reſtore what they had taken, and by viſiting their tents, and ſearching them with an unſeaſonable exactitude and ſeverity, affronted Spithridates to ſuch a degree, that he withdrew directly to Sardis with his Paphlagonians.

It is ſaid, that in this whole expedition nothing ſo ſenſibly affected Ageſilaus as the retreat of Spithridates. For, beſides his being very ſorry for the loſs of ſo good an officer, and ſo good troops, he apprehended being reproached with mean and ſordid avarice; a vice equally diſhonourable to himſelf and his country; and of which he had taken pains to avoid the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion during his whole life. He did not think it conſiſtent with the duty of his office to ſhut his eyes, thro' ſlothful

ſlothful eaſe and indolence, againſt all the malverſations that were committed under him; but he knew at the ſame time, that there is an exactitude and ſeverity, that by being carried too far, degenerate into minuteneſs and petulancy, and which, thro' an extreme affectation of virtue, becomes a real and dangerous vice.

(*m*) Some time after, Pharnabaſus, who ſaw his country ravaged, demanded an interview with Ageſilaus, which was negotiated by a common friend of them both. Ageſilaus arrived firſt with his friends at the place agreed on, and ſat down in expectation of Pharnabaſus upon the turf under the ſhade of a tree. When Pharnabaſus arrived, his people ſpread ſkins upon the ground of exceeding ſoftneſs from the length of their hair, with rich carpets of various colours, and magnificent cuſhions. But when he ſaw Ageſilaus ſitting ſimply upon the ground, without any preparation, he was aſhamed of his effeminacy, and ſat down alſo upon the graſs. On this occaſion the Perſian pride was ſeen to pay homage to the Spartan modeſty and ſimplicity.

After reciprocal ſalutations, Pharnabaſus ſpoke to this effect: That he had ſerved the Lacedæmonians in the Peloponneſian war to the utmoſt of his power, fought ſeveral battles for them, and ſupported their naval army, without giving any room to reproach him with fraud or treachery, as Tiſſaphernes had done: That he was ſurprized at their coming to attack him in his government; burning the towns, cutting down the trees, and laying waſte the whole country: That if it was the cuſtom with the Greeks, who made profeſſion of honour and virtue, to treat their friends and benefactors in ſuch a manner, he did not know what they might mean by juſt and equitable. Theſe complaints were not entirely without foundation, and were uttered with a modeſt, but pathetic, air and tone of voice. The Spartans, who attended Ageſilaus, not ſeeing how they could be anſwered, caſt down their

(*m*) Xenoph. hiſt. Grac. l. 4. p. 510—512. Plut. in Ageſil. p. 602.

eyes, and kept a profound ſilence. Ageſilaus, who obſerved it, replied almoſt in theſe terms. "Lord "Pharnabaſus, you are not ignorant, that war often "arms the beſt friends againſt each other for the de- "fence of their country. Whilſt we were ſuch to the "king your maſter, we treated him as a friend; but "as we are become his enemies, we make open war "againſt him, as it is juſt we ſhould, and endeavour "to hurt him by what we act againſt you. However "from the inſtant you ſhall think fit to throw off the "yoke of bondage, and prefer being called the friend "and ally of the Greeks, before the name of the king "of Perſia's ſlave, you may reckon that all the "troops you ſee before your eyes, our arms, our ſhips, "our perſons to the laſt man of us, are only here to "defend your poſſeſſions, and ſecure your liberty, "which of all bleſſings is the moſt precious and de- "ſirable."

Pharnabaſus anſwered, that if the king ſent another general in his place, and ſubjected him to the new-comer, he ſhould very willingly accept his offer; that otherwiſe, he would not depart from the faith he had ſworn to him, nor quit his ſervice. Ageſilaus then taking him by the hand, and riſing with him, replied, "That it were the pleaſure of the gods, lord Pharna- "baſus, with ſuch noble ſentiments, that you were "rather our friend than our enemy." He promiſed to withdraw from his government, and never return into it, whilſt he could ſubſiſt elſewhere.

SECT. IV. *League againſt the Lacedæmonians. Ageſilaus recalled by the Ephori to defend his country, obeys directly. Lyſander's death. Victory of the Lacedæmonians near Nemea. Their fleet beaten by Conon at Cnidus. Battle gained by the Lacedæmonians at Coronæ.*

(*n*) AGESILAUS had been two years at the head of the army, and had already made the moſt

(*n*) A. M. 3610. Ant. J. C. 394. Plut. in Ageſil. p. 603, 604. Xenoph. in Ageſil. p. 657.

remote

remote provinces of Aſia tremble at his name, and reſound with the fame of his great wiſdom, diſintereſtedneſs, moderation, intrepid valour in the greateſt dangers, and invincible patience in ſupporting the rudeſt fatigues. Of ſo many thouſand ſoldiers under his command, not one was worſe provided, or lay harder, than himſelf. He was ſo indifferent as to heat or cold, that he ſeemed formed * only to ſupport the moſt rigorous ſeaſons, and ſuch as it pleaſed God to ſend: which are Plutarch's expreſs words.

The moſt agreeable of all ſights to the Greeks ſettled in Aſia, was to ſee the lieutenants of the great king, his ſatraps, and other great lords, who were formerly ſo haughty and untractable, ſoften their note in the preſence of a man meanly clad, and at his ſingle word, however ſhort and Laconic, change their language and conduct, and in a manner transform themſelves into different creatures. Deputies from all parts were ſent by the people to form alliances with him, and his army increaſed every day by the troops of the Barbarians that came to join him.

All Aſia was already in motion, and moſt of the provinces ready to revolt. Ageſilaus had already reſtored order and tranquillity in all the cities, had reinſtated them in the poſſeſſion of their liberty under reaſonable modifications, not only without ſhedding of blood, but without even baniſhing a ſingle perſon. Not content with ſuch a progreſs, he had formed the deſign of attacking the king of Perſia in the heart of his dominions, to put him in fear for his own perſon and the tranquillity he enjoyed in Ecbatana and Suſa, and to find him ſo much buſineſs, as ſhould make it impracticable for him to embroil all Greece from his cabinet, by corrupting the orators and perſons of greateſt authority in its cities with his preſents.

* Ὥσπερ μόνῳ ἀεὶ χρῆσθαι ταῖς ὑπὸ θεᾶ κεκραμέναις ὥραις πεφυκώς.

(o) Tithrauſtes, who commanded for the king in Aſia, ſeeing the tendency of Ageſilaus's deſigns, and deſiring to prevent their effects, had ſent Timocrates of Rhodes into Greece, with great ſums of money to corrupt the principal perſons in the cities, and by their means occaſion defections againſt Sparta. He knew, that the haughtineſs of the Lacedæmonians (for all their generals did not reſemble Ageſilaus,) and the imperious manner with which they treated their neighbours and allies, eſpecially ſince they conſidered themſelves as the maſters of Greece, had univerſally diſguſted the people, and excited a jealouſy that waited only an occaſion to break out againſt them. This ſeverity of governing had a natural cauſe in their education. Accuſtomed from their infancy to obey without delay or reply, firſt to their tutors, and afterwards to their magiſtrates, they exacted a like ſubmiſſion from the cities in their dependance, were eaſily incenſed by the leaſt oppoſition, and by this exceſſive ſeverity rendered themſelves inſupportable.

Tithrauſtes therefore did not find it difficult to draw off the allies from their party. Thebes, Argos, Corinth, entered into his meaſures: The deputy did not go to Athens. Theſe three cities, influenced by thoſe that governed them, made a league againſt the Lacedæmonians, who on their ſide prepared vigorouſly for the war. The Thebans at the ſame time ſent deputies to the Athenians, to implore their aid, and that they would enter into the alliance. The deputies, after having ſlightly paſſed over their antient diviſions, inſiſted ſtrongly upon the conſiderable ſervice they had rendered Athens, in refuſing to join its enemies, when they endeavoured its final deſtruction. They repreſented to them the favourable opportunity that offered for re-inſtating themſelves in their antient power, and to deprive the Lacedæmonians of the empire of Greece. That all the allies of Sparta, either without or within

(o) Xenoph. hiſt. Græc. l. 3. p. 502—507. Plut. in Lyſand. p. 449—451.

Greece,

Greece, were weary of their ſevere and unjuſt ſway, and waited only the ſignal to revolt. That the moment the Athenians ſhould declare themſelves, all the cities would rouze up at the ſound of their arms, and that the king of Perſia, who had ſworn the ruin of Sparta, would aid them with all his forces both by ſea and land.

Thraſybulus, whom the Thebans had ſupplied with arms and money, when he undertook the re-eſtabliſhment of the Athenian liberty, ſeconded their demand with great vigour, and the aid was unanimouſly reſolved. The Lacedæmonians on their ſide took the field without loſs of time, and entered Phocis. Lyſander wrote to Pauſanias, who commanded one of the two armies, to give him notice to march eraly the next day to Haliartus, which he deſigned to beſiege, and that he ſhould be there himſelf at ſun-riſe. The letter was intercepted. Lyſander, after having waited his coming up a great while, was obliged to engage, and killed in the battle. Pauſanias received this bad news on his way; but however continued his march to Haliartus, and called a council of war to conſider upon a ſecond battle. He did not think it conſiſtent with prudence to hazard it, and contented himſelf with making a truce, to remove the bodies of thoſe who had fallen in the former fight. Upon his return to Sparta, he was cited to give an account of his conduct, and refuſing to appear, was condemned to die. But he avoided the execution of that ſentence by flight, and retired to Tegæum, where he paſſed the remainder of his life under the ſhelter and protection of Minerva, to whom he had rendered himſelf a ſuppliant, and died of diſeaſe.

Lyſander's poverty, having been diſcovered after his death, did great honour to his memory; when it was known that of all the gold and riches which had paſſed through his hands, of a power ſo extenſive as his had been, of ſo many cities under his government and which made their court to him, in a word, of that kind of dominion and ſovereignty always exerciſed by him, he

had made no manner of advantage, for the advancement and enriching of his houſe.

Some days before his death, two of the principal citizens of Sparta had contracted themſelves to his two daughters; but when they knew in what condition he had left his affairs, they refuſed to marry them. The republic did not ſuffer ſo ſordid a baſeneſs to go unpuniſhed, nor Lyſander's poverty, which was the ſtrongeſt proof of his juſtice and virtue, to be treated as an obſtacle to allying into his family. They were fined in a great ſum, publickly diſgraced, and expoſed to the contempt of all perſons of honour. For at Sparta there was penalties eſtabliſhed, not only for ſuch as refuſed to marry, or married too late, but alſo for thoſe who married amiſs: and thoſe eſpecially were reckoned of this number, who, inſtead of allying into houſes of virtue, and with their own relations, had no motive but wealth and lucre in marriage. An admirable law, and highly tending to perpetuate probity and honour in families, which an impure mixture of blood *and manners* ſeldom fails to alter and efface!

It muſt be owned, that a generous diſintereſtedneſs in the midſt of all that could enflame and gratify the luſt of gain, is very rare, and well worthy of admiration; but in Lyſander, it was attended with great defects, which entirely obſcure its luſtre. Without ſpeaking of his imprudence in introducing gold and ſilver into Sparta, which he deſpiſed himſelf, though he rendered it eſtimable to his country, and thereby occaſioned its ruin, what opinion can we have of a man, brave indeed, well read in men, ſkilful in affairs, and of great ability in the arts of government, and what is commonly called policy, but who regards probity and juſtice as nothing; to whom falſhood, fraud, and perfidy appear legal methods for the attainment of his ends; who does not fear, for the advancement of his friends, and the augmenting of his creatures, to commit the moſt flagrant injuſtice and oppreſſions, and is not aſhamed to prophane whatever is moſt ſacred in religion,

religion, even to the corrupting of priests, and forging of oracles to satiate the empty ambition of being equal to a king, and of ascending the throne?

(p) When Agesilaus was upon the point of leading his troops into Persia, the Spartan Epicydidas arrived to let him know, that Sparta was threatened with a furious war; that the Ephori recalled him, and ordered him to return immediately for the defence of his country. Agesilaus did not deliberate a moment, but returned this answer immediately to the Ephori, which Plutarch has transmitted to us. (q) *Agesilaus to the Ephori greeting. We have reduced part of Asia, put the Barbarians to flight, and made great preparations for war in Ionia: But as you order me to return, I am not far behind this letter, and should prevent it if possible. I received the command not for myself but my country, and its allies. I know that a general does not deserve, or possess, that name really, but as he submits to the laws and the Ephori, and obeys the magistrates.*

This ready obedience of Agesilaus has been much admired and applauded, and not without reason. Hannibal, though depressed with misfortunes, and driven almost entirely out of Italy, obeyed his citizens with great reluctance, when they recalled him to deliver Carthage from the dangers that threatened it. Here a victorious prince, ready to enter the enemy's country, and to attack the king of Persia even upon his throne, almost assured of the success of his arms, on the first order of the Ephori, renounces the most soothing hopes, and the most exalted expectations. He demonstrates the truth of what was said, *That at Sparta the laws ruled men, and not men the laws.*

On his departure he said, *that thirty thousand of the king's archers drove him out of Asia*; alluding in those words to a species of Persian coin, which had on one side the figure of an archer, thirty thousand of which pieces of money had been dispersed in Greece to cor-

(p) Xenoph. hist. Græc. l. 4. p. 513. Id. in Agesil. p. 657. Plut. in Agesil. p. 603, 604. (q) Plut. in Apoph. Laconic. p. 211.

rupt

rupt the orators and perſons of greateſt power in the cities.

(*r*) Ageſilaus in quitting Aſia, where he was regretted as the common father of the people, appointed Euxenes his lieutenant, and gave him four thouſand men for the defence of the country. Xenophon went with him. He left at Epheſus, with Megabyzus the guardian of Diana's temple, half the gold he had brought with him from his expedition in Perſia with Cyrus, to keep it for him in truſt, and in caſe of death to conſecrate it to the goddeſs.

(*s*) In the mean time the Lacedæmonians had raiſed an army, and given the command of it to Ariſtodemus, tutor to king Ageſipolis, then an infant. Their enemies aſſembled to concert the operations of the war. Timolaus of Corinth ſaid, the Lacedæmonians were like a river that grew larger as it removed from its ſource; or to a ſwarm of bees, which it is eaſy to burn in their hive, but diſperſe themſelves a great way when they fly abroad, and become formidable by their ſtings. He was therefore of opinion, that it was proper to attack them in their capital; which was approved and reſolved. But the Lacedæmonians did not give them time. They took the field, and found the enemy near Nemæa, a city not very remote from Corinth, where a rude battle enſued. The Lacedæmonians had the advantage, which was very conſiderable. Ageſilaus having received this news at Amphipolis, as he was haſtening to the relief of his country, ſent it directly to the cities of Aſia for their encouragement, and to give them hopes of his ſpeedy return, if the ſucceſs of affairs would admit it.

(*t*) When the approach of Ageſilaus was known at Sparta, the Lacedæmonians that remained in the city, to do him honour for the ready obedience he had paid to their orders, cauſed proclamation to be made by ſound of trumpet, that all young perſons, who were

(*r*) Xenoph. hiſt. Grec. l. 4. p. 513. Xenoph. de exped. Cyr. l. 3. p. 350. (*s*) Xenoph. p. 514—517. (*t*) Plut. in Ageſil. p. 605.

will ng

willing to aid their king, might come and list themselves for that purpose. Not one of them failed to enter himself immediately with the utmost joy. But the Ephori chose only fifty of the bravest and most robust, whom they sent to him, and desired that he would enter Bœotia with the utmost expedition, which he did accordingly.

(*u*) About the same time the two fleets came up with each other near Cnidos a city of Caria. That of the Lacedæmonians was commanded by Pisander, Agesilaus's brother-in-law, and that of the Persians, by Pharnabasus and Conon the Athenian. The latter, observing that the king of Persia's supplies came slowly, and occasioned the loss of many opportunities, had resolved to go in person to the court, to sollicit the king's assistance. As he would not prostrate himself before him, according to the Persian custom, he could not explain himself but by the intervention of others. He represented to him, with a force and spirit seldom pardoned in those who treat with princes, that it was equally shameful and astonishing, that his ministers, contrary to his intention, should suffer his affairs to be disconcerted and ruined for want of the necessary expences; that the richest king in the world should give place to his enemies in the very point, he was so infinitely superior to them; that is in riches; and that for want of remitting the sums his service required to his generals, all their designs were rendered abortive. These remonstrances were free, but just, and solid. The king received them perfectly well, and shewed by his example, that truth may often be spoke to princes with success, if courage were not wanting. Conon obtained all he demanded, and the king made him admiral of his fleet.

It was composed of more than fourscore and ten galleys, to which the enemy's was somewhat inferior in number. They came in view of each other near

(*u*) Xenoph. hist. Græc. l. 4. p. 518. Diod. l. 14. p. 302. Justin. l. 6. c. 2 & 3.

Cnidos,

Cnidos, a maritime city of Asia Minor. Conon, who had in some measure occasioned the taking of Athens by the loss of the sea-fight near Ægospotamos, used extraordinary efforts in this to retrieve his misfortune, and to obliterate by a glorious victory the disgrace of his former defeat. * He had this advantage, that in the battle he was going to give, the Persians would be at the whole expence, and bear all the loss themselves; whereas the entire fruits of the victory would redound to the Athenians, without hazarding any thing of their own. Pisander had also strong motives to shew his valour upon this occasion, that he might not degenerate from the glory of his brother-in-law, and to justify the choice he had made in appointing him admiral. In effect, he behaved with extreme valour, and had at first some advantage; but the battle growing warm, and the allies of Sparta betaking themselves to flight, he could not resolve to follow them, and died sword in hand. Conon took fifty galleys, and the rest escaped to Cnidos. The consequence of this victory was the revolt of almost all the allies of Sparta; several of whom declared for the Athenians, and the rest resumed their antient liberty. After this battle the affairs of the Lacedæmonians daily declined. All their actions in Asia were no more than the feeble efforts of an expiring power, till the defeats of Leuctra and Mantinea compleated their downfal.

(x) Isocrates makes a very just reflection upon the revolutions of Sparta and Athens, which had always their source and origin in the insolent prosperity of both those republics. The Lacedæmonians, who were at first acknowledged masters of Greece without opposition, fell from their authority only by their enormous abuse of it. The Athenians succeeded them in power, and at the same time in pride; and we have seen into

(x) Isocrat. in orat. Areop. p. 278—280.

* Eo speciosius quod ne ipsorum quidem Atheniensium sed alieni imperii viribus dimicet, pugnaturus periculo regis, victurus præmio patriæ. *Justin.*

what an abyſs of misfortunes it precipitated them. Sparta having gained the ſuperiority by the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily, and the taking of their city, might have improved in their meaſures from the double experience of the paſt; as well in regard to what had befallen themſelves, as from the recent example of their rival; but the moſt affecting examples and events ſeldom or ever occaſion a people to change their conduct. Sparta became as haughty and untractable as before; and ſo experienced the ſame deſtiny again.

To warn the Athenians againſt this misfortune, Iſocrates puts them in mind of the paſt, and of the times wherein they were ſucceſsful in every thing. "You "imagine," ſays he, "that provided with a numerous fleet, abſolute maſters at ſea, and ſupported "by powerful allies always ready to give you aid, "you have nothing to fear, and may enjoy in repoſe "and tranquillity the fruits of your victories: For my "part, indulge me to ſpeak with truth and freedom, "I think quite otherwiſe, The cauſe of my apprehenſion is, my having obſerved, that the decline of the "greateſt republics has always been at the time they "believed themſelves moſt powerful, and that their "very ſecurity has prepared the precipice into which "they have fallen. The reaſon of this is evident. "Proſperity and adverſity never come alone, but have "each their train of very different effects. The firſt "is attended with vain-glory, pride, and inſolence, "which dazzle the mind and inſpire raſh and extravagant meaſures: on the contrary, the companions "of adverſity, are modeſty, ſelf-diffidence and circumſpection, which naturally render men prudent, "and apt to amend from their own failings. So that "it is hard to judge which of the two conditions we "ought to deſire for a city; as that which appears unhappy, is an almoſt certain path to proſperity; and "the other, ſo flattering and ſplendid, generally leads "on to the greateſt misfortunes." The blow, which

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the Lacedæmonians received at the battle of Cnidos is a mournful proof of what he says.

(y) Agesilaus was in Bœotia, and upon the point of giving battle, when this bad news was brought him. Apprehending that it might discourage and deter his troops, he caused it to be reported in the army, that the Lacedæmonians had gained a considerable victory at sea; and appearing in public with a wreath of flowers upon his head, he offered a sacrifice of thanksgiving for the good news, and sent part of it in presents to his officers. (z) The two armies, almost equal in strength, were in view of each other upon the plains of Coronæa, when they drew up in battle. Agesilaus gave the left wing to the Orchomenians, and took the right himself. On the other side the Thebans were upon the right, and the Argives on the left. Xenophon says, that this was the most furious battle in his time, and may be believed, as he was present in it, and fought near the person of Agesilaus, with whom he had returned from Asia.

The first charge was not very obstinate, nor of long continuance. The Thebans soon put the Orchomenians to flight, and Agesilaus overthrew and routed the Argives. But both parties having learnt, that their left wing had been very severely handled and fled, returned immediately; Agesilaus to oppose the Thebans, and to wrest the victory out of their hands, and the Thebans to follow their left wing, that was retired to Helicon. Agesilaus at that moment might have assured himself of a compleat victory, if he would have let the Thebans pass on, and had charged them after in the rear; but carried away by the ardor of his courage, he resolved to stop them with an attack in front, and to beat them by pure force. In which, says Xenophon, he shewed more valour than prudence.

The Thebans, seeing Agesilaus advance against them, drew all their foot immediately into one body,

(y) Plut. in Agesil. p. 605. (z) Plut. in Agesil. p. 605. Xenoph. hist. Græc. p. 518—520, & in Agesil. p. 659, 660.

formed

formed a hollow ſquare, and waited his coming up in good order. The engagement was ſharp and bloody on all ſides, but particularly where Ageſilaus fought at the head of the fifty young Spartans, ſent him by the city. The valour and emulation of thoſe young men were of great ſervice to Ageſilaus, and may be ſaid to have ſaved his life; for they fought around him with exceeding ardor, and expoſed themſelves foremoſt in all dangers for the ſafety of his perſon. They could not however prevent his receiving ſeveral wounds thro' his armor from pikes and ſwords. Notwithſtanding, after an exceeding warm diſpute they brought him off alive from the enemy, and making their bodies a rampart for him, ſacrificed a great number of Thebans to his defence; many of thoſe young men were alſo left upon the field. At length finding it too difficult to break the Thebans in front, they were forced to have recourſe to what they had at firſt rejected. They opened their phalanx to let them paſs; which when they had done, as they marched afterwards in more diſorder, they charged them again upon the flanks and rear. They could however neither break them, nor put them to flight. Thoſe brave Thebans made their retreat continually fighting, and gained Helicon, elate with the ſucceſs of the battle, wherein on their ſide they had always remained invincible.

Ageſilaus, though very much weakened by the great number of his wounds, and the quantity of blood he had loſt, would not retire to his tent, till he had been carried to the place where his phalanx was drawn up, and had ſeen all the dead bodies removed even upon their own arms. He was informed there, that many of the enemy had taken refuge in the temple of Minerva Itonienſis, which was not very diſtant from the field of battle, and aſked what he would have done with them. As he was full of veneration for the gods, he gave orders to let them go, and even ſent them a guard to eſcort them in ſafety wherever they thought fit.

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The next morning Ageſilaus, to try whether the Thebans would have the courage to renew the battle, commanded his troops to crown themſelves with flowers, and the muſick of the army to play, whilſt a trophy was erected and adorned in honour of his victory. At the ſame inſtant the enemy ſent heralds to demand his permiſſion to bury their dead; which he granted, with a truce; and having confirmed his victory by that act of a conqueror, he cauſed himſelf to be carried to Delphos, where the Pythian games were then celebrated. He made there a ſolemn proceſſion which was followed by a ſacrifice, and conſecrated the tenth part of the booty taken in Aſia to the god, which amounted to an hundred talents *. Theſe great men, no leſs religious than brave, never failed to expreſs by preſents their gratitude to the gods for their ſucceſſes in arms; declaring by that public homage, that they believed themſelves indebted for their victories to their protection.

SECT. V. *Ageſilaus returns victorious to Sparta. He always retains his ſimplicity and antient manners. Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens. A peace, ſhameful to the Greeks, concluded by Antalcides the Lacedæmonian.*

(a) AFTER the feſtival, Ageſilaus returned to Sparta. His citizens received him with all the marks of the moſt real joy, and beheld him with admiration, when they obſerved the ſimplicity of his manners, and the conſtant frugality and temperance of his life. At his return from foreign countries, where pomp, luxury, ſloth, and the love of pleaſures entirely prevailed, he was not infected with the manners of the Barbarians, as moſt of the other generals had been: He made no alteration in his diet, baths, equipage of his wife, ornaments of his arms, or furniture of his houſe. In the midſt of ſo ſhining a reputation, and

(a) Plut. in Ageſil. p. 606.

* *An hundred thouſand crowns, about* 22500*l. ſterling.*

the

the univerſal applauſe, always the ſame, or rather more modeſt than before, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf from the reſt of the citizens, only by a greater ſubmiſſion to the laws, and a more inviolable attachment to the cuſtoms of his country; convinced, that he was only king to be the brighter example of thoſe virtues to others.

(*b*) He made greatneſs conſiſt in virtue only. Hearing the Great King (ſo the kings of Perſia uſed to call themſelves) ſpoken of in magnificent terms, and his power extremely extolled; * "I cannot conceive," ſaid he, "wherein he is greater than me, unleſs he be "more virtuous.

There were at Sparta ſome citizens, who, vitiated by the prevailing taſte of Greece, made their merit and glory conſiſt in keeping a great number of horſes for the race. He perſuaded his ſiſter Cyniſca to diſpute the prize in the olympic games, in order to ſhew the Greeks, that thoſe victories, on which they ſet ſo high a value were not the effects of valour and bravery, but of riches and expence. She was the firſt of her ſex, who ſhared in this honour. He had not the ſame opinion of the exerciſes, which contributed to render the body more robuſt, and inure it to labour and fatigue; and to place them in greater eſtimation, would often honour them with his preſence.

Some time after Lyſander's death, he diſcovered the conſpiracy formed by that captain againſt the two kings, which till then had not been heard of, and came to light by a kind of accident, in the following manner. (*c*) Upon ſome affairs, which related to the government, it was neceſſary to conſult Lyſander's papers, and Ageſilaus went to his houſe for that purpoſe. In running them over, he fell upon the ſheets, which contained at large the harangue of Cleon, for the new method of proceeding in the election of kings. Surprized at peruſing it, he gave over his ſearch, and

(*b*) Plut. de ſui laud. p. 555. (*c*) Plut. in Ageſil. p. 606.

* Τί δ' ἐμοῦ γε μειζον ἐχεῖνος, εἰ μὴ κὴ δικαιότερος.

went

went away abruptly, to communicate that oration to the citizens, and to let them see what manner of man Lysander was, and how much they had been deceived in regard to him. But Lacratidas, a wise and prudent person, and president of the Ephori, interposed, by telling him, That it was highly improper to raise Lysander from the dead; on the contrary, that it was necessary to bury his harangue in the same grave with him, as of dangerous tendency, from the great art with which it was composed, and the force of persuasion that universally prevailed in it, against which it might prove no easy matter to resist. Agesilaus was of the same opinion, and the piece was consigned to silence and oblivion, as the best use that could be made of it.

(*d*) As his credit was very high in the city, he caused Teleutias, his brother by the mother's side, to be declared admiral of the fleet. It were to be wished, that history, to justify this choice, had mentioned any other qualities in that commander, than his nearness of blood to the king. Agesilaus soon after set out with his land-army to besiege Corinth, and took the long walls, as they were called, whilst his brother Teleutias attacked it by sea. He did several other exploits against the people of Greece at war with Sparta, which always argue indeed the valour and experience of the general, but are neither very important nor decisive, and which we thought for that reason might be omitted.

(*e*) At the same time Pharnabasus and Conon, having made themselves masters at sea, ravaged the whole coast of Laconia. That satrap, returning to his government of Phrygia, left Conon the command of the naval army, with very considerable sums for the re-establishment of Athens. Conon victorious, and crowned with glory, repaired thither, where he was received with universal applause. The sad prospect of a city, formerly so flourishing, and at that time re-

(*d*) Plut. ibid. (*e*) A. M. 3611. Ant. J. C. 393. Xenoph. hist. Græc. l. 4. p. 534—537. Diod. l. 14. p. 303. Justin. l. 6. c. 5.

duced

duced to ſo melancholy a condition, gave him more grief, than he felt joy in ſeeing his beloved country again, after ſo many years abſence. He loſt no time, but fell immediately to work, employing beſides maſons and the uſual artiſans, the ſoldiers, mariners, citizens, allies, in a word, all that were well inclined to Athens; providence decreeing, that this city, formerly deſtroyed by the Perſians, ſhould be rebuilt by their own hands, and that having been diſmantled and demoliſhed by the Lacedæmonians, it ſhould be reinſtated at their own coſt, and by the ſpoils taken from them. What a viciſſitude and alteration was this! Athens at this time had thoſe for its allies, which had formerly been its moſt violent enemies, and for enemies, thoſe with whom before it had contracted the moſt ſtrict and moſt confirmed union. Conon, ſeconded by the zeal of the Thebans, ſoon rebuilt the walls of Athens, reſtored the city to its antient ſplendor, and rendered it more formidable than ever to its enemies. (*f*) After having offered to the gods an whole hecatomb, that is to ſay, a ſacrifice of an hundred oxen, as a thankſgiving for the happy re-eſtabliſhment of Athens, he made a feaſt, to which all the citizens without exception were invited.

(*g*) Sparta could not ſee without extreme affliction ſo glorious a revolution. It looked upon the grandeur and power of a city, its antient rival and almoſt continual enemy, as its own ruin; which made the Lacedæmonians take the mean reſolution of avenging themſelves at once upon Athens, and Conon its reſtorer, by making peace with the king of Perſia. With this view they diſpatched Antalcides to Tiribaſus. His commiſſion conſiſted of two principal articles. The firſt was, to accuſe Conon to that ſatrap of having defrauded the king of the money, which he had employed in the re-eſtabliſhment of Athens; and of having formed the deſign of depriving the Perſians of Æolia and Ionia,

(*f*) Athen. l. 1. p. 3. (*g*) Xenoph. hiſt. Græc. l. 4. p. 537, 538. Plut. in Ageſil. p. 608.

and to ſubject them anew to the republic of Athens, upon which they had formerly depended. By the ſecond, he had orders to make the moſt advantageous propoſals to Tiribaſus his maſter could deſire. Without giving himſelf any manner of trouble in regard to Aſia, he ſtipulated only, that all the iſlands, and other cities, ſhould enjoy their laws and liberty. The Lacedæmonians thus gave up to the king, with the greateſt injuſtice and the utmoſt baſeneſs, all the Greeks ſettled in Aſia; for whoſe liberty Ageſilaus had ſo long fought. It is true, he had no ſhare in this moſt infamous negotiation; the whole reproach of which ought to fall on Antalcides, who being the ſworn enemy of the king of Sparta, haſtened the peace by all manner of means, becauſe the war augmented the authority, glory, and reputation of Ageſilaus.

The moſt conſiderable cities of Greece had ſent deputies at the ſame time to Tiribaſus, and Conon was at the head of thoſe from Athens. All of them were unanimous in rejecting ſuch propoſals. Without ſpeaking of the intereſts of the Greeks of Aſia, with which they were extremely affected, they ſaw themſelves expoſed by this treaty; the Athenians, to the loſs of the iſles of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros; the Thebans, to abandon the cities of Bœotia, of which they were in poſſeſſion, and which would thereby regain their independance; and the Argives, to renounce Corinth, with the loſs of which Argos itſelf would ſoon in all probability be attended. The deputies therefore withdrew without concluding any thing.

Tiribaſus ſeized Conon, and put him in priſon. Not daring to declare openly for the Lacedæmonians, without an expreſs order to that purpoſe, he contented himſelf with ſupplying them underhand with conſiderable ſums of money, for fitting out a fleet, in order that the other cities of Greece might not be in a condition to oppoſe them. After having taken theſe precautions, he ſet out directly for the court, to give the king an account of the ſtate of his negotiation. That prince

was well ſatisfied with it, and directed him in the ſtrongeſt terms to put the laſt hand to it. Tiribaſus alſo laid before him the Lacedæmonians accuſation of Conon. Some authors, according to Cornelius Nepos, have wrote that he was carried to Suſa, and there executed by the king's order. The ſilence of Xenophon, who was his cotemporary, in regard to his death, makes it doubtful, whether he did not eſcape from priſon, or ſuffer, as has been ſaid.

Whilſt this treaty was negotiating, ſeveral actions little conſiderable paſſed between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. It was alſo at the ſame time, that Evagoras extended his conqueſts in the iſland of Cyprus, of which we ſhall ſoon treat.

(*b*) Tiribaſus at length upon his return ſummoned the deputies of the Grecian cities to be preſent at the reading of the treaty. It imported, that all the Grecian cities of Aſia ſhould remain dependant on the king, and that the reſt, as well ſmall as great, ſhould have full poſſeſſion of their liberty. The king further reſerved to himſelf the iſles of Cyprus and Clazomena, and left thoſe of Scyros, Lemnos, and Imbros to the Athenians, to whom they had long appertained. By the ſame treaty he engaged to join with ſuch people as came into it, in order to make war by ſea and land againſt all that ſhould refuſe to agree to it. We have already ſaid it was Sparta itſelf propoſed theſe conditions.

All the other cities of Greece, or at leaſt the greateſt part of them, rejected ſo infamous a treaty with horror. However, as they were weakened and exhauſted by domeſtic diviſions, and not in a condition to ſupport a war againſt ſo powerful a prince, who threatened to fall with all his forces upon thoſe who ſhould refuſe to come into this peace, they were obliged againſt their will to comply with it; except the Thebans, who had the courage to oppoſe it openly at firſt, but were at length reduced to accept it with the others, by whom they found themſelves univerſally abandoned.

(*b*) A. M. 3617. Ant. J. C. 587. Xenoph. l. 5. p. 548—551.

Such

Such was the fruit of the jealouſy and diviſions, which armed the Grecian cities againſt each other, and was the end propoſed by the policy of Artaxerxes, in diſtributing ſums of money amongſt the ſeveral eſtates; invincible in arms, and to the ſword, but not to the gold and preſents of the Perſians; ſo remote were they in this reſpect from the character of the antient Greeks their fore-fathers.

To comprehend aright how much Sparta and Athens differed from what they had been in former times, we have only to compare the two treaties concluded between the Greeks and Perſians; the former by Cimon the Athenian (*i*) under Artaxerxes Longimanus above ſixty years before, and the latter by Antalcides the Lacedæmonian under Artaxerxes Mnemon. In the firſt, Greece victorious and triumphant, aſſures the liberty of the Aſiatic Greeks, gives the law to the Perſians, impoſes what conditions it pleaſes, and preſcribes bounds and limits, by prohibiting them to approach nearer to the ſea with their troops than the diſtance of three days march; or to appear with long veſſels in any of the ſeas between the Cyanæan and Chalidonian iſlands, that is to ſay, from the Euxine to the coaſts of Pamphilia. In the ſecond, on the contrary, Perſia, grown haughty and imperious, takes pleaſure in humbling its conquerors, in depriving them with the ſingle ſtroke of a pen, of their empire in Aſia Minor, in compelling them to abandon baſely all the Greeks eſtabliſhed in thoſe rich provinces, to ſubſcribe to their own ſubjection, and to confine themſelves in their turn within the narrow bounds of Greece.

From whence can ſo ſtrange an alteration ariſe? Are there not on both ſides the ſame cities, the ſame people, the ſame forces, and the ſame intereſt? No doubt there are; but they are not the ſame men, or rather they have no longer the ſame principles of policy. Let us recal thoſe happy times of Greece, ſo glorious for Athens and Sparta, when Perſia came pouring like

(*i*) Diod. l. 12. p. 74, 75.

a deluge

a deluge upon this little country with all the forces of the Eaſt. What was it that rendered the two cities invincible, and ſuperior to ſuch numerous and formidable armies? Their union and good underſtanding. No diſſenſion between the two ſtates, no jealouſy of command, no private view of intereſt; in fine, no other conteſts between them, but of honour, glory, and the love of their country.

To ſo laudable an union may be added an irreconcilable hatred for the Perſians, which became a kind of nature in the Greeks, and was the moſt diſtinguiſhing character of that nation. (*k*) It was a capital crime, and puniſhed with death, only to mention peace, or propoſe any accommodation with them; and an Athenian mother was ſeen to throw the firſt ſtone at her ſon, who had dared to make ſuch a motion, and to ſet others the example of ſtoning him.

This ſtrict union of the two ſtates, and declared abhorrence of the common enemy, were a long time the potent barriers of their ſecurity, rendered them invincible, and may be ſaid to have been the ſource and principle of all the glorious ſucceſſes that raiſed the reputation of Greece to ſo high a pitch. But by a misfortune common to the moſt flouriſhing ſtates, thoſe very ſucceſſes became the cauſe of its ruin, and prepared the way for the diſgraces it experienced in the ſequel.

(*l*) Theſe two ſtates, which might have carried their victorious arms into the heart of Perſia, and have attacked in their turn the great king upon his throne itſelf; inſtead of forming in concert ſuch an enterprize, which would at once have crowned them with glory, and laden them with riches, have the folly to leave their common enemy at repoſe, to embroil themſelves with each other upon trivial points of honour, and intereſts of little importance, and to exhauſt the forces ineffectually againſt themſelves, which ought to have

(*k*) Iſoc. in Panegyr. p. 143. 137. In Panath. p. 524, 525.

(*l*) Iſoc. in Panegyr. p. 132—

been employed ſolely againſt the Barbarians, that could not have reſiſted them. For it is remarkable, that the Perſians never had any advantage over the Athenians or Lacedæmonians, whilſt they were united with each other, and that it was their own diviſions only, which ſupplied them with the means to conquer both alternately, and always the one by the other.

These diviſions induced them to take ſuch meaſures, as neither Sparta nor Athens would ever have otherwiſe been capable of. We ſee both the one and the other diſhonour themſelves by their mean and abject flatteries, not only of the king of Perſia, but even of his ſatraps; pay their court to them; earneſtly ſollicit their favour, cringe to them, and even ſuffer their ill humour; and all this to obtain ſome aid of troops or money, forgetting that the Perſians, haughty and inſolent to ſuch as ſeemed afraid of them, became timorous and little to thoſe who had the courage to deſpiſe them. But in fine, what did they gain by all theſe mean condeſcenſions? The treaty, which gave occaſion for theſe reflections, and will for ever be the reproach of Sparta and Athens.

SECT. VII. *War of Artaxerxes againſt Evagoras king of Salamin. Elogy and character of that prince. Tiribaſus falſly accuſed; his accuſer puniſhed.*

WHAT I have ſaid upon the facility, with which the Greeks might have rendered themſelves formidable to their enemies, will be more evident if we conſider on one ſide, the diverſity of people and extent of country, which compoſed the vaſt empire of the Perſians, and on the other, the weakneſs of the government, incapable of animating ſo great a maſs, and of ſupporting the weight of ſo much buſineſs and application. At the court every thing was determined by the intrigues of women, and the cabals of favourites, whoſe whole merit often conſiſted in flattering their prince, and ſoothing his paſſions. It was upon their credit officers were choſen, and the firſt dignities diſpoſed

poſed of; by their opinion the ſervices of the generals of armies were judged, and their rewards decided. The ſequel will ſhew, that from the ſame ſource aroſe the inſurrection of provinces, the diſtruſt of the greateſt part of the governors, the diſcontent and conſequential revolt of the beſt officers, and the ill ſucceſs of almoſt all the enterprizes that were formed.

Artaxerxes, having got rid of the care and perplexity, which the war with the Greeks had occaſioned, applied himſelf to terminating that of Cyprus, which had laſted ſeveral years, but had been carried on with little vigour, and turned the greateſt part of his forces that way.

(*m*) Evagoras reigned at that time in Salamin, the capital city of the iſle of Cyprus. He was deſcended from Teucer of * Salamin, who at his return from Troy built this city, and gave it the name of his country. His deſcendants had reigned there from that time; but a ſtranger of Phœnicia, having diſpoſſeſſed the lawful king, had taken his place, and to maintain himſelf in the uſurpation, had filled the city with Barbarians, and ſubjected the whole iſland to the king of Perſia.

Under this tyrant Evagoras was born, of whoſe education great care was taken. He was diſtinguiſhed amongſt the youth by the beauty of his aſpect, the vigour of his body, and more by the modeſty and innocence of his manners †, which are the greateſt ornaments of that age. As he advanced in years, the greateſt virtues, valour, wiſdom, and juſtice, were obſerved to brighten in him. He afterwards carried theſe virtues to ſo conſpicuous an height, as to give jealouſy to thoſe that governed; who perceived juſtly, that ſo ſhining a merit could not continue in the obſcurity of a private condition; but his modeſty, pro-

(*m*) Iſocrat. in Evag. p. 380.

* *This Teucer was of Salamin, a little iſland near Athens, celebrated for the famous battle under Xerxes.*

† Et qui ornat ætatem, pudor. Cic.

bity, and integrity re-assured them, and they reposed an entire confidence in him, to which he always answered by an inviolable fidelity, without ever meditating their expulsion from the throne by violence or treachery.

A more justifiable means conducted him to it, divine providence, as Isocrates says, preparing the way for him. One of the principal citizens murdered the person upon the throne, and had contrived to seize Evagoras, and to rid himself of him, in order to secure the crown to himself; but that prince escaping his pursuit retired to Solos, a city of Cilicia. His banishment was so far from abating his courage, that it gave him new vigour. Attended only with fifty followers, determined like himself to conquer or die, he returned to Salamin, and expelled the usurper, though supported by the credit and protection of the king of Persia. Having re-established himself in Salamin, he soon rendered his little kingdom most flourishing, by his application to the relief of his subjects, and by protecting them in all things; by governing them with justice and benevolence; by making them active and laborious; by inspiring them with a taste for the cultivation of lands, the breeding of cattle, commerce, and navigation. He formed them also for war, and made them excellent soldiers.

He was already very powerful, and had acquired great reputation, when Conon, the Athenian general, after his defeat at Ægos-potamos, took refuge with him; (o) not thinking it possible to find a safer asylum for himself, nor a more powerful support of his country. The resemblance of their manners and sentiments soon made them contract a strict amity with each other, which continued ever after, and proved equally advantageous to both. (p) Conon was in great credit at the king of Persia's court, which he employed with that prince, by the means of Ctesias the physici-

(o) A. M. 3599. Ant. J. C. 405. Isocrat. in Evag. p. 393—394. (p) A. M. 3605. Ant. J. C. 399.

an,

an, to accommodate his differences with his hoſt Evagoras, and happily effected it.

Evagoras and Conon, with the great deſign of ſubverting, or at leaſt of reducing, the great power of Sparta, which had rendered itſelf formidable to all Greece, concerted together the means for the attainment of that end. They were both citizens of Athens; the latter by birth, and the other by right of adoption; which his great ſervices, and zeal for that republic, had deſerved. (*p*) The ſatraps of Aſia ſaw with pain their country ravaged by the Lacedæmonians, and found themſelves in great difficulties, from not being in a condition to make head againſt them. Evagoras remonſtrated to them, that it was neceſſary to attack the enemy as well by ſea as land; and he did not contribute a little, by his credit with the king of Perſia, to Conon's being appointed general of his fleet. (*q*) The celebrated victory over the Lacedæmonians at Cnidos was the conſequence, and gave the mortal wound to that republic.

(*r*) The Athenians, in acknowledgment of the important ſervices Evagoras and Conon had rendered them with Artaxerxes, erected ſtatues in honour of them.

(*s*) Evagoras on his ſide, extending his conqueſts from city to city, endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of the whole iſland. The Cypriots had recourſe to the king of Perſia. That prince, alarmed by the rapid progreſs of Evagoras, of which he apprehended the effects, and conſcious of what importance it was to him to prevent an iſland's falling into the hands of an enemy, ſo favourably ſituated for holding Aſia minor in awe, promiſed them an immediate and powerful ſupport, without declaring openly however againſt Evagoras.

(*t*) Being employed elſewhere by more important af-

(*p*) A. M. 3606. Ant. J. C. 398. (*q*) A. M. 3610. Ant. J. C. 394. (*r*) Pauſan. l. 1. p. 5. (*s*) Diod. l. 14. p. 311. (*t*) A. M. 3614. Ant. J. C. 390. Iſocrat. in Paneg. p. 135, 136.

fairs, he could not keep his word with them so soon as he expected, and had engaged. That war of Cyprus continued six years, and the success, with which Evagoras supported it against the great king, ought to have banished from the Greeks all terror of the Persian name, and united them against the common enemy. It is true, the succours sent by Artaxerxes till then were little considerable, as they also were the two following years. During all that time it was less a real war, than a preparation for war: (*u*) But when he had disengaged himself from the Greeks, he applied to it vigorously, and attacked Evagoras with all his forces.

The army by land, commanded by Orontes his son-in-law, consisted of three hundred thousand men, and the fleet of three hundred galleys; of which Tiribasus, a Persian of the highest rank and greatest reputation, was admiral. Gaos his son-in-law commanded under him. Evagoras on his side assembled as many troops and ships as he could; but they were an handful, in comparison with the formidable preparation of the Persians. He had a fleet of only fourscore and ten galleys, and his army scarce amounted to twenty thousand men. As he had abundance of light vessels, he laid snares for those that carried the provisions of the enemy, of which he sunk a great number, took many, and prevented the rest from arriving; which occasioned a famine amongst the Persians, attended with violent seditions, which could only be appeased by the coming of fresh convoys from Cilicia. Evagoras strengthened his fleet with sixty galleys, which he caused to be built, and fifty sent him by Achoris king of Egypt, with all the money and corn he could have occasion for.

Evagoras with his land-forces attacked immediately a part of the enemy's army, which was separate from the rest, and entirely routed it. This first action was soon followed by another at sea, in which the Per-

(*u*) A. M. 3618. Ant. J. C. 386. Died. l. 15. p. 328—333.

sians

ſians were worſted for ſome time, till animated by the warm reproaches and remonſtrances of their admiral, they reſumed courage, and obtained a compleat victory. Salamin was immediately beſieged by ſea and land. Evagoras, leaving the defence of the city to his ſon Pythagoras, quitted it in the night with ten galleys, and ſailed for Egypt, to engage the king to ſupport him vigorouſly againſt the common enemy. He did not obtain from him all the aid he expected. At his return, he found the city in exceeding diſtreſs; and finding himſelf without reſource or hope, he was obliged to capitulate. The propoſals made to him were, that he ſhould abandon all the cities of Cyprus, except Salamin, where he ſhould content himſelf to reign; that he ſhould pay an annual tribute to the king, and remain in obedience to him as a ſervant to a maſter. The extremity to which he was reduced obliged him to accept the other conditions, hard as they were, but he could never reſolve to comply with the laſt, and perſiſted always in declaring, that he could only treat as a king with a king. Tiribaſus, who commanded the ſiege, would abate nothing of his pretenſions.

Orontes, the other general, jealous of his collegue's glory, had wrote ſecretly to court againſt him, accuſing him amongſt other things, of forming deſigns againſt the king, and ſtrengthened his accuſation from his continuing to hold a ſecret intelligence with the Lacedæmonians, and his manifeſt endeavours to make the chiefs of the army his creatures, by the force of preſents, promiſes, and a complacency of manners not natural to him. Artaxerxes upon theſe letters believed he had no time to loſe, and that it was neceſſary to prevent a conſpiracy ready to break out. He diſpatched orders immediately to Orontes, to ſeize Tiribaſus, and ſend him to court in chains, which was inſtantly put in execution. Tiribaſus upon his arrival demanded to be brought to a trial in form; that the heads of the accuſation ſhould be communicated to him, and the proofs and witneſſes produced. The king, employed

in other cares, had no leiſure at that time to take cognizance of the affair.

Orontes in the mean time ſeeing that the beſieged made a vigorous defence, and that the ſoldiers of the army, diſcontented with the removal of Tiribaſus, quitted the ſervice and refuſed to obey him, was afraid affairs would take a bad turn with regard to him, (x) He therefore cauſed Evagoras to be ſpoke to underhand; the negotiation was reſumed, the offers made at firſt by the latter were accepted, and the mortifying article, which had prevented the concluſion of the treaty, retrenched. The ſiege was raiſed in conſequence. Evagoras continued king of Salamin only, and engaged to pay an annual tribute.

It appears that this prince lived twelve or thirteen years after the concluſion of the treaty; for his death is dated in the year of the world 3632. His old age was attended with a happineſs and tranquillity never interrupted with ſickneſs or diſeaſe, the uſual effect of a ſober and temperate life. Nicocles his eldeſt ſon ſucceeded him, and inherited his virtues as well as throne. He celebrated his funeral with the utmoſt magnificence. The diſcourſe, entitled Evagoras, compoſed by Iſocrates, to inſpire the young king with the deſire of treading in the ſteps of his father, and from which I have extracted the ſubſequent elogium, ſerved for his funeral oration. He alſo addreſſed another tract to Nicocles which bears his name, wherein he gives him admirable precepts for governing well. I ſhall perhaps have occaſion to ſpeak further of them in the enſuing volume.

Elogy and character of Evagoras.

(y) Though Evagoras was only king of a little ſtate, Iſocrates, who was well able to judge of virtue and merit, compares him with the moſt powerful monarchs, and propoſes him as the perfect model of a good king, convinced that not the extent of provin-

(x) A. M. 3619. Ant. J. C. 385.

(y) Iſocrat. in Evag.

ces,

ces, but extent of mind and greatneſs of ſoul conſtitute great princes. He does in effect point out to us many qualities truly royal in him, and which ought to give us a very high idea of his merit.

Evagoras was not of the number of thoſe princes, who believe, that to reign, it is ſufficient to be of the blood royal, and that the birth, which gives a right to the crown, gives alſo the merit and qualities neceſſary for wearing it with honour. He did not fancy, that it could be ſuppoſed, as every other condition and ſtation of life made a kind of apprenticeſhip neceſſary to its ſucceſs, the art of reigning, the moſt difficult and important of all, ſhould require no pains and preparation for its attainment. He came into the world with the moſt happy diſpoſitions; a great fund of genius, an eaſy conception, a lively and inſtant penetration which nothing eſcaped, a ſolidity of judgment, that immediately reſolved what it was neceſſary to act; qualities, which might ſeem to diſpenſe with all ſtudy and application; and yet, as if he had been born without talents, and found himſelf obliged to ſupply by ſtudy what he might want by nature, he neglected no means for the embelliſhment of his mind, and devoted a * conſiderable part of his time in inſtructing himſelf, in reflecting, meditating, and conſulting the judgment and merit of others.

When he aſcended the throne, his greateſt care and application was to know mankind, in which the ability of a prince, and of thoſe who are at the head of affairs, principally conſiſts. He had no doubt prepared himſelf for that ſcience by the ſtudy of hiſtory, which gives a kind of anticipation of it, ſupplies the place of experience, and teaches us what the men are with whom we live, by what they have been in other ages. But we ſtudy men quite differently in themſelves; by their manners, characters, conduct and actions. The love of the commonwealth rendered him

* Ἐν τῷ ζητεῖν, καὶ φροντίζειν, καὶ βουλεύεσθαι, τὸν πλεῖστον χρόνον διέτριβεν.

attentive to all perſons, who were capable of ſerving or hurting it. He applied himſelf to the diſcovery of their moſt ſecret inclinations and principles of action, and to the knowledge of their different talents and degrees of capacity, in order to aſſign each his proper poſt, to beſtow authority according to merit, and to make the private and public good promote each other. He neither rewarded nor puniſhed his ſubjects, ſays Iſocrates, from the report of others; but ſolely upon his own knowledge and experience of them; and neither the virtues of the good, nor the vices of the bad, eſcaped his enquiry and penetration.

He had one quality very ſeldom found in thoſe who poſſeſs the firſt rank in authority, eſpecially when they believe themſelves capable of governing alone: I mean a wonderful docility and attention to the ſenſe of others, which aroſe from a diffidence in his own abilities. With his great qualities, he did not ſeem to have occaſion for recourſe to the counſel of others, and nevertheleſs made no reſolution, and formed no enterprize, without having firſt conſulted the wiſe perſons he had placed about him in his court; inſtead of which, pride and preſumption, the latent poiſons of ſovereign power, incline the greateſt part of thoſe who arrive at thrones, either to aſk no counſel at all, or not to follow it when they do.

Intent upon diſcovering the excellent in every form of government and private condition of life, he propoſed the uniting of all their high qualities and great advantages in himſelf; affable and popular as in a republican ſtate; grave and ſerious as in the councils of the aged and the ſenate; ſteady and deciſive as monarchy after mature deliberation; a profound politician by the extent and rectitude of his views; an accompliſhed warrior, from intrepid valour in battle directed by a wiſe moderation; a good father, a good relation, a good friend, and what crowns all his praiſe, * in every circumſtance of his character, always great, and always himſelf.

* Τρόπων δ' ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις διαφέρειν.

He

He ſupported his dignity and rank, not with an air of pride and haughtineſs, but by a ſerenity of aſpect, and a mild and eaſy majeſty, reſulting from innate virtue, and the evidence of a good conſcience. He won the hearts of his friends by his liberality, and conquered others by a greatneſs of ſoul, to which they could not refuſe their eſteem and admiration.

But what was moſt royal in him, and attracted the entire confidence of his ſubjects, neighbours, and even enemies, was his ſincerity, faith and regard to all his engagements; and his hatred, or rather deteſtation, for all diſguiſes, falſhood, and fraud. A ſingle word on his ſide had as much regard paid to it as the moſt ſacred oath; and it was univerſally known that nothing was capable of inducing him to violate it in the leaſt circumſtance whatſoever.

It was by all theſe excellent qualities, that he effectually reformed the city of Salamin, and entirely changed the face of its affairs in a very ſhort time. He found it groſs, ſavage, and barbarous, without any taſte either for learning, commerce, or arms. What cannot a prince do that loves his people, and is beloved by them; who believes himſelf great and powerful only to render them happy; and knows how to ſet a juſt value upon, and do honour to, their labours, induſtry, and merit of every kind? He had not been many years upon the throne, before arts, ſciences, commerce, navigation, and military diſcipline were ſeen to flouriſh at Salamin; inſomuch that that city did not give place to the moſt opulent of Greece.

Iſocrates often repeats, that in the praiſes he gives Evagoras, of which I have only extracted a part, far from exaggerating any thing, he always falls ſhort of truth. To what can we attribute a reign ſo wiſe, ſo juſt, ſo moderate, ſo conſtantly employed in rendering his ſubjects happy, and in promoting the public good? The condition of Evagoras, before he came to govern, ſeems to me to have contributed very much to it. The being born a prince, and the having never experienced

perienced any other condition but that of master and sovereign, are in my opinion great obstacles to the knowledge and practice of the duties of that high station. Evagoras, who came into the world under a tyrant, had long obeyed before he commanded. He had borne in a private and dependant life the yoke of an absolute and despotic power. He had seen himself exposed to envy and calumny, and had been in danger for his merit and virtue. Such a prince had only to be told upon his ascending the throne, what was said to a great * emperor. "† You have not always "been what you now are. Adversity has prepared "you to make a good use of power. You have lived "long amongst us, and like us. You have been in "danger under bad princes. You have trembled for "yourself, and known by experience how virtue and "innocence have been treated." What he had personally suffered, what he had feared for himself or others, what he had seen unjust and unreasonable in the conduct of his predecessors, had opened his eyes, and taught him all his duty. It sufficed to tell him, what the emperor Galba told Piso, when he adopted him his associate in the empire. "‖ Remember what "you condemned or applauded in princes, when you "were a private man. You have only to consult "the judgment you then passed upon them, and to "act conformably to it, for your instruction in the "art of reigning well."

Trial of Tiribasus.

We have already said, that Tiribasus, having been accused by Orontes of forming a conspiracy against

* *Trajan.*

† Quam utile est ad usum secundorum per adversa venisse! Vixisti nobiscum, periclitatus es, timuisti. Quæ tunc erat innocentium vita scis, et expertus es, *Plin. in Paneg.*

‖ Utilissimus quidem ac brevissimus bonarum malarumque rerum delectus, cogitare quid aut nolueris sub alio principe, aut volueris. *Tacit. Hist.* l. 1. c. 16.

the

the king, had been ſent to court in chains. Gaos, admiral of the fleet, who had married his daughter, apprehending that Artaxerxes would involve him in the affair with his father-in-law, and cauſe him to be put to death upon mere ſuſpicion, conceived he had no other means for his ſecurity, than an open revolt. He was very well beloved by the ſoldiers, and all the officers of the fleet were particularly at his devotion. Without loſs of time he ſent deputies to Achoris king of Egypt, and concluded a league with him againſt the king of Perſia. On another ſide, he ſollicited the Lacedæmonians warmly to come into that league, with aſſurances of making them maſters of all Greece, and of eſtabliſhing univerſally their form of government; at which they had long ſeemed to aſpire. They hearkened favourably to theſe propoſals, and embraced with joy this occaſion of taking arms againſt Artaxerxes; the rather becauſe the peace they had concluded with him, by which they had given up the Greeks of Aſia, had covered them with ſhame, and filled them with remorſe.

As ſoon as Artaxerxes had put an end to the war of * Cyprus, he thought of concluding alſo the affair of Tiribaſus. He was ſo juſt to appoint for that purpoſe three commiſſioners, who were great lords of Perſia of diſtinguiſhed probity, and of the higheſt reputation in his court. The affair came to an examination, and an hearing on both ſides. For ſo conſiderable a crime, as that of having conſpired againſt the king's perſon, no other proofs were produced, than the letter of Orontes; that is to ſay, of a declared enemy, ſtudious to ſupplant his rival. Orontes was in hopes from his credit at court, that the affair would not have been diſcuſſed in the uſual forms, and that upon the memorial ſent by him, the accuſed would have been condemned without further examination. But that

* *Diodorus refers the deciſion of this affair, till after the war with the Caduſians, of which we ſhall ſoon ſpeak; this ſeems very improbable.*

was not the cuſtom with the Perſians. By an antiently eſtabliſhed regulation, to which amongſt other privileges they had a right by birth, no perſon was ever to be condemned, without being firſt heard and confronted with his accuſers. This was granted to Tiribaſus, who anſwered to all the articles of the letter. As to his connivance with Evagoras, the treaty itſelf concluded by Orontes was his apology; as it was abſolutely the ſame, that prince had propoſed to him, except a condition, which would have done honour to his maſter. As to his intelligence with the Lacedæmonians, the glorious treaty he had made them ſign ſufficiently explained, whether his own, or the king's intereſts, were his motives for it. He did not deny his credit in the army; but appre-hended, it had not been long a crime to be beloved by the officers and ſoldiers; and concluded his defence, in repreſenting the long ſervices he had rendered the king with inviolable fidelity; and eſpecially his good fortune in having formerly ſaved his life, when he was hunting, and in great danger of being devoured by two lions. The three commiſſioners were unanimous in declaring Tiribaſus innocent. The king reſtored him to his former favour, and juſtly enraged at the black deſign of Orontes, let the whole weight of his indignation fall upon him. A ſingle example of this kind againſt informers convicted of falſhood, would for ever ſhut the door againſt calumny. How many innocents have been deſtroyed for want of obſerving this rule, which even the Pagans conſidered as the baſis of all juſtice, and the guardian of the public tranquillity.

SECT. VII. *The expedition of Artaxerxes againſt the Caduſians. Hiſtory of Datames the Carian.*

(a) WHEN Artaxerxes had terminated the Cyprian war, he entered upon another againſt the Caduſians, who it is probable had revolted, and re-

(a) Plut. in Artax. p. 1023, 1024.

fuſed

fuſed to pay the cuſtomary tribute; for authors ſay nothing as to the occaſion of this war. Thoſe people inhabited part of the mountains, ſituate between the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas in the north of Media. The ſoil is there ſo ungrateful, and ſo little proper for cultivation, that no corn is ſowed upon it. The people ſubſiſt almoſt entirely upon apples, pears, and other fruits of that kind. Inured from their infancy to a hard and laborious life, they looked upon dangers and fatigues as nothing; and for that reaſon made excellent ſoldiers. The king marched againſt them in perſon at the head of an army of three hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe. Tiribaſus was with him in this expedition.

Artaxerxes had not advanced far into the country, when his army ſuffered extremely by famine. The troops could find nothing to ſubſiſt upon, and it was impoſſible to bring proviſions from other places, the ways being difficult and impracticable. The whole camp were reduced to eat their carriage beaſts; which ſoon became ſo ſcarce, that an aſs's head was valued at ſixty drachmas *, and was very hard to be got at that price. The king's table itſelf began to fall ſhort, and only a few horſes remained, the reſt having been entirely conſumed.

In this melancholy conjuncture, Tiribaſus contrived a ſtratagem, which ſaved the king and army. The Cadufians had two kings, who were encamped ſeparately with their troops. Tiribaſus, who took care to be informed of all that paſſed, had been apprized, that there was ſome miſunderſtanding between them, and that their jealouſy of each other prevented their acting in concert, as they ought to have done. After having communicated his deſign to Artaxerxes, he went himſelf to one of the kings, and diſpatched his ſon to the other. They each of them informed the king to whom they applied, that the other had ſent ambaſſadors to treat with Artaxerxes privately, and ad-

* *Thirty livres.*

vifed

vised him to lose no time, but to make his peace directly, in order that the conditions of it might be the more advantageous; promising to assist them with their whole credit. The fraud succeeded. The * pagans thought it no crime to use it with enemies. Ambassadors set out from both princes with Tiribasus and his son in their company.

As this double negotiation lasted some time, Artaxerxes began to suspect Tiribasus; and his enemies taking that opportunity, forgot nothing to his prejudice, that might ruin him in the king's opinion. That prince already repented the confidence he had reposed in him, and thereby gave room for those who envied him, to vent their calumnies and invectives. Upon what does the fortune of the most faithful subjects depend with a credulous and suspicious prince! Whilst this pass'd, arrived Tiribasus on his side, and his son on the other, each with ambassadors from the Cadusians. The treaty being concluded with both parties, and the peace made, Tiribasus became more powerful than ever in his master's favour, and returned with him.

The king's behaviour in this march was much admired. Neither the gold with which he was covered, his purple robes, nor the jewels that glittered all over him, and were worth six and thirty millions of livres †, prevented his having an equal share in the whole fatigue with the meanest soldier. He was seen with his quiver at his back, and his shield on his arm, to dismount from his horse, and march foremost in those rugged and difficult countries. The soldiers observing his patience and fortitude, and animated by his example, became so light, that they seemed rather to fly than walk. At length he arrived at one of his palaces, where the gardens were in admirable order, and there was a park of great extent and well planted, which was the more surprizing, as the whole country about

* Dolus, an virtus, quis in hoste requirat? *Virgil.*
† *Twelve thousand talents.*

it

it was entirely naked, and bore no kind of trees. As it was the depth of winter, and exceſſive cold, he gave the ſoldiers permiſſion to cut down the wood in this park, without excepting the fineſt trees, either pines or cypreſſes. But the ſoldiers not being able to reſolve to fell timber of ſuch exceeding beauty and ſtatelineſs, the king took an ax, and began by cutting the fineſt and largeſt tree himſelf; after which the troops ſpared none, cut down all the wood they wanted, and kindled as many fires as were neceſſary to their paſſing the night without any inconvenience. When we reflect how much value great perſons generally ſet upon their gardens and houſes of pleaſure, we muſt confeſs Artaxerxes's generoſity in making this ſacrifice, which argued a very laudable goodneſs of heart, and a ſenſibility for the diſtreſſes and ſufferings of his ſoldiers: But he did not always ſupport that character.

The king had loſt in this enterprize a great number of his beſt troops, and almoſt all his horſes: And as he imagined that he was deſpiſed upon that account and the ill ſucceſs of his expedition, he became very much out of humour with the grandees of his court, and put to death a great number of them in the emotions of his wrath, and more, out of diſtruſt, and the fear of their attempting ſomething againſt him. For fear in a ſuſpicious prince is a very deſtructive and bloody paſſion; whereas true courage is gentle, humane, and averſe to all jealouſy and ſuſpicion.

(*b*) One of the principal officers that periſhed in this expedition againſt the Caduſians, was Camiſares, by nation a Carian, and governor of Leuco-Syria, a province incloſed between Cilicia and Cappadocia. His ſon Datames ſucceeded him in that government, which was given him in conſideration of the good ſervices he had alſo rendered the king in the ſame expedition. He was the greateſt captain of his time; and Cornelius Nepos, who has given us his life, does not prefer

(*b*) Corn. Nep. in vit. Datamis.

Amilcar

Amilcar and Hannibal to him amongſt the Barbarians. It appears from his hiſtory of it, that no one ever excelled him in boldneſs, valour, and ability in inventing ſchemes and ſtratagems, in activity in the execution of his deſigns, in preſence of mind to reſolve in the heat of action, and to find reſources upon the moſt deſperate occaſions; in a word, in every thing that regards military knowledge. It ſeems that nothing was wanting to his having acquired a more illuſtrious name, than a noble theatre, and more exalted occaſions; and perhaps an hiſtorian to have given a more extenſive narration of his exploits. For Cornelius Nepos, according to his general plan, could not relate them but in a very ſuccinct manner.

He began to diſtinguiſh himſelf particularly by the execution of a commiſſion, that was given him to reduce Thyus, a very powerful prince, and governor of Paphlagonia, who had revolted againſt the king. As he was his near relation, he thought it incumbent upon him at firſt to try the methods of lenity and reconciliation, which almoſt coſt him his life, through the treachery of Thyus, by the ambuſcades he laid for him. Having eſcaped ſo great a danger, he attacked him with open force; though he ſaw himſelf abandoned by Ariobarzanes, ſatrap of Lydia, Ionia, and all Phrygia, whom jealouſy prevented from giving him aid. He took his enemy priſoner, with his wife and children; and knowing with what joy the king would receive the news, he endeavoured to make it the more ſenſible by the pleaſure of a ſurprize. He ſet out with his illuſtrious priſoner, without giving the court any advice, and made great marches, to prevent its being known from rumour before his arrival. When he came to Suſa, he equipped Thyus in a very ſingular manner. He was a man of a very tall ſtature, of an haggard and terrible aſpect, a black complexion, with the hair of his head and beard very long. He dreſt him in a magnificent habit, put a collar and bracelets of gold about his neck and arms, and added to this

equipage

equipage all the ornaments of a king, as he was in effect. For himself, in the gross habit of a peasant, and clad like an hunter, he led Thyus upon the left in a leash, like a wild beast that had been taken in the toils. The novelty of the sight drew the whole city after it: But nobody was so much surprized and pleased as the king, when he saw them approach in that pleasant masquerade. The rebellion of a prince, very powerful in his country, had given Artaxerxes great and just alarm, and he did not expect to have seen him so soon in his hands. So sudden and successful an execution gave him an higher opinion than ever of the merit of Datames.

To express his sense of it, he gave him an equal share in the command of the army, designed against Egypt, with Pharnabasus and Tithraustes, the two principal persons in the state, and even appointed him general in chief, when he recalled Pharnabasus.

When he was upon the point of setting out for that expedition, Artaxerxes ordered him to march directly against Aspis, who had made the country revolt, which he commanded in the neighbourhood of Cappadocia. The commission was little important for an officer, who had been appointed general, and besides very dangerous, because it was necessary to go in quest of the enemy into a very remote country. The king soon perceived his error, and countermanded him: But Datames had set out directly with an handful of men, and marched night and day; judging that diligence, without a great number of troops, was all that was necessary to surprize and vanquish the enemy. It happened according to his expectation, and the couriers dispatched by the king, met Aspis in chains upon the road to Susa.

Nothing was talked of at the court but Datames. It was not known which to admire most, his ready obedience, his wise and enterprizing bravery, or his extraordinary success. So glorious a reputation gave offence to the courtiers in power. Enemies in secret to

each other, and divided by a contrariety of intereſts, and a competition in their pretenſions, they united together againſt a ſuperior merit which reproached their defects, and was therefore a crime in their acceptation. They conſpired to ruin him in the king's opinion, and ſucceeded but too well. As they beſieged him perpetually, and he was not upon his guard againſt perſons who appeared ſo well affected to his ſervice, they inſpired him with jealouſy and ſuſpicion to the prejudice of the moſt zealous and faithful of his officers.

An intimate friend of Datames, who held one of the higheſt poſts at the court, apprized him of what paſſed, and of the conſpiracy, which had been formed againſt him, and had already ſunk his credit conſiderably with the king. * He repreſented to him, that if the Egyptian expedition, with which he was charged, ſhould take a bad turn, he would find himſelf expoſed to great dangers: That it was the cuſtom with kings to attribute good ſucceſſes to themſelves and their auſpicious fortune only, and to impute the bad to the faults of their generals, for which they were reſponſible at the peril of their heads: That he ran the greater riſque, as all that were about the king's perſon and had any aſcendant over him, were his declared enemies, and had ſworn his deſtruction.

Upon this advice, Datames reſolved to quit the king's ſervice, though without doing any thing hitherto contrary to the fidelity he owed him. He left the command of the army to Mandrocles of Magneſia, departed with his own troops for Cappadocia, ſeized Paphlagonia which joined it, allied himſelf ſecretly with Ariobarzanes, raiſed troops, took poſſeſſion of fortreſſes, and put good garriſons in them. He received advice, that the Piſidians were arming againſt him.

* Docet eum magno fore in periculo, ſiquid, illo imperante, in Ægypto adverſi accidiſſet. Namque eam eſſe conſuetudinem regum, ut caſus adverſos hominibus tribuant, ſecundos fortunæ ſuæ; quo facile fieri, ut impellantur ad eorum perniciem, quorum ductu res malè geſtæ nuncientur. Illum hoc majore fore in diſcrimine, quòd, quibus rex maxime obediat, eos habeat inimiciſſimos. *Cor. Nep.*

him. He did not wait their coming on, but made his army march thither under the command of his youngeſt ſon, who had the misfortune to be killed in a battle. However lively his affliction might be upon that occaſion, he concealed his death, leſt the bad news ſhould diſcourage his troops. When he approached near the enemy, his firſt care was to take poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt. (c) Mithrobarzanes, his father-in-law, who commanded the horſe, believing his ſon entirely ruined, determined to go over to the enemy. Datames, without concern or emotion, cauſed a rumour to be ſpread throughout the army, that it was only a feint concerted between him and his father-in-law, and followed him cloſe, as if he deſigned to put his troops into a diſpoſition for charging the enemy in two different attacks. The ſtratagem had all the ſucceſs he expected from it. When they joined battle, Mithrobarzanes was treated as an enemy on both ſides, and cut to pieces with his troops. The army of the Piſidians was put to flight, and left Datames maſter of the field, and of all the rich booty found in the camp of the conquered.

Datames had not till then declared openly againſt the king, the actions we have related being only againſt governors, with whom he might have particular differences, which we have obſerved before was common enough. His own eldeſt ſon, called Sciſmas, made himſelf his accuſer, and diſcovered his whole deſigns to the king. Artaxerxes was highly apprehenſive of the conſequence. He knew all the merit of this new enemy, and that he did not engage in any enterprize, without having maturely conſidered all its conſequences, and taken the neceſſary meaſures to ſecure its ſucceſs; and that hitherto the execution had always anſwered the wiſdom of his projects. He ſent an army againſt him into Cappadocia of almoſt two hundred thouſand men, of which twenty thouſand were horſe, all commanded by Autophradates. The troops of Da-

(c) Diod. l. 15. p. 399.

tames

tames did not amount to the twentieth part of the king's: ſo that he had no reſource but in himſelf, the valour of his ſoldiers, and the happy ſituation of the poſt he had choſen. For in that conſiſted his chief excellence; never captain having better known how to take his advantages and chuſe his ground, when he was to draw up an army in battle.

His poſt, as I have obſerved, was infinitely ſuperior to that of the enemy. He had pitched upon a ſituation, where they could not ſurround him; where, upon the leaſt movement they made, he could come to blows with them with very conſiderable advantage; and where, had they reſolved to fight, their odds in number would have been abſolutely uſeleſs to them. Autophradates well knew, that according to all the rules of war, he ought not to hazard a battle in ſuch a conjuncture: but he obſerved at the ſame time, that it was much to his diſhonour with ſo numerous an army, to make choice of a retreat, or to continue any longer in inaction before an handful of enemies. He therefore gave the ſignal. The firſt attack was rude; but the troops of Autophradates ſoon gave way, and were entirely routed. The victor purſued them for ſome time with great ſlaughter. There were only a thouſand men killed on the ſide of Datames.

Several battles, or rather ſkirmiſhes, were fought afterwards, in which the latter was always victorious; becauſe, perfectly knowing the country, and ſucceeding eſpecially in the ſtratagems of war, he always poſted himſelf advantagiouſly, and engaged the enemy in difficult ground, from whence they could not extricate themſelves without loſs. Autophradates ſeeing all his endeavours ineffectual, and his ſupplies entirely exhauſted, and deſpairing of ever being able to ſubject by force ſo artful and valiant an enemy, treated an accommodation, and propoſed to him, the being reſtored to the king's favour upon honourable conditions. Datames was not ignorant, that there was little ſecurity for him in ſuch a choice, becauſe princes are ſeldom

dom reconciled in earneſt with a ſubject, who has failed in his obedience, and to whom they ſee themſelves in ſome ſort obliged to ſubmit. However, as only deſpair had hurried him into the revolt, and he had always retained at heart the ſentiments of zeal and affection for his prince, he accepted the offers with joy, which would put an end to the violent condition his misfortune had engaged him in, and afforded him the means of returning to his duty, and of employing his talents for the ſervice of the prince to whom they were due. He promiſed to ſend deputies to the king; upon which enſued a ceſſation of arms, and Autophradates retired into Phrygia, which was his government.

Datames was not deceived. Artaxerxes, furiouſly enraged againſt him, had changed the eſteem and affection, he formerly profeſſed for him, into an implacable hatred. Finding himſelf incapable of conquering him by the force of arms, he was not aſhamed to employ artifice and treachery: means unworthy every man of honour, and how much more ſo of a prince! He hired ſeveral murderers to aſſaſſinate him; but Datames was ſo happy as to eſcape their ambuſcades. At length Mithridates, the ſon of Ariobarzanes, to whom the king had made magnificent promiſes, if he could deliver him from ſo formidable an enemy, having inſinuated himſelf into his friendſhip, and having long treated him with all the marks of the moſt entire fidelity to acquire his confidence, took the advantage of a favourable opportunity, when he was alone, and ſtabbed him with his ſword, before he was in a condition to defend himſelf.

Thus * fell this great captain in the ſnares of a pretended friendſhip, who had always thought it his honour to obſerve the moſt inviolable fidelity, in regard to thoſe with whom he had any engagements. Happy, had he always piqued himſelf alſo upon being as faithful a ſubject, as he was a true friend; and if he had not,

* Ita vir, qui multos conſilio, neminem perfidia ceperat, ſimulata captus eſt amicitia. *Cor. Nep.*

in

in the latter part of his life, ſullied the luſtre of his heroic qualities, by the ill uſe he made of them; which neither the fear of diſgrace, the injuſtice of thoſe who envied him, the ingratitude of his maſter for the ſervices he had rendered him, nor † any other pretext could ſufficiently authorize.

I am ſurprized, that, comparable as he was to the greateſt perſons of antiquity, he has remained in a manner buried in ſilence and oblivion. His great actions and exploits are however worthy of being preſerved in hiſtory. For it is in ſuch ſmall bodies of troops, as thoſe of Datames, that the whole ſoul is exerted, in which the higheſt prudence is ſhewn, in which chance has no ſhare, and the abilities of a general appear in their full light.

CHAPTER IV.

Hiſtory of Socrates abridged.

AS the death of Socrates is one of the moſt conſiderable events of antiquity, I thought it incumbent on me to treat that ſubject with all the extent it deſerves. In this view I ſhall premiſe ſome things, which are neceſſary to the reader's having a juſt idea of this prince of the philoſophers.

Two authors will ſupply me principally with what I have to ſay upon this ſubject, Plato and Xenophon, both diſciples of Socrates. It is to them poſterity is indebted for many of his diſcourſes, (* that philoſopher having left nothing in writing,) and for an ample account of all the circumſtances of his condemnation

† *This doctrine of Mr. Rollin's may do very well in France, where implicit obedience to the grand monarch is the law of the land; but it has too much of that exploded abſurdity, paſſive obedience, (founded in an erroneous acceptation of religion,) to be admitted in a free nation; where, by the maxims of the law, and the conſtitution of the government, the ſubject in many inſtances is diſpenſed from his obedience, and may defend himſelf (even in arms) againſt his prince: viz. in caſes of life and liberty.*

* Socrates, cujus ingenium varioſque ſermones immortalitati ſcriptis ſuis Plato tradidit, literam nullam reliquit. *Cic. de orat.* l. 3. n. 57.

and

and death. Plato was an eye-witneſs of the whole, and relates in his Apology the manner of Socrates's accuſation and defence; in his Criton, his refuſal to make his eſcape out of priſon; in his Phædon, his admirable diſcourſe upon the immortality of the ſoul, which was immediately followed by his death. Xenophon was abſent at that time, and upon his return after the expedition of young Cyrus againſt his brother Artaxerxes: So that he wrote his Apology of Socrates only upon the report of others, but his actions and diſcourſes in his four books of memorable things, he repeats from his own knowledge. Diogenes Laertius has given us the life of Socrates, but in a very dry and abridged manner.

SECT. I. *Birth of Socrates. He applies at firſt to ſculpture; then to the ſtudy of the ſciences: His wonderful progreſs in them. His taſte for moral philoſophy: His manner of living, and ſufferings from the ill humour of his wife.*

(*a*) SOCRATES was born at Athens in the fourth year of the ſeventy-ſeventh olympiad. His father Sophroniſcus was a ſculptor, and his mother Phanarete a midwife. Hence we may obſerve that meanneſs of birth is no obſtacle to true merit, in which alone ſolid glory and real nobility conſiſt. It appears from the compariſons Socrates often uſed in his diſcourſes, that he was neither aſhamed of his father's or mother's profeſſion. (*b*) He was ſurprized that a ſculptor ſhould employ his whole attention to mould an inſenſible ſtone into the likeneſs of a man, and that a man ſhould take ſo little pains not to reſemble an inſenſible ſtone. (*c*) He would often ſay, that he exerciſed the function of a midwife with regard to the mind, in making it bring forth all its thoughts, which was indeed the peculiar talent of Socrates. He treated ſubjects in ſo ſimple, natural, and pure an order, that he made thoſe with whom he diſputed ſay what he

(*a*) A. M. 3533. Ant. J. C. 471. Diog. Laert. in Socrat. p. 100.
(*b*) Id. p. 110. (*c*) Plat. in Theatet. p. 149, &c.

would, and find an anſwer themſelves to all the queſtions he propoſed to them. He at firſt learnt his father's trade, in which he made himſelf very expert. (*d*) In the time of Pauſanias, there was a Mercury and the Graces to be ſeen at Athens of his workmanſhip; and it is to be preſumed, theſe ſtatues would not have found place amongſt thoſe of the greateſt maſters in the art, if they had not been thought worthy of it.

(*e*) Criton is reported to have taken him out of his father's ſhop, from the admiration of his fine genius, and the opinion that it was inconſiſtent for a young man capable of the greateſt things to continue perpetually employed upon ſtone with a chiſſel in his hand. He was the diſciple of Archelaus, who conceived a great affection for him. Archelaus had been pupil to Anaxagoras, a very celebrated philoſopher. His firſt ſtudy was phyſicks, the works of nature, and the movement of the heavens, ſtars, and planets; according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, wherein only that part of philoſophy was known, and Xenophon (*f*) aſſures us of his being very learned in it. But * after having found by his own experience, how difficult, abſtruſe, intricate, and at the ſame how little uſeful that kind of learning was to the generality of mankind, he was the firſt, according to Cicero, who conceived the thought of bringing down philoſophy from heaven, to place it in cities, and introduce it into

(*d*) Pauſ. l. 9. p. 596. (*e*) Diog. p. 101. (*f*) Lib. 4. Memorab. p. 710.

* Socrates primus philoſophiam devocavit è cælo, et in urbibus collocavit, et in domos etiam introduxit, et coegit de vita et moribus, rebuſque bonis et malis quærere. *Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt.* l. 5. n. 10.

Socrates mihi videtur, id quod conſtat inter omnes, primus à rebus occultis, et ab ipſa natura involutis, in quibus omnes ante eum philoſophi occupati fuerunt, avocaviſſe philoſophiam, et ad vitam communem adduxiſſe; ut de virtutibus et vitiis, omninoque de bonis rebus et malis quæreret; cœleſtia autem vel procul eſſe à noſtra cognitione conſeret, vel ſi maximè cognita eſſent, nihil tamen ad bene vivendum conferre. *Cic. Acad. Quæſt.* l. 1. n. 15.

private houſes; humanizing it, to uſe that expreſſion, and rendering it more familiar, more uſeful in common life, more within the reach of man's capacity, and applying it ſolely to what might make them more rational, juſt, and virtuous. (*g*) He found there was a kind of folly in devoting the whole vivacity of his mind, and employing all his time, in enquiries merely curious, involved in impenetrable darkneſs, and abſolutely incapable of contributing to human happineſs; whilſt he neglected to inform himſelf in the ordinary duties of life, and in learning what is conformable, or oppoſite, to piety, juſtice, and probity; in what fortitude, temperance, and wiſdom conſiſt; what is the end of all government, what the rules of it, and what qualities are neceſſary for commanding and ruling well. We ſhall ſee in the ſequel the uſe he made of this ſtudy.

It was ſo far from preventing him to diſcharge the duties of a good citizen, that it was the means of making him the more obſervant of them. He bore arms, as did all the people of Athens; but with more pure and elevated motives. He made many campaigns, was preſent in many actions, and always diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour and fortitude. He was ſeen towards the end of his life, giving in the ſenate, of which he was a member, the moſt ſhining proofs of his zeal for juſtice, without being intimidated by the greateſt preſent dangers.

He had accuſtomed himſelf early to a ſober, ſevere, laborious life; without which it ſeldom happens, that men are capable of diſcharging the greateſt part of the duties of good citizens. It is difficult to carry the contempt of riches and the love of poverty farther than he did. (*b*) He looked upon it as a divine perfection to be in want of nothing, and believed, the leſs we are contented with, the nearer we approach to

(g) Xenoph. Memorab. l. 1. p. 710. (*b*) Xenoph. Memorab. l. 1. p. 731.

the divinity. * Seeing the pomp and shew displayed by luxury in certain ceremonies, and the infinite quantity of gold and silver employed in them: "How "many things" said he, congratulating himself on his condition, "do I not want!" *Quantis non egeo!*

(*i*) His father left him fourscore minæ, that is to say, four thousand livres, which he lent to one of his friends who had occasion for that sum. But the affairs of that friend having taken an ill turn, he lost the whole, and suffered that misfortune with such indifference and tranquillity, that he did not so much as complain of it. (*k*) We find in Xenophon's Œconomics, that his whole estate amounted to no more than five minæ, or two hundred and fifty livres. The richest persons of Athens were his friends, who could never prevail upon him to accept any share of their wealth. When he was in want of any thing, he was not ashamed to declare it: † *If I had money*, said he one day in an assembly of his friends, *I should buy me a cloak.* He did not address himself to any body in particular, but contented himself with that general information. His disciples contended for the honour of making him this small present: which was being too slow, says Seneca; their own observation ought to have prevented both the want and the demand.

He generously refused the offers and presents of Archelaus king of Macedonia, who was desirous of having him at his court; adding, *that he could not go to a man, who could give him more than it was in his power to return.* Another philosopher does not approve this answer. "Was it making a prince a small re-"turn," says Seneca, "to undeceive him in his false

(*i*) Liban. in Apolog. Socrat. p. 640. (*k*) Xenoph. œcon. p. 822.

* Socrates in pompa, cum magna vis auri argentique ferretur; Quam multa non desidero, inquit! *Cic. Tusc. Quæst.* l. 5.

† Socrates amicis audientibus: *Emissem*, inquit, *pallium, si nummos haberem.* Neminem popposcit, omnes admonuit. A quo acciperet, ambitus fuit —— Post hoc quisquis properaverit, sero dat; jam Socrati defuit. *Senec. de benef.* l. 7. c. 24.

" ideas of grandeur and magnificence; to inſpire him
" with a contempt for riches; to ſhew him the right
" uſe of them; to inſtruct him in the great art of
" reigning; in a word, to teach him how to live and
" how to die? But," continues Seneca, " the
" true reaſon, which prevented his going to the court
" of that prince, was, that he did not think it con-
" ſiſtent for him to ſeek a voluntary ſervitude, whoſe
" liberty a free city could not ſuffer him to enjoy."
Noluit ire ad voluntariam ſervitutem is cujus libertatem civitas libera ferre non potuit (*l*).

(*m*) The peculiar auſterity of his life did not render him gloomy and moroſe, as was common enough with the philoſophers of thoſe times. (*n*) In company and converſation he was always gay and facetious, and the ſole joy and ſpirit of the entertainment. Tho' he was very poor, he piqued himſelf upon the neatneſs of his perſon and houſe, and could not ſuffer the ridiculous affectation of Antiſthenes, who always wore dirty and ragged cloaths. He told him once, that through the holes in his cloak, and the reſt of his tatters, abundance of vanity might be diſcerned.

One of the moſt diſtinguiſhing qualities of Socrates, was a tranquillity of ſoul, that no accident, no loſs, no injury, no ill treatment, could ever alter. Some have believed, that he was by nature haſty and paſſionate, and that the moderation, to which he had attained, was the effect of his reflections and endeavours to ſubdue and correct himſelf; which would ſtill add to his merit. (*o*) Seneca tells us, that he had deſired his friends to apprize him whenever they ſaw him ready to fall into a paſſion, and that he had given them that privilege over him, which he took himſelf with them. * Indeed the beſt time to call in aid againſt rage and anger, that have ſo violent and ſudden a

(*l*) Senec. de benef. l. 5. c. 6. (*m*) Xenoph. in conviv.
(*n*) Ælian. l. 4. c. 11 & l. 9. c. 35. (*o*) Senec. de ira, l. 3. c. 15.

* Contra potens malum et apud nos gratioſum, dum conſpicimus, et noſtri ſumus, advocamus.

power over us, is when we are yet ourſelves, and in cool blood. At the firſt ſignal, the leaſt animadverſion, he either ſoftened his tone, or was ſilent. Finding himſelf in great emotion againſt a ſlave: "I "would beat you," ſays he, "if I were not angry:" (p) *Cæderem te, niſi iraſcerer.* Having received a box on the ear, he contented himſelf with only ſaying with a ſmile: (q) *'Tis a misfortune not to know when to put on an helmet.*

Without going out of his own houſe, he found enough to exerciſe his patience in all its extent. Xantippe his wife put it to the ſevereſt proofs by her capricious, paſſionate, violent diſpoſition. It ſeems, before he took her for his companion, that he was not ignorant of her character; and he ſays himſelf in Xenophon (r) that he had expreſsly choſen her, from the conviction, that if he ſhould be capable of bearing her inſults, there would be no body, though ever ſo difficult to endure, with whom he could not live. Never was woman of ſo violent and fantaſtical a ſpirit and ſo bad a temper. There was no kind of abuſe or injurious treatment, which he had not to experience from her. She would ſometimes be tranſported with ſuch an exceſs of rage, as to tear of his cloak in the open ſtreet; (s) and even one day after having vented all the reproaches her fury could ſuggeſt, ſhe emptied a pot upon his head; at which he only laughed, and ſaid, *that ſo much thunder muſt needs produce a ſhower.*

(t) Some antient authors write, that Socrates married a ſecond wife, named Myrto, who was the granddaughter of Ariſtides the Juſt, and that he ſuffered exceedingly from them both, who were continually quarrelling with each other, and never agreed, but in loading him with reproaches, and doing him all the offence they could invent. They pretend, that during the Peloponneſian war, after the peſtilence had ſwept off

(p) Ibid. l. 1. c. 15. (q) Ibid. l. 3. c. 11. (r) Xenoph. in conviv. p. 876. (s) Diog. in Socrat. p. 112. (t) Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 335. Athen. l. 13. p. 555. Diog. Laert. in Socrat. p. 105.

great

great part of the Athenians, a decree was made, whereby, to retrieve the ſooner the ruins of the republic, each citizen was permitted to have two wives at the ſame time, and that Socrates took the benefit of this new law. Thoſe authors found this circumſtance ſolely upon a paſſage in a treatiſe on nobility, aſcribed to Ariſtotle. But beſides that, according to Plutarch himſelf, Panetius, a very grave author, has fully refuted this opinion, neither Plato nor Xenophon, who were well acquainted with all that related to their maſter, ſay any thing of this ſecond marriage of Socrates; and on another ſide, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Diodorus Siculus, who have treated at large all the particulars of the Peloponneſian war, are alike ſilent in regard to the pretended decree of Athens, which permitted bigamy. We ſhall ſee in the firſt volumes of the Memoirs of the academy of Belles Lettres, when publiſhed, a diſſertation of Monſieur Hardion's upon this ſubject, wherein he demonſtrates, that the ſecond marriage of Socrates, and the decree upon bigamy, are ſuppoſititious facts.

SECT. II. *Of the dæmon, or familiar ſpirit of Socrates.*

OUR knowledge of Socrates would be defective if we knew nothing of the genius, which, he ſaid, had aſſiſted him with its counſel and protection in the greateſt part of his actions. It is not agreed amongſt authors, what this genius was, commonly called *The dæmon of Socrates*, from the Greek word, Δαιμόνιον, that ſignifies ſomething of a divine nature, conceived as a ſecret voice, a ſign, or ſuch an inſpiration as diviners are ſuppoſed to have had: This genius diverted him from the execution of his deſigns when they have been prejudicial to him, without ever inducing him to act any thing: (*u*) *Eſſe divinum quoddam, quod Socrates dæmonium appellat, cui ſemper ipſe paruerit, nunquam impellenti, ſæpe revocanti.* Plutarch, in his treatiſe intituled, *Of the genius of Socrates*, repeats the different

(*u*) Cic. de divin, l. 1, n, 122.

ſentiments of the antients upon the exiſtence and nature of this genius. (x) I ſhall confine myſelf to that of them, which ſeems the moſt natural and reaſonable, though he does not lay much ſtreſs upon it.

We know that the divinity has a clear and unerring knowledge of futurity; that man cannot penetrate into its darkneſs but by uncertain and confuſed conjectures: that thoſe who ſucceed beſt in that reſearch, are ſuch, who by a more exact and ſtudied compariſon of the different cauſes capable of influencing future events, diſtinguiſh with greater force and perſpicuity, what will be the reſult and iſſue of the conflict of thoſe different cauſes in conducing to the ſucceſs or miſcarriage of an effect or enterprize. This foreſight and diſcernment has ſomething of divine in it, exalts us above the reſt of mankind, approaches us to the divinity, and makes us participate in ſome meaſure in his counſels and deſigns, by giving us an inſight and preſcience, to a certain degree, of what he has ordained concerning the future. Socrates had a juſt and piercing judgment, joined with the moſt exquiſite prudence. He might call this judgment and prudence δαιμόνιον, *ſomething divine*, uſing indeed a kind of equivocality in the expreſſion, without attributing to himſelf however the merit of his wiſdom in conjecturing upon the future. The Abbé Fraguier comes very near the ſame opinion in the diſſertation he has left us upon this ſubject in the (y) Memoirs of the academy of Belles Lettres.

(z) The effect, or rather function of this genius was to ſtop and prevent his acting, without ever inducing him to act. He received alſo the ſame impulſe, when his friends were going to engage in any bad affair, and communicated it to him; and ſeveral inſtances are related, wherein they found themſelves very unfortunate from not having believed him. Now what other ſignification can be given to this, than that it implies under myſterious terms, a mind, which by its own lights, and the knowledge of mankind, has attained a ſort of

(x) P. 580. (y) Tom. IV. p. 368. (z) Plat. in Theag. p. 128.

inſight

inſight into futurity? And if Socrates had not intended to leſſen in his own perſon the merit of an unerring judgment, by attributing it to a kind of inſtinct, if at bottom he had deſired any thing to be underſtood, beſides the general aid of the divine wiſdom, which ſpeaks in every man by the voice of reaſon, would we have eſcaped, ſays Xenophon (*a*), the cenſure of arrogance and falſhood?

(*b*) God has always prevented me from ſpeaking to you, ſays he to Alcibiades, whilſt the weakneſs of your age would have rendered my diſcourſes ineffectual to you. But I conceive I may now enter into diſpute with you, as an ambitious young man, for whom the laws open a way to the dignities of the republic. Is it not viſible here, that prudence prevented Socrates from treating Alcibiades ſeriouſly at a time, when grave and ſevere converſation would have given him a diſguſt, of which he might perhaps never have got the better? (*c*) And when, in his dialogue upon the commonwealth, Socrates aſcribes his avoiding public buſineſs to inſpiration from above, does he mean any thing more than what he ſays in his apology, that a juſt and good man, who intermeddles with the government in a corrupt ſtate, is not long without periſhing? If (*d*), when he appears before the judges that were to condemn him, that divine voice is not heard to prevent him, as it was upon dangerous occaſions, the reaſon is, that he did not deem it a misfortune for him to die, eſpecially at his age, and in his circumſtances. Every body knows what his prognoſtication had been long before, upon the unfortunate expedition of Sicily. He attributed it to his dæmon, and declared it to be the inſpiration of that ſpirit. A wiſe man, who ſees an affair ill concerted, and conducted with paſſion, may eaſily propheſy upon the event of it, without the aid of a dæmon's inſpiration.

(*a*) Memorab. l. 1. p. 708. (*b*) Plat. in Alcib. p. 150. (*c*) Lib. 6. de rep. p. 496. Apolog. Soc. p. 31, 32. (*d*) Ibid. p. 40.

It must be allowed however, that the opinion which gives men genii and angels to direct and guard them, was not unknown, even to the pagans. (*e*) Plutarch cites the verses of Menander, in which that poet expressly says, *That every man at his birth has a good genius given him, which attends him during the whole course of his life as a guide and director.*

Ἅπαντι δαίμων ἀνδρὶ συμπαραστατεῖ
Εὐθὺς γενομένῳ, μυσταγωγὸς τοῦ βίου
Ἀγαθός.

It may be believed with probability enough, that the dæmon of Socrates, which has been so differently spoken of, and thereby made it a question, whether it was a good or bad angel, was no more than the force and rectitude of his judgment, which acting according to the rules of prudence, and with the aid of a long experience, supported by wise reflections, made him foresee the events of those things, upon which he was either consulted, or deliberated himself.

I conceive at the same time, that he was not sorry the people should believe him inspired, or that he knew futurity by any effect of the divinity whatsoever. That opinion might exalt him very much in the sense of the Athenians, and give him an authority, of which the greatest * persons of the pagan world were very fond, and which they endeavoured to acquire by secret communications, and pretended conferences, with some divinity: but it drew the jealousy of many of the citizens upon him.

(*e*) De anim. tranquil. p. 474.

* *Lycurgus and Solon had recourse to the authority of oracles to advance their credit. Zaleucus pretended, that his laws had been dictated to him by Minerva. Numa Pompilius blasted his conferences with the goddess Egeria. The first Scipio Africanus made the people believe that the gods gave him secret counsels. Even Sertorius's hind had something divine in it.*

SECT.

SECT. III. *Socrates declared the wiſeſt of mankind by the oracle of Delphos.*

(*f*) THIS declaration of the oracle, ſo advantageous in appearance for Socrates, did not a little contribute to the enflaming envy, and ſtirring up of enemies againſt him, as he tells us himſelf in his Apology, wherein he recounts the occaſion, and true ſenſe of that oracle.

Chærephon, a zealous diſciple of Socrates, happening to be at Delphos, demanded of the oracle, whether there was a wiſer man than Socrates in the world. The prieſteſs replied there was none. This anſwer puzzled Socrates extremely, who could ſcarce comprehend the ſenſe of it. For on the one ſide, he well knew, ſays he of himſelf, that there was neither much nor little wiſdom in him; and on the other, he could not ſuſpect the oracle of falſhood, the divinity being incapable of telling a lie. He therefore conſidered it attentively, and took great pains to penetrate the ſenſe of it. At firſt he applied himſelf to a powerful citizen; a ſtateſman, and a great politician, who paſſed for one of the wiſeſt men of the city, and who was himſelf as much convinced of his own merit as any body. He found by his converſation that he knew nothing, and inſinuated as much to himſelf in terms ſufficiently intelligible; which made him extremely odious to that citizen, and all who were preſent. He did the ſame by ſeveral others of the ſame profeſſion; and all the fruit of his enquiry was, to draw upon himſelf a greater number of enemies. From the ſtateſman he addreſſed himſelf to the poets, whom he found ſtill fuller of ſelf-eſteem, but really more void of knowledge and wiſdom. He purſued his enquiries to the artiſans, and could not meet with one, who, becauſe he ſucceeded in his own art, did not believe himſelf very capable, and fully informed in all

(*f*) Plut. in Apolog. p. 21. 23.

that

that was great beſides; which preſumption was the almoſt univerſal failing of the Athenians. As they had naturally abundance of wit, they pretended to be knowing in every thing, and believed themſelves capable of pronouncing upon all things. His enquiries amongſt ſtrangers were not more ſucceſsful.

Socrates afterwards entering into and comparing himſelf with all thoſe he had queſtioned, * diſcovered, that the difference between him and them was, that they all believed they knew what they did not know, and that for his part, he ſincerely profeſſed his ignorance. From thence he concluded, that only God is truly wiſe, and that the true meaning of his oracle was to ſignify, that all human wiſdom was no great matter, or to ſpeak more properly, was nothing at all. And as to the oracle's naming me, it no doubt did ſo, ſays he, by way of ſetting me up for an example, as if it intended to declare to all men, The wiſeſt amongſt you is he, who knows like Socrates, that there is no real wiſdom in him.

SECT. IV. *Socrates devotes himſelf entirely to the inſtruction of the youth of Athens. Affection of his diſciples for him. The admirable principles with which he inſpires them either for government or religion.*

AFTER having related ſome particularities in the life of Socrates, it is time to proceed to that, in which his character principally and peculiarly conſiſted; I mean the pains he took to inſtruct mankind, and particularly in forming the youth of Athens.

(g) He ſeemed, ſays Libanius, the common father of the republic, ſo attentive was he to the happineſs

(g) In Apol. Socrat. p. 641.

* Socrates in omnibus fere ſermonibus ſic diſputat, ut nihil affirmet ipſe, refellat alios: nihil ſe ſcire dicat, nili id ipſum, eoque præſtare cæteris, quod illi, quæ neſciant, ſcire ſe putent; ipſe ſe nihil ſcire id unum ſciat, ob eamque rem ſe arbitrari ab Apolline omnium ſapientiſſimum eſſe dictum, quod hæc eſſet una omnis ſapientia, non arbitrari ſe ſcire quod neſciat. *Cic. Acad. Quæſt.* l. 1. n. 15, 16.

and

and advantage of his whole country. But as it is very difficult to correct the aged, and to make people change principles, who revere the errors in which they have grown grey, he devoted his labours principally to the inſtruction of youth, in order to ſow the ſeeds of virtue in a ſoil more fit to produce the fruits of it.

(*b*) He had no open ſchool like the reſt of the philoſophers, nor ſet times for his leſſons. He had no benches prepared, nor ever mounted a profeſſor's chair. He was the philoſopher of all times and ſeaſons. He taught in all places, and upon all occaſions; in walking, converſation, at meals, in the army, and in the midſt of the camp, in the public aſſemblies of the ſenate or people, in priſon itſelf, and when he drank the poiſon he philoſophized, ſays Plutarch, and and inſtructed mankind. And from thence the ſame judicious author takes occaſion to eſtabliſh a great principle in point of government, which Seneca * before him had placed in all its light. To be a public man, ſays he, it is not neceſſary to be actually in office, to wear the robe of judge or magiſtrate, and to ſit in the higheſt tribunals for the adminiſtration of juſtice. Many do this, who, though honoured with the fine names of orators, prætors, and ſenators, if they want the merit of thoſe characters, ought to be regarded as private perſons, and often confounded with the loweſt and vileſt of the populace. But whoever knows to

(*b*) Plut. an ſeni ſit. ger. reſp. p. 796.

* Habet ubi ſe etiam in privato late explicet magnus animus—— Ita delituerit (vir ille) ut ubicunque otium ſuum abſconderit, prodeſſe velit & ſingulis & univerſis, ingenio, voce, conſilio. Nec enim is ſolus reip. prodeſt, qui candidatos extrahit, & tuetur reos, & de pace belloque cenſet, ſed qui juventutem exhortatur, qui in tanta bonorum præceptorum inopia virtute inſtruit animos, qui ad pecuniam luxuriamque curſu ruentes prenſat ac retrahit, & ſi nihil aliud certe moratur, in privato publicum negotium agit. An ille plus præſtat, qui inter peregrinos & cives, aut urbanus prætor adeuntibus adſeſſoris verba pronunciat; quam qui docet, quid ſit juſtitia, quid pietas, quid patientia, quid fortitudo, quid mortis contemptus, quid deorum intellectus, quam gratuitum bonum ſit conſcientia? *Sene. de tranquil. anim.* c. 3.

give

give wiſe counſel to thoſe who conſult him, to animate the citizens to virtue, and to inſpire them with ſentiments of probity, equity, generoſity, and love of their country; this is, ſays Plutarch, the true magiſtrate and ruler, in whatſoever condition or place he be.

Such was Socrates. The ſervices he did the ſtate, by the inſtructions he gave their youth, and the diſciples he formed, are inexpreſſibly great. Never had maſter a greater number or ſo illuſtrious. Plato, tho' alone, were worth a multitude. (*i*) Upon the point of death he bleſſed and thanked God for three things; that he had indued him with a rational ſoul, that he was born a Greek and not a Barbarian, and that he had placed his birth in the life-time of Socrates. Xenophon (*k*) had the ſame advantage. It is ſaid, that one day Socrates met him in the ſtreet, and ſtopping him with his ſtaff, aſked him whether he knew where proviſions were ſold? It was not difficult to anſwer this queſtion. But Socrates having demanded in what place men learnt virtue, and ſeeing this ſecond queſtion put him to a ſtand: If you deſire to know it, continued the philoſopher, follow me, and you ſhall be informed. Which he did immediately, and was afterwards the firſt who collected and publiſhed his maſter's diſcourſes.

(*l*) Ariſtippus, upon a converſation with Iſchomachus, in which he had introduced ſome ſtrokes of Socrates's doctrine, conceived ſo ardent a paſſion to become his diſciple, that he grew lean and wan in effect of it, till he could go to the fountain head, and imbibe his fill of a philoſophy, that taught the knowledge and cure of evil.

What is reported of Euclid the Megarian, explains ſtill better how high the paſſion of Socrates's diſciples ran, to receive the benefit of his inſtructions. (*m*) There was at that time an open war between Athens and Megara,

(*i*) Plut. in Mario, p. 433.
(*k*) Diog. in Xenoph. p. 120.
(*l*) Plut. de Curioſ. p. 516.
(*m*) Plut. in Peric. p. 168.

gara, which was carried on with so much animosity, that the Athenians obliged their generals to take an oath to lay waste the territory of Megara twice a year, and prohibited the Megarians to set foot in Attica upon pain of death. This decree could not extinguish nor suspend the zeal of Euclid. (*n*) He left his city in the evening in the disguise of a woman, with a veil upon his head, and came to the house of Socrates in the night, where he continued till the approach of day, when he returned in the same manner he came.

The ardour of the young Athenians to follow him was incredible. They left father and mother, and renounced all parties of pleasure to attach themselves to him, and to hear his discourses. We may judge of this in the example of Alcibiades, the most ardent and fiery of all the Athenians. The philosopher however never spared him, and was always ready to calm the sallies of his passions, and to rebuke his pride, which was his great disease. I have related some instances of this temper of his in the preceding volume. (*o*) One day when Alcibiades was boasting of his wealth, and the great estates in his possession, (which generally blow up the pride of young people of quality) he carried him to a geographical map, and asked him to find Attica. It was so small it could scarce be discerned upon that draught; he found it however, tho' with some difficulty: But upon being desired to point out his own estate there: It is too small, says he, to be distinguished in so little a space. See then, replied Socrates, how much you are affected about an imperceptible point of land. This reasoning might have been urged much further still. For what was Attica compared to all Greece, Greece to Europe, Europe to the whole world, and the world itself to the vast extent of the infinite orbs which surround it? What an insect, what a nothing, is the most powerful prince of the earth in the midst of this abyss of bodies and immense spaces, and how much of it does he occupy!

(*n*) Aul. Gel. Noct. Att. l. 6. c. 10. (*o*) Ælian. l. 3. c. 28.

The

The young people of Athens, dazzled with the glory of Themiſtocles, Cimon, and Pericles, and full of a wild ambition, after having received for ſome time the leſſons of the ſophiſts, who promiſed to make them very great politicians, conceived themſelves capable of every thing, and aſpired at the higheſt employments. (p) One of theſe, named Glauco, had taken it ſo ſtrongly into his head, to enter upon the adminiſtration of the public affairs, though not twenty years old, that none of his family or friends were able to divert him from a deſign ſo little conſiſtent with his age and capacity. Socrates, who had an affection for him upon account of Plato his brother, was the only perſon that could prevail upon him to change his reſolution.

Meeting him one day, he accoſted him ſo happily with diſcourſe, that he engaged him to give him the hearing. You are deſirous then to govern the republic, ſaid he to him. True, replied Glauco. You cannot have a more noble deſign, anſwered Socrates: For if you ſucceed, you will have it in your power to ſerve your friends effectually, to aggrandize your family, and to extend the confines of your country. You will make yourſelf known, not only to Athens, but throughout all Greece, and perhaps your renown, like that of Themiſtocles, may ſpread abroad amongſt the barbarous nations. In ſhort, wherever you are, you will attract the reſpect and admiration of the whole world.

So ſmooth and inſinuating a prelude was extremely pleaſing to the young man, who was taken by his blind ſide. He ſtaid willingly, gave no occaſion to preſs him on that account, and the converſation continued. Since you deſire to be eſteemed and honoured, no doubt your view is to be uſeful to the public? Certainly. Tell me then, I beg you in the name of the gods, what is the firſt ſervice you propoſe to render the ſtate? As Glauco ſeemed at a loſs, and meditated

(p) Xenoph. memorab. l. 3. [illegible]

upon what he ſhould anſwer: I preſume, continues Socrates, it is to enrich it, that is to ſay, to augment its revenues. My very thought. You are well verſed then undoubtedly in the revenues of the ſtate, and know perfectly to what they may amount: You have not failed to make them your particular ſtudy, in order that if a fund ſhould happen to fail by any unforeſeen accident, you might be able to ſupply the deficiency by another. I proteſt, replied Glauco, that never entered into my thoughts. At leaſt you will tell me to what the expences of the republic amount; for you muſt know the importance of retrenching ſuch as are ſuperfluous. I own I am as little informed in this point as the other. You muſt therefore refer your deſign of enriching the ſtate till another time; for it is impoſſible you ſhould do it, whilſt you are unacquainted with its revenues and expences.

But ſaid Glauco, there is ſtill another means which you have not mentioned; a ſtate may be enriched by the ruin of its enemies. You are in the right, replied Socrates. But that depends upon its being the ſtrongeſt; otherwiſe it incurs the danger of loſing what it has. For which reaſon, he who talks of engaging in a war, ought to know the forces on both ſides; that if he finds his own party ſtrongeſt, he may boldly adviſe the war, and if weakeſt, diſſuade the people from undertaking it. Now do you know the ſtrength of our republic and that of our enemies by ſea and land? Have you a ſtate of them in writing? Be ſo kind to let me ſee it. I have it not at preſent, ſaid Glauco. I ſee then, ſaid Socrates, that we ſhall not preſently enter into a war, if you are charged with the government; for you have abundance of enquiries to make, and much pains to go through, before you will reſolve upon it.

He ran over in this manner ſeveral other articles no leſs important, with which Glauco appeared equally unacquainted; till he brought him to confeſs, how ridiculous thoſe people were, who have the raſhneſs to intrude

intrude into government, without any other preparation for the ſervice of the public, than that of an high eſteem for themſelves, and an immoderate ambition of riſing to the firſt places and dignities. Have a care, dear Glauco, ſaid he to him, leſt a too warm deſire of honours ſhould deceive you into purſuits that may cover you with ſhame, by ſetting your incapacity and ſlender abilities in full light.

Glauco improved from the wiſe admonitions of Socrates, and took time to inform himſelf in private, before he ventured to appear in public. This is a leſſon for all ages, and may be very uſeful to perſons in all ſtations and conditions of life.

(q) Socrates did not urge his friends to enter early upon public employments; but firſt to take pains for the attainment of the knowledge neceſſary to their ſucceſs in them. (r) A man muſt be very ſimple, ſaid he, to believe that the mechanic arts are not to be acquired without the help of proper maſters, and that the knowledge requiſite in governing ſtates, which is the higheſt degree of human prudence, demands no previous labour and application. His great care in regard to thoſe, who aſpired at public employments, was to form their manners upon the ſolid principles of probity and juſtice; and eſpecially to inſpire them with a ſincere love of their country, with the moſt ardent paſſion for the public good, and an high idea of the power and goodneſs of the gods: becauſe without theſe qualities, all other abilities ſerve only to render men more wicked, and more capable of doing evil. Xenophon has tranſmitted to us a converſation of Socrates with Euthydemus, upon providence, which is one of the fineſt paſſages to be found in the writings of the antients.

Did you never reflect within yourſelf, ſays Socrates to Euthydemus, how much care the gods have taken to beſtow upon man all that is neceſſary to his nature? Never, I aſſure you, replied he. You ſee, continued Socrates, how neceſſary light is, and how precious that

(q) Xenoph. memorab. l. 4. p. 800. (r) Ibid. p. 792.

gift

gift of the gods ought to appear to us. Without it, added Euthydemus, we ſhould be like the blind, and all nature as if it were not, or were dead : But becauſe we have occaſion for ſuſpenſe and relaxation, they have alſo given us the night for our repoſe. You are in the right, and for this we ought to render them continual praiſes and thankſgiving. They have ordained that the ſun, that bright and luminous ſtar, ſhould preſide over the day to diſtinguiſh its different parts, and that its light ſhould not only ſerve to diſcover the wonders of nature, but to diſpenſe univerſal life and heat ; and at the ſame time they have commanded the moon and ſtars to illuminate the night, of itſelf dark and obſcure. Is there any thing more admirable than this variety and viciſſitude of day and night, of light and darkneſs, of labour and reſt ; and all this for the convenience and good of man ? Socrates enumerates in like manner the infinite advantages we receive from fire and water in the occaſions of life ; and continuing to obſerve upon the wonderful attention of providence in all that regards us, What ſay you, purſued he, upon the ſun's return after winter to re-viſit us, and that as the fruits of one ſeaſon wither and decay, he ripens new ones to ſucceed them ? That having rendered man this ſervice, he retires, leſt he ſhould incommode him by exceſs of heat ; and then after having removed to a certain point, which he could not paſs without putting us in danger of periſhing with cold, that he returns in the ſame track to reſume his place in thoſe parts of the heavens, where his preſence is moſt beneficial to us ? And becauſe we could neither ſupport the cold or heat, if we were to paſs in an inſtant from the one to the other, do you not admire, that whilſt this ſtar approaches and removes ſo ſlowly, the two extremities arrive by almoſt inſenſible degrees ? * Is it poſſible not to diſcover in this diſpoſition of the

* Ὥρας ἁρμοττούσας πρὸς παρασκευάζουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς τοῦτο παρέχειν, ἃι ἡμῖν οὐ μόνον εὐφραινόμεθα. ὧν δεόμεθα πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα

seaſons

ſeaſons of the year, a providence and goodneſs, not only attentive to our neceſſities, but even our delights and enjoyments?

All theſe things, ſaid Euthydemus, make me doubt, whether the gods have any other employment than to ſhower down their gifts and graces upon mankind. There is one point however that puts me to a ſtand, which is, that the brute animals partake of all theſe bleſſings as well as ourſelves. Yes, replied Socrates: but do you but obſerve, that all theſe animals ſubſiſt only for man's ſervice? The ſtrongeſt and moſt vigorous of them he ſubjects at his will, he makes them tame and gentle, and uſes them ſucceſsfully in his wars, his labours, and the other occaſions of life.

What if we conſider man in himſelf. Here Socrates examines the diverſity of the ſenſes, by the miniſtry of which man enjoys all that is beſt and moſt excellent in nature; the vivacity of his wit, and the force of his reaſon, which exalt him infinitely above all other animals; the wonderful gift of ſpeech, by the means of which we communicate our thoughts reciprocally, publiſh our laws, and govern ſtates.

From all this, ſays Socrates, it is eaſy to diſcern that there are gods, and that they have man in their particular care, though he cannot diſcover them by his ſenſes. Do we perceive the thunder, whilſt it ſtrikes through all things which oppoſe it? Do we diſtinguiſh the winds, whilſt they are tearing up all before them in our view? Our ſoul itſelf with which we are ſo intimate, which moves and acts us, is it viſible, can we behold it? It is the ſame with regard to the gods, of whom none are viſible in the diſtribution of their favours. The GREAT GOD himſelf, (theſe words are remarkable, and demonſtrate that Socrates acknowledged one ſupreme God, the author of all being, and ſuperior to all others, who were only the miniſters of his will,) this great God, who has formed the univerſe, and ſupports the ſtupendous work, whoſe every part is finiſhed with the utmoſt goodneſs and harmony;

mony; he who preſerves them perpetually in immortal vigour, and cauſes them to obey him with a never-failing punctuality, and a rapidity not to be followed by our imagination; this God makes himſelf ſufficiently viſible by the endleſs wonders of which he is author; but continues always inviſible in himſelf. Let us not then refuſe to believe even what we do not ſee, and let us ſupply the defects of our corporeal eyes, by uſing thoſe of the ſoul; but eſpecially let us learn to render the juſt homage of reſpect and veneration to the divinity, whoſe will it ſeems to be, that we ſhould have no other perception of him than by his effects in our favour. Now this adoration, this homage, conſiſts in pleaſing him, and we can only pleaſe him in doing his will.

(s) In this manner Socrates inſtructed youth; theſe are the principles and ſentiments he inſpired into them; on the one ſide, a perfect ſubmiſſion to the laws and magiſtrates, in which he made juſtice conſiſt; on the other, a profound regard for the divinity, which conſtitutes religion. In things ſurpaſſing our underſtanding, he adviſes us to conſult the gods; and as they impart themſelves only to thoſe that pleaſe them, he recommends above all things the making of them propitious by a wiſe regularity of conduct. * *The gods are wiſe*, ſays he, *and it depends upon them either to grant what we ask, or to give us the directly reverſe of it.* He cites an excellent prayer from an anonymous poet: *Great God, give us, we beſeech thee, thoſe good things of which we ſtand in need, whether we crave them or not; and remove from us all thoſe, which may be hurtful to us, though we implore them of you.* The vulgar imagined, that there are things which the gods obſerve, and others of which they take no notice: But Socrates taught, that the gods obſerve all our actions and words; that they penetrate into our moſt ſecret thoughts, are

(s) Xenoph. Memorab. l. 4. p. 803 & 804.

* Ἐπὶ θεοῖς ἐστὶν, οἶμαι, ὡς ἔστε τυγχάνῃ, καὶ τἀναντία τέτων. καὶ δίδόναι ἅττ' ἂν τις εὐχόμενος Plut. in Alcib. 2. p. 148.

preſent

preſent in all our deliberations, and that they inſpire us in all our actions.

SECT. V. *Socrates applies himſelf to diſcredit the ſophiſts in the opinion of the young Athenians. What is to be underſtood of the ironical character aſcribed to him.*

SOCRATES found it neceſſary to prejudice the young people againſt a bad taſte, which had prevailed for ſome time in Greece. A ſect of aſſuming men aroſe, who ranking themſelves as the firſt ſages of Greece, were entirely the reverſe in their conduct. For inſtead of being infinitely remote from all avarice and ambition, like Pittacus, Bias, Thales, and the others who made the ſtudy of wiſdom their principal occupation, theſe men were ambitious and coveteous, entered into the intrigues and affairs of the world, and made a trade of their pretended knowledge. * (*t*) They were called ſophiſts, and wandered from city to city. They cauſed themſelves to be cried up as oracles, and walked about attended by crowds of their diſciples, who, through a kind of enchantment, abandoned the embraces of their parents, to follow theſe proud teachers, whom they paid a great price for their inſtruction. There was nothing theſe maſters did not profeſs: Theology, phyſics, ethics, arithmetic, aſtronomy, grammar, muſic, poetry, rhetoric, and hiſtory. They knew every thing, and could teach every thing. Their greateſt ſuppoſed ſkill lay in philoſophy and eloquence. Moſt of them, like Gorgias, valued themſelves upon giving immediate anſwers to all queſtions that could be propoſed to them. Their young diſciples acquired nothing from their precepts, but a ſilly eſteem for themſelves, and an univerſal contempt for every body elſe; ſo that not a ſcholar quitted theſe ſchools, but was more impertinent than when he firſt entered them.

(*t*) Plat. in Apolog. p. 19, 20.

* Sic enim appellantur hi, qui oſtentationis aut quæſtûs cauſa philoſophantur. *Cic. in Lucul. n.* . .

It

It was neceſſary to decry the falſe eloquence and bad logic of theſe proud teachers in the ſenſe of the young Athenians. To attack them in front, and diſpute with them in a direct manner by a continued diſcourſe, was what Socrates could well have done, for he poſſeſſed in a ſupreme degree the talents of ſpeaking and reaſoning; but this was no means to ſucceed againſt great haranguers, whoſe ſole aim was to dazzle their auditors with a vain glitter and rapid flow of words. He therefore took another courſe, and * employing the turns and addreſs of irony, which he knew how to apply with wonderful art and delicacy, he choſe to conceal under the appearance of ſimplicity, and the affectation of ignorance, all the beauty and great force of his genius. Nature, which had given him ſo fine a ſoul, ſeemed to have formed his outſide expreſsly for ſupporting the ironic character. He was very ugly, and beſides that, † had ſomething very blockiſh and ſtupid in his phyſiogmony. The whole air of his perſon, which had nothing but what was very common and very poor in it, perfectly correſponded with that of his countenance.

When ‖ he happened into the company of ſome one of the ſophiſts, he propoſed his doubts with a diffident and modeſt air, aſked ſimple queſtions in a plain manner, and, as if he had been incapable of expreſſing himſelf otherwiſe, made uſe of trivial compariſons, and alluſions taken from the meaneſt employments. The ſophiſt heard him with a ſcornful attention, and in-

* Socrates in ironia diſſimulantiaque longè omnibus lepore atque humanitate præſtitit. *Cic.* l. 2. *de orat.* n. 270.

† Zopyrus phyſiognomon—ſtupidum eſſe Socratem dixit et bardum. *Cic. de Fat.* n. 10.

‖ Socrates de ſe ipſe detrahens in diſputatione, plus tribuebat iis, quos volebat refellere. Ita, cum aliud diceret atque ſentiret, libenter uti ſolitus eſt illa diſſimulatione, quam Græci εἰρωνείαν vocant. *Cic. Acad. Quæſt.* l. 4. n. 15.

Sed et illum quem nominavi (Gorgiam) et cæteros ſophiſtas, ut è Platone intelligi poteſt, luſos videmus à Socrate. Is enim percontando atque interrogando elicere ſolebat eorum opiniones quibuſcum diſſerebat, ut ad ea, quæ ii reſpondiſſent, ſi quid videretur, diceret. *Cic. de finib.* l. 2. n. 2.

ſtead

ſtead of giving him a preciſe anſwer, fell into his common places, and talked a great deal without ſaying any thing to the purpoſe. Socrates, after having praiſed (not to enrage) his adverſary, entreated him to adapt himſelf to his weakneſs, and to deſcend ſo low as him, by ſatisfying his queſtions in a few words; becauſe neither his wit nor memory were capable of comprehending or retaining ſo many fine and exalted notions, and that all his knowledge was confined to queſtion and anſwer.

This paſſed in a numerous aſſembly, and the ſcientific perſon could not recede. When Socrates had once got him out of his entrenchment, by obliging him to anſwer his queſtions ſuccinctly, he carried him on from one to another to the moſt abſurd conſequences; and after having reduced him either to contradict himſelf, or be ſilent, he complained, that the learned man would not vouchſafe to inſtruct him. The young people however perceived the incapacity of their maſter, and changed their admiration for him into contempt. Thus the name of ſophiſt became odious and ridiculous.

It is eaſy to judge, that men of the ſophiſt's character, of which I have now ſpoke, who were in high credit with the great, who lorded it amongſt the youth of Athens, and had been long celebrated for their wit and learning, could not be attacked with impunity; and the rather, becauſe they had been taken in the two moſt ſenſible points, their fame, and their intereſt. (*u*) Socrates, for having endeavoured to unmaſk their vices, and diſcredit their falſe eloquence, experienced from theſe corrupt and haughty men, all that could be feared or expected from the moſt malignant envy, and the moſt envenomed hatred; to which it is now time to proceed.

(*u*) Plat. in Apolog. p. 23.

SECT.

SECT. VI. *Socrates is accuſed of holding bad opinions in regard to the Gods, and of corrupting the Athenian youth. He defends himſelf without art or fear. He is condemned to die.*

(x) SOCRATES was accuſed a little before the firſt year of the 95th Olympiad, ſoon after the expulſion of the thirty tyrants out of Athens, in the ſixty ninth year of his life; but the proſecution had been projected long before. The oracle of Delphos, which had declared him the wiſeſt of mankind; the contempt into which he had brought the doctrine and morals of the ſophiſts of his time, who were then in high reputation; the liberty with which he attacked all vice; the ſingular attachment of his diſciples for his perſon and maxims, had all concurred in alienating people againſt him, and had drawn abundance of envy upon him.

(y) His enemies having ſworn his deſtruction, and perceiving the difficulty of the attempt, prepared the way for it at diſtance, and at firſt attacked him in the dark and by obſcure and ſecret methods. It is ſaid, that to ſound the people's diſpoſition in regard to Socrates, and to try whether it would ever be ſafe to cite him before the judges, they engaged Ariſtophanes to bring him into the theatre in a comedy, wherein the firſt ſeeds of the accuſation meditated againſt him were ſown. It is not certain whether Ariſtophanes was ſuborned by Anytus, and the reſt of Socrates's enemies, to compoſe that ſatyrical piece againſt him. It is very likely, that the declared contempt of Socrates for all comedies in general, and for thoſe of Ariſtophanes in particular, whilſt he profeſſed an extraordinary eſteem for the tragedies of Euripides, might be the poet's true motive for taking his revenge of the philoſopher. However it were, Ariſtophanes, to the diſgrace of poetry, lent his pen to the malice of So-

(x) A. M. 3602. Ant. J. C. 402. Plat. in Apolog. Socrat. p. 19.

(y) Ælian. l. 2. c. 13.

crates's enemies, or his own reſentment, and employed his whole genius and capacity to depreciate the beſt and moſt excellent man, that ever the pagan world produced.

He compoſed a piece called *the clouds*, wherein he introduced the philoſopher, perched in a baſket, and hoiſted up amidſt the air and clouds, from whence he vents maxims, or rather the moſt ridiculous ſubtleties. A very aged debtor, who deſires to eſcape the cloſe purſuits of his creditors, comes to him to be taught the art of tricking them at law; to prove by unanſwerable reaſons that he owes them nothing; and in a word, of a very bad, to make a very good cauſe. But finding himſelf incapable of any improvements from the ſublime leſſons of his new maſter, he brings his ſon to him in his ſtead. This young man ſoon after quits this learned ſchool ſo well inſtructed, that at their firſt meeting, he beats his father, and proves to him by ſubtle but invincible arguments, that he has reaſon for treating him in that manner. In every ſcene where Socrates appears, the poet makes him utter a thouſand impertinencies, and as many impieties againſt the gods; and in particular againſt Jupiter. He makes him talk like a man of the greateſt vanity and opinion of himſelf, with an equal contempt for all others, who out of a criminal curioſity is for penetrating what paſſes in the heavens, and for diving into the abyſſes of the earth; who boaſts of having always the means to make injuſtice triumph; and who is not contented with keeping thoſe ſecrets for his own uſe, but teaches them to others, and thereby corrupts youth. All this is attended with a refined raillery, and a ſalt, which could not fail of pleaſing a people of ſo quick and delicate a taſte as the Athenians, who were beſides naturally invidious to all tranſcendent merit. They were ſo much charmed with it, that without waiting the concluſion of the repreſentation, they ordered the name of Ariſtophanes to be ſet down above thoſe of all his competitors.

Socrates,

Socrates, who had been informed that he was to be acted in the theatre, went thither upon the day to see the comedy, contrary to his custom; for it was not common for him to go to those assemblies, unless when some new tragedy of Euripides was to be performed, who was his intimate friend, and whose pieces he esteemed, upon account of the solid principles of morality he took care to intersperse in them. It was however observed, that he had not patience to wait the conclusion of one of them, wherein the actor had began with a dangerous maxim, and went out immediately, without considering the injury his withdrawing might do his friend's reputation. He never went to comedies, unless when Alcibiades and Critias forced him thither against his will, offended at the unbounded licence which reigned in them, and incapable of seeing the reputation of his fellow citizens publickly torn in pieces. He was present at this without the least emotion, and without expressing ony discontent; and some strangers being in pain to know who the Socrates (z) intended by the play was, he rose up from his seat, and shewed himself during the whole representation. He told those who were near him, and were amazed at his indifference and patience, that he imagined himself at a great entertainment, where he was agreeably laughed at, and that it was necessary to let raillery pass.

There is no appearance, as I have already observed, that Aristophanes, tho' he was not Socrates's friend, had entered into the black conspiracy of his enemies, and had any thought of occasioning his destruction. It is more probable, that a poet, who diverted the public at the expence of the principal magistrates and most celebrated generals, was also willing to make them laugh at the expence of a philosopher. All the guilt was on the side of those who envied him, and his enemies, who were in hopes of making great use of the representation of this comedy against him. The

(z) Plut. de educ. liber. p. 10.

artifice was indeed profound, and conceived with ſkill. In acting a man upon the ſtage, he is only repreſented on his bad, weak, or ambiguous ſides. That view of him is followed with ridicule: ridicule accuſtoms people to the contempt of his perſon, and contempt proceeds to injuſtice. For the world are naturally bold in inſulting, abuſing, and injuring a man, when once he becomes the object of their general contempt.

Theſe were the firſt blows ſtruck at him, and ſerved as an aſſay and tryal of the great affair meditated againſt him. It lay dormant a long while, and did not break out in twenty years afterwards. The troubles of the republic might well occaſion that long delay. For it was in that interval the enterprize againſt Sicily happened, the event of which was ſo unfortunate, that Athens was beſieged and taken by Lyſander, who changed its form of government, and eſtabliſhed the thirty tyrants, that were not expelled till a very ſmall time before the affair we ſpeak of.

(a) Melitus then appeared as accuſer, and entered a proceſs in form againſt Socrates. His accuſation conſiſted of two heads. The firſt was, that he did not admit the gods acknowledged by the republic, and introduced new divinities: the ſecond, that he corrupted the youth of Athens; and concluded with inferring that ſentence of death ought to paſs againſt him.

Never had accuſation ſo little probability, pretext or foundation as this. It was now forty years, that Socrates had made it his profeſſion to inſtruct the Athenian youth. He had advanced no opinions in ſecret, and in the dark. His leſſons were given publickly and in the view of great numbers of auditors. He had always obſerved the ſame conduct, and taught the ſame principles. What then could be Melitus's motive for this accuſation, after ſuch a length of time? How came his zeal for the public good, after having been languid and drowſy for ſo many years, to

(a) A. M. 3603. Ant. J. C. 401.

awake on a ſudden, and become ſo violent? Is it pardonable, for ſo warm and worthy a citizen as Melitus would appear, to have continued mute and inactive, whilſt any one corrupted the whole youth of the city, by inſtilling ſeditious maxims into them, and by inſpiring them with a diſguſt and contempt for the eſtabliſhed government. For he, who does not prevent an evil, when it is in his power, is equally criminal with him that commits it. (*b*) Libanius ſpeaks thus in a declamation of his called the apology of Socrates. But, continues he, tho' Melitus, whether out of diſtraction, indifference, or real avocation of his affairs, never thought for ſo many years of entering an accuſation againſt Socrates; how came it to paſs, that in a city like Athens, which abounded with wiſe magiſtrates, and, what is more, with bold informers, ſo public a conſpiracy, as that imputed to Socrates, ſhould eſcape the eyes of thoſe, whom either the love of their country, or invidious malignity, render ſo vigilant and attentive? Nothing was ever leſs feaſible, or more void of all probability.

(*c*) As ſoon as the conſpiracy broke out, the friends of Socrates prepared for his defence. Lyſias, the moſt able orator of his times, brought him an elaborate diſcourſe of his compoſing; wherein he had ſet forth the reaſons and meaſures of Socrates in all their light, and interſperſed the whole with tender and pathetic ſtrokes, (*d*) capable of moving the moſt obdurate hearts. Socrates read it with pleaſure, and approved it very much; but as it was more conformable to the rules of rhetoric than the ſentiments and fortitude of a philoſopher, he told him frankly, that it did not ſuit him. Upon which Lyſias, having asked how it was poſſible to be well done, and at the ſame time not ſuit him; in the ſame manner, ſaid he, uſing according to his cuſtom a vulgar compariſon, that an excellent workman might bring me magnificent apparel, or

(*b*) Liban. in Apol. Soc. p. 645—648. (*c*) Cicer. l. 1. de Orat. n. 231, 233. (*d*) Quint. l. 11. c. 1.

ſhoes embroidered with gold, to which nothing would be wanting on his part, but which however would not fit me. He perſiſted therefore inflexibly in the reſolution, not to demean himſelf by begging ſuffrages in the low abject manner common at that time. He employed neither artifice nor the glitter of eloquence. He had no recourſe either to ſollicitation or entreaty. He brought neither his wife nor children to incline the judges in his favour by their ſighs and tears. Nevertheleſs * tho' he firmly refuſed to make uſe of any voice but his own in his defence, and to appear before his judges in the ſubmiſſive poſture of a ſuppliant, he did not behave in that manner out of pride, or contempt of the tribunal. It was from a noble and intrepid aſſurance, reſulting from greatneſs of ſoul, and the conſciouſneſs of his truth and innocence. So that his defence had nothing timorous or weak in it. His diſcourſe was bold, manly, generous, without paſſion, without emotion, full of the noble liberty of a philoſopher, with no other ornament but that of truth, and brightned univerſally with the character and language of innocence. Plato, who was preſent, tranſcribed it afterwards, and without any additions compoſed from it the work, which he calls *The apology of Socrates*, one of the moſt conſummate maſterpieces of antiquity. I ſhall here make an extract from it.

(*e*) Upon the day aſſigned, the proceedings commenced in the uſual forms; the parties appeared before the judges, and Melitus ſpoke. The worſe his cauſe, and the leſs provided it was with proofs, the more occaſion he had for addreſs and art to cover its weakneſs. He omitted nothing, that might render the adverſe party odious; and inſtead of reaſons, which could not but fail him, he ſubſtituted the deluſive

(*e*) Plat. in Apolog. Socrat. Xenoph. in Apol. Socr. & in Memor.

* His et talibus adductus Socrates, nec patronum quæſivit ad judicium capitis, nec judicibus ſupplex fuit; adhibuitque liberam contumaciam à magnitudine animi ductam, non à ſuperbia. *Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. lib.* 1.

ſhine

ſhine of a lively and pompous eloquence. Socrates, in obſerving that he could not tell what impreſſion the diſcourſe of his accuſers might make upon the judges, owns, that for his part he ſcarce knew himſelf, they had given ſuch artful colouring and likelihood to their arguments, tho' there was not the leaſt word of truth in all they had advanced.

(*f*) I have already ſaid, that their accuſation conſiſted of two heads. The firſt regards religion. Socrates enquires out of an impious curioſity into what paſſes in the heavens, and in the bowels of the earth. He denies the gods adored by his country. He endeavours to introduce a new worſhip, and, if he may be believed, an unknown god inſpires him in all his actions. To make ſhort, he believes there are no gods.

The ſecond head relates to the intereſt and government of the ſtate. Socrates corrupts the youth by inſtilling bad ſentiments concerning the divinity into them, by teaching them a contempt of the laws, and the order eſtabliſhed in the republic; by declaring openly againſt the choice of the magiſtrates by * lot; by exclaiming againſt the public aſſemblies, where he is never ſeen to appear; by teaching the art of making the worſt of cauſes good; by attaching the youth to himſelf out of a ſpirit of pride and ambition, under the pretence of inſtructing them; and by proving to children, that they may abuſe their parents with impunity. He glories in a pretended oracle, and believes himſelf the wiſeſt of mankind. He taxes all others with folly, and condemns without reſerve all their maxims and actions; conſtituting himſelf by his own authority the general cenſor and reformer of the ſtate. Notwithſtanding which, the effects of his leſſons may

(*f*) Plat. in Apolog. p. 24.

* *Socrates in reality did not approve this manner of electing the magiſtrates. He obſerved, that when a pilot, a muſician, or an architect is wanted, no body is willing to take him at a venture; tho' the faults of theſe people are far from being of the great importance of thoſe errors, which are committed in the adminiſtration of the republic.* Xenoph. Memorab. l. 1. p. 712.

be ſeen in the perſons of Critias and Alcibiades, his his moſt intimate friends, who have done great miſchiefs to their country, and have been the moſt wicked of citizens, and the moſt abandoned of men.

This concluded with recommending to the judges, to be very much upon their guard againſt the dazzling eloquence of Socrates, and to ſuſpect extremely the inſinuating and artificial turns of addreſs, which he would employ to deceive them.

(*g*) Socrates began his diſcourſe with this point, and declared that he would ſpeak to the judges as it was his cuſtom to talk in his common converſation, that is to ſay, with much ſimplicity, and no art.

(*h*) He then proceeds to particulars. Upon what foundation can it be alledged, that he does not acknowledge the gods of the republic; he, who has been often ſeen to ſacrifice in his own houſe, and in the temples? Can it be doubted whether he uſes divination or not, whilſt it is made a crime in him to report, that he received counſels from a certain divinity; and thence concluded that he aims at introducing new deities? But in this he innovates nothing more than others, who putting their faith in divination, obſerve the flight of birds, conſult the entrails of victims, and remark even words and accidental encounters: different means, which the gods employ to give mankind a foreknowledge of the future. Old or new, it is ſtill evident, that Socrates acknowledges divinities, by the confeſſion of even Melitus himſelf, who in his information avers that he believes dæmons, that is to ſay, ſubaltern ſpirits, the offspring of the gods. Now every man who believes the offspring of the gods, believes the gods.

(*i*) As to what relates to the impious enquiries into natural things imputed to him; without deſpiſing or condemning thoſe who apply themſelves to the ſtudy of phyſics, he declares, that as for him, he had entirely devoted himſelf to what concerns moral virtue,

(*g*) Plat. p. 17. (*h*) Ibid. p. 27. Xenoph. p. 703. (*i*) Ibid. 710.

the

the conduct of life, and the rules of government, as to a knowledge infinitely more useful than any other; and he calls upon all those who have been his hearers, to come forth and belye him if he does not say what is true.

" I am accused of corrupting the youth, and of " instilling dangerous maxims into them, as well in " regard to the worship of the gods, as the rules of " government. You know, Athenians, that I never " made it my profession to teach, nor can envy, how- " ever violent against me, reproach me with having " ever sold my instructions. I have an undeniable " evidence for me in this respect, which is my po- " verty. Always equally ready to communicate my " thoughts either to the rich or poor, and to give them " entire leisure to question or answer me, I lend my- " self to every one who is desirous of becoming vir- " tuous; and if amongst those who hear me, there are " any that prove either good or bad, neither the vir- " tues of the one, nor the vices of the other, to which " I have not contributed, are to be ascribed to me. " My whole employment is to persuade the young " and old against too much love for the body, for " riches, and all other precarious things of whatsoever " nature they be, and against too little regard for the " soul, which ought to be the object of their affection: " For I incessantly urge to you, that virtue does not " proceed from riches, but on the contrary riches from " virtue; and that all the other goods of human life, " as well public as private, have their source in the " same principle.

" If to speak in this manner be to corrupt youth, I " confess, Athenians, that I am guilty, and deserve " to be punished. If what I say be not true, it is " most easy to convict me of my falshood. I see here " a great number of my disciples: they have only to " appear. But perhaps the reserve and consideration " for a master, who has instructed them, will pre- " vent them from declaring against me: At least

" their fathers, brothers and uncles cannot, as good
" relations and good citizens, diſpenſe with their not
" ſtanding forth to demand vengeance againſt the cor-
" rupter of their ſons, brothers, and nephews. But
" theſe are the perſons who take upon them my de-
" fence, and intereſt themſelves in the ſucceſs of my
" cauſe.

(*k*) " Paſs on me what ſentence you pleaſe, Athe-
" nians; but I can neither repent nor change my con-
" duct. I muſt not abandon or ſuſpend a function,
" which God himſelf has impoſed on me. Now he
" has charged me with the care of inſtructing my fel-
" low citizens. If after having faithfully kept all the
" poſts, wherein I was placed by our generals at Poti-
" dæa, Amphipolis, and Delium, the fear of death
" ſhould at this time make me abandon that in which
" the Divine Providence has placed me, by command-
" ing me to paſs my life in the ſtudy of philoſophy
" for the inſtruction of myſelf and others; this would
" be a moſt criminal deſertion indeed, and make me
" highly worthy of being cited before this tribunal, as
" an impious man who does not believe the gods.
" Should you reſolve to acquit me for the future, I
" ſhould not heſitate to make anſwer: Athenians, I
" honour and love you; but I ſhall chooſe rather to
" * obey God than you, and to my lateſt breath
" ſhall never renounce my philoſophy, nor ceaſe to
" exhort and reprove you according to my cuſtom,
" by telling each of you when you come in my way:
" *My † good friend, and citizen of the moſt famous city*
" *in the world for wiſdom and valour, are you not*
" *aſhamed to have no other thoughts than that of amaſ-*
" *ſing wealth, and of acquiring glory, credit, and dig-*
" *nities, whilſt you neglect the treaſures of prudence,*

(*k*) Plat. p. 28, 29.

* Πείσομαι τῷ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμῖν.

† *The Greek ſignifies,* O beſt of men, ὦ ἄριϛε ἀνδρῶν; *which was an obliging manner of accoſting.*

" *truth*

" *truth, and wiſdom, and take no pains in rendering*
" *your ſoul as good and perfect as it is capable of being ?*

(*l*) " I am reproached with abject fear and mean-
" neſs of ſpirit, for being ſo buſy in imparting my ad-
" vice to every one in private, and for having always
" avoided to be preſent in your aſſemblies, to give
" my counſels to my country. I think I have ſuffi-
" ciently proved my courage and fortitude both in the
" field, where I have borne arms with you, and in
" the ſenate, when I alone oppoſed the unjuſt ſen-
" tence you pronounced againſt the ten captains, who
" had not taken up and interred the bodies of thoſe
" who were killed or drowned in the ſea-fight near
" the iſland Arginuſæ; and when, upon more than
" one occaſion, I oppoſed the violent and cruel orders
" of the thirty tyrants. What is it then that has
" prevented me from appearing in your aſſemblies ?
" It is that dæmon, that voice divine, which you
" have ſo often heard me mention, and Melitus has
" taken ſo much pains to ridicule. That ſpirit has
" attached itſelf to me from my infancy: it is a voice,
" which I never hear, but when it would prevent me
" from perſiſting in ſomething I have reſolved, for it
" never exhorts me to undertake any thing. It is the
" ſame being, that has always oppoſed me, when I
" would have intermeddled in the affairs of the re-
" public; and that with the greateſt reaſon; for I
" ſhould have been amongſt the dead long ago, had
" I been concerned in the meaſures of the ſtate, with-
" out effecting any thing to the advantage of myſelf,
" or our country. Do not take it ill, I beſeech you,
" if I ſpeak my thoughts without diſguiſe, and with
" truth and freedom. Every man who would gene-
" rouſly oppoſe a whole people, either amongſt us or
" elſewhere, and who inflexibly applies himſelf to
" prevent the violation of the laws and the practice of
" iniquity in a government, will never do ſo long
" with impunity. It is abſolutely neceſſary for him,

(*l*) Plat. p. 31.

" who

" who would contend for juſtice, if he has any
" thoughts of living, to remain in a private ſtation,
" and never to have any ſhare in public affairs.

(*m*) " For the reſt, Athenians, if, in the extreme
" danger I now am, I do not imitate the behaviour
" of thoſe, who upon leſs emergencies have im-
" plored and ſupplicated their judges with tears, and
" have brought forth their children, relations and
" friends, it is not through pride and obſtinacy, or
" any contempt for you, but ſolely for your honour,
" and for that of the whole city. You ſhould know,
" that there are amongſt our citizens, thoſe who do
" not regard death as an evil, and who give that name
" only to injuſtice and infamy. At my age, and with
" the reputation true or falſe which I have, would it
" be conſiſtent for me, after all the leſſons I have
" given upon the contempt of death, to be afraid of
" it myſelf, and to bely in my laſt action all the prin-
" ciples and ſentiments of my paſt life.

" But without ſpeaking of my fame, which I
" ſhould extremely injure by ſuch a conduct, I do
" not think it allowable to entreat a judge, nor to be
" abſolved by ſupplications: He ought to be perſuaded
" and convinced. The judge does not ſit upon the
" bench to ſhew favour by violating the laws, but to
" do juſtice in conforming to them. He does not
" ſwear to diſcharge with impunity whom he pleaſes;
" but to do juſtice where it is due. We ought not
" therefore to accuſtom you to perjury, nor you to
" ſuffer yourſelves to be accuſtomed to it; for in ſo
" doing, both the one and the other of us equally in-
" jure juſtice and religion, and both are criminals.

" Do not therefore expect from me, Athenians,
" that I ſhould have recourſe amongſt you to means
" which I believe neither honeſt nor lawful; eſpe-
" cially upon this occaſion, wherein I am accuſed of
" impiety by Melitus. For if I ſhould influence you
" by my prayers, and thereby induce you to violate

(*m*) Plat. p. 34, 35.

" your

" your oaths, it would be undeniably evident, that " I teach you not to believe in the gods; and even " in defending and juſtifying myſelf, ſhould furniſh " my adverſaries with arms againſt me, and prove " that I believe no divinity. But I am very far from " ſuch bad thoughts. I am more convinced of the " exiſtence of God than my accuſers, and ſo con- " vinced, that I abandon myſelf to God and you, " that you may judge of me as you ſhall deem beſt " for yourſelves and me."

Socrates * pronounced this diſcourſe with a firm and intrepid tone. His air, his action, his viſage expreſſed nothing of the accuſed: He ſeemed the maſter of his judges, from the aſſurance and greatneſs of ſoul with which he ſpoke, without however loſing any thing of the modeſty natural to him. So noble and majeſtic a deportment diſpleaſed and gave offence. It is common for † judges, who look upon themſelves as the abſolute diſpenſers of life or death to ſuch as are before them, to expect out of a ſecret tendency of mind, that they ſhould appear in their preſence with humble ſubmiſſion and reſpectful awe; an homage which they think due to their ſupreme authority.

This was what happened now. Melitus however had not at firſt the fifth part of the voices. We have reaſon to ſuppoſe that the judges aſſembled upon this occaſion might amount to five hundred, without reckoning the preſident. The law condemned the accuſer to pay a fine of a thouſand drachmas, ‖ if he had not the fifth part of the ſuffrages. This law had been wiſely eſtabliſhed to check the boldneſs and impudence of calumniators. Melitus had been obliged to pay this fine, if Anytus and Lycon had not joined him, and preſented themſelves alſo as the accuſers of Socrates. Their credit drew over a great number of

* Socrates ita in judicio capitis pro ſe ipſe dixit, ut non ſupplex aut reus, ſed magiſter aut dominus videretur eſſe judicum. *Cic.* l. 1, *de orat.* n. 231.

† Odit judex ferè litigantis fecunditatem; utique jus ſuum intelligat, tacitus reverentiam poſtulat. *Quint.* l. 4. c. 1.

‖ 500 *livres.*

voices,

voices, and there were two hundred and fourſcore againſt Socrates, and in conſequence only two hundred and twenty for him. He wanted no more than thirty * one to have been acquitted; for he would then have had two hundred and fifty one, which would have been the majority.

By this firſt ſentence the judges only declared Socrates guilty, without decreeing him any † penalty. For when the law did not determine the puniſhment, and when a crime againſt the ſtate was not in queſtion (in which manner I conceive Cicero's term, *fraus capitalis*, may be underſtood) the perſon found guilty had a right to chuſe the penalty he thought he deſerved. Upon his anſwer the judges deliberated a ſecond time, and afterwards paſſed their final ſentence. Socrates was informed that he might demand an abatement of penalty, and change the condemnation of death, into baniſhment, impriſonment, or a fine. He replied generouſly, that he would chuſe neither of thoſe puniſhments, becauſe that would be to acknowledge himſelf guilty. "Athenians," ſaid he, to keep "you no longer in ſuſpence, as you oblige me to ſen-"tence myſelf according to what I deſerve, I con-"demn myſelf for having paſſed my life in inſtruct-"ing yourſelves and your children; for having neg-"lected with that view my domeſtic affairs, and all "public employments, and dignities; for having de-"voted myſelf entirely to the ſervice of my country, "in labouring inceſſantly to render my fellow citi-"zens virtuous: I condemn myſelf, I ſay, to be "maintained in the Prytaneum at the expence of "the republic for the reſt of my life." ‖ This laſt

* *The text varies in Plato; it ſays, thirty three, or thirty; whence it is probably defective.*

† Primis ſententiis ſtatuebant tantùm judices damnarent an abſolverent. Erat autem Athenis, reo damnato, ſi fraus capitalis non eſſet, quaſi pœnæ æſtimatio. Ex ſententia, cum judicibus daretur, interrogabatur reus, quam quaſi æſtimationem commeruiſſe ſe maximè confiteretur. *Cic.* l. 1. *de orat.* n. 231, 232.

‖ *It appears in Plato, that after this diſcourſe, Socrates, without doubt to remove from him all imputation*

anſwer

anſwer ſo * much offended the judges, that they condemned him to drink the hemlock, a puniſhment very much in uſe amongſt them.

(*n*) This ſentence did not ſhake the conſtancy of Socrates in the leaſt. "I am going," ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to his judges with a noble tranquillity, "to ſuffer death by your order, to which nature had "condemned me from the firſt moment of my birth; "but my accuſers will ſuffer no leſs from infamy and "injuſtice by the decrees of truth. Did you expect "from me, that to extricate myſelf out of your hands, "I ſhould have employed, according to the cuſtom, "flattery and pathetic expreſſions, and the timorous "and creeping behaviour of a ſuppliant? But in trials, "as well as war, an honeſt man ought not to uſe all "ſorts of means for the preſervation of his life. It "is equally diſhonourable both in the one and the "other, to ranſom it only by prayers, and tears, and "all thoſe other abject methods, you ſee every day "practiſed by people in my preſent condition."

Apollodorus, who was one of his friends and diſciples, having advanced to him to expreſs his grief for his dying innocent: *What*, replied he with a ſmile, *would you have had me die guilty?*

(*o*) Plutarch, to ſhew, that only our weakeſt part, the body, is in the power of man; but that there is another infinitely more noble part of us entirely ſuperior to their threats, and inacceſſible to their inflictions, cites theſe admirable words of Socrates, which are more applicable to his judges than his accuſers,

(*n*) Plat. p. 39.

(*o*) De anim. tranquil. p. 475.

putation of pride and contumacy, modeſtly offered to pay a fine proportionate to his indigence, that is to ſay, one mina, (fifty livres;) and that at the inſtances of his friends, who had bound themſelves for him, he roſe in his offer to thirty minæ. Plat. in Apolog. Socrat. p. 38. *But Xenophon poſitively aſſerts the contrary.* p. 705. *This difference may be reconciled perhaps, by ſuppoſing that Socrates refuſed at firſt to make any offer, and that he ſuffered himſelf at length to be overcome by the earneſt ſollicitations of his friends.*

* Cujus reſponſo ſic judices exarſerunt, ut capitis hominem innocentiſſimum condemnarent. *Cic. l. 1. de orat.* n. 233.

Anytus

Anytus and Melitus may kill me, but they cannot hurt me. As if he had ſaid in the language of the Pagans: Fortune may deprive me of my goods, my health, and my life; but I have a treaſure within me, of which no violence can deprive me, I mean virtue, innocence, fortitude, and greatneſs of mind.

This great man *, fully convinced of the principle he had ſo often inculcated to his diſciples, that guilt is the only evil a wiſe man ought to fear, choſe rather to be deprived of ſome years, which he might have to live, than to forfeit in an inſtant the glory of his whole paſt life, in diſhonouring himſelf for ever by the ſhameful behaviour he was adviſed to obſerve with his judges. Seeing that his own times had but a ſlight knowledge of him, he referred himſelf from it to the judgment of poſterity, and by the generous ſacrifice of a very advanced life, acquired and aſſured to himſelf the eſteem and admiration of all ſucceeding ages.

SECT. VII. *Socrates refuſes to eſcape out of priſon. He paſſes the laſt day of his life in diſcourſing with his friends upon the immortality of the ſoul. He drinks the poiſon. Puniſhment of his accuſers. Honours paid to his memory.*

AFTER the ſentence had been paſſed upon him, † Socrates with the ſame intrepid aſpect, with which he had held the tyrants in awe, went forward towards the priſon, which left that name, ſays Seneca, when he entered it, and became the reſidence of virtue

* Maluit vir ſapientiſſimus quod ſupereſſet ex vita ſibi perire, quam quod præteriiſſet: et quando ab hominibus in tempore parum intelligebatur, poſteritati ſe judicis reſervavit, brevi detrimento jam ultimæ ſenectutis ævum ſeculorum omnium conſecutus. *Quint.* l. 1. c. 1.

† Socrates eodem illo vultu, quo aliquando ſolus triginta tyrannos in ordinem redegerat, carcerem intravit, ignominiam ipſi loco detraxit. Neque enim poterat carcer videri, in quo Socrates erat. *Senec. in Conſol. ad Helvet.* c. 13.

Socrates carcerem intrando purgavit, omnique honeſtiorem curia reddidit. *Id. de vit. beat.* c. 27.

and

and probity. His friends followed him thither, and continued to visit him during thirty days, which passed between his condemnation and death. The cause of that long delay was, the Athenians sent every year a ship to the isle of Delos, to offer certain sacrifices; and it was prohibited to put any person to death in the city, from the time the priest of Apollo had crowned the poop of this vessel, as a signal of its departure, till the same vessel should return. So that sentence having passed upon Socrates the day after that ceremony began, it was necessary to defer the execution of it for thirty days, during the continuance of this voyage.

In this long interval, death had sufficient opportunity to present itself before his eyes in all its terrors, and to put his constancy to the proof, not only by the severe rigour of a dungeon, and the irons upon his legs, but by the continual prospect and cruel expectation of an event, of which nature is always abhorrent. (*p*) In this sad condition he did not cease to enjoy that profound tranquillity of mind, which his friends had always admired in him. He entertained them with the same temper he had always expressed, and Crito observes, that the evening before his death, he slept as peaceably as at any other time. He composed also an hymn in honour of Apollo and Diana, and turned one of *Æsop's* fables into verse.

The day before, or the same day that the ship was to arrive from Delos, the return of which was to be followed by the death of Socrates, Crito, his intimate friend, came to him early in the morning, to let him know that bad news, and at the same time, that it depended only upon himself to quit the prison; that the jailer was gained; that he would find the doors open, and offered him a safe retreat in Thessaly. Socrates laughed at this proposal, and asked him, *whether he knew any place out of Attica, where people did not die.* Crito urged the thing very seriously, and pressed him to take the ad-

(*p*) Plat. in Criton.

vantage

vantage of ſo precious an opportunity, adding arguments upon arguments to induce his conſent, and to engage him to reſolve upon his eſcape. Without mentioning the inconſolable grief he ſhould ſuffer for the death of ſuch a friend, how ſhould he ſupport the reproaches of an infinity of people, who would believe that it was in his power to have ſaved him, but that he would not ſacrifice a ſmall part of his wealth for that purpoſe? Can the people ever be perſuaded that ſo wiſe a man as Socrates would not quit his priſon, when he might do it with all poſſible ſecurity? Perhaps he might fear to expoſe his friends, or to occaſion the loſs of their fortunes, or even of their lives or liberty. Ought there to be any thing more dear and precious to them than the preſervation of Socrates? Even ſtrangers themſelves diſpute that honour with them: many of whom have come expreſsly with conſiderable ſums of money to purchaſe his eſcape; and declare, that they ſhould think themſelves highly honoured to receive him amongſt them, and to ſupply him abundantly with all he ſhould have occaſion for. Ought he to abandon himſelf to enemies, who have occaſioned his being condemned unjuſtly, and can he think it allowable to betray his own cauſe? Is it not eſſential to his goodneſs and juſtice, to ſpare his fellow-citizens the guilt of innocent blood? But if all theſe motives cannot alter him, and he is not concerned in regard to himſelf, can he be inſenſible to the intereſts of his children? In what a condition does he leave them? And can he forget the father, to remember only the philoſopher?

Socrates, after having heard him with attention, praiſed his zeal, and expreſſed his gratitude; but before he could give into his opinion, was for examining whether it was juſt for him to depart out of priſon without the conſent of the Athenians. The queſtion therefore here, is to know whether a man condemned to die, though unjuſtly, can without a crime eſcape from juſtice and the laws. I do not know, whether,

even

even amongſt us, there are not many perſons to be found who believe that this may be made a queſtion.

Socrates begins with removing every thing foreign to the ſubject, and comes immediately to the bottom of the affair. "I ſhould certainly rejoice extremely, moſt "dear Crito, that you could perſuade me to quit this "place, but cannot reſolve to do ſo, without being "firſt perſuaded. We ought not to be in pain upon "what the people ſay, but for what the ſole Judge of "all that is juſt or unjuſt ſhall pronounce upon us, and "that alone is truth. All the conſiderations you have "alledged, as to money, reputation, family, prove "nothing, unleſs you ſhew me, that what you pro-"poſe is juſt and lawful. It is a received and conſtant "principle with us, that all injuſtice is ſhameful and "fatal to him that commits it, whatever men may "ſay, or whatever good or evil may be conſequen-"tial of it. We have always reaſoned from this prin-"ciple even to our lateſt days, and have never de-"parted in the leaſt from it. Would it be poſſible, "dear Crito, that at our age our moſt ſerious diſ-"courſes ſhould reſemble thoſe of infants, who ſay "yes and no almoſt in the ſame breath, and have no-"thing of fixed and determinate?" At each propo-ſition he waited Crito's anſwer and aſſent.

"Let us therefore reſume our principles, and endea-"vour to make uſe of them at this time. It has al-"ways been a maxim with us, that it is never allow-"able upon any pretence whatſoever to commit in-"juſtice, not even in regard to thoſe who injure us, "nor to return evil for evil, and that when we have "once engaged our word, we are bound to keep it "inviolably; no intereſt being capable to diſpenſe "with it. Now if at the time I ſhould be ready to "make my eſcape, the laws and republic ſhould pre-"ſent themſelves in a body before me, what could I "anſwer to the following queſtions which they might "put to me? What are you going to do, Socrates? "To fly from juſtice in this manner, is it ought elſe

but

" but ruining entirely the laws and the republic? Do
" you believe, that a ſtate ſubſiſts, after juſtice is not
" only no longer in force in it, but is even corrupted,
" ſubverted, and trod under foot by particulars? But,
" ſay I, the republic has done me injuſtice, and has
" ſentenced me wrongfully. Have you forgot, the
" laws would reply, that you are under an agreement
" with us to ſubmit your private judgment to the
" republic? You were at liberty, if our government
" and conſtitutions did not ſuit you, to retire and
" ſettle yourſelf elſewhere: But a reſidence of ſeventy
" years in our city ſufficiently denotes, that our plan
" has not diſpleaſed you, and that you have complied
" with it from an entire knowledge and experience of
" it, and out of choice. In effect you owe all you
" are, and all you poſſeſs, to it: birth, nurture, edu-
" cation, and eſtabliſhment; for all theſe proceed
" from the tuition and protection of the republic. Do
" you believe yourſelf free to break through engage-
" ments with her, which you have confirmed by more
" than one oath? Though ſhe ſhould intend to de-
" ſtroy you, can you render her evil for evil, and in-
" jury for injury? Have you a right to act in that
" manner with your father and mother; and do you
" not know, that your country is more conſiderable,
" and more worthy of reſpect before God and man,
" than either father or mother, or all the relations in
" the world together; that your country is to be ho-
" noured and revered, to be complied with in her ex-
" ceſſes, and to be treated with tenderneſs and kind-
" neſs even in her moſt violent proceedings? In a
" word, that ſhe is either to be reclaimed by wiſe
" counſels and reſpectful remonſtrances, or to be
" obeyed in her commands, and ſuffered without mur-
" muring in all ſhe ſhall decree? As for your chil-
" dren, Socrates, your friends will render them all
" the ſervices in their power; at leaſt the Divine Pro-
" vidence will not be wanting to them. Reſign your-
" ſelf therefore to our reaſons, and take the counſel of

" thoſe

" thoſe who have given you birth, nurture, and edu-
" cation. Set not ſo high a value upon your chil-
" dren, your life, or any thing in the world as juſtice;
" ſo ſhall it come to paſs, that when you appear be-
" fore the tribunal of Pluto, you will not be at a loſs
" to defend yourſelf in the preſence of your judges.
" But if you demean yourſelf otherwiſe, we ſhall con-
" tinue your enemies as long as you live, without ever
" affording you relaxation or repoſe; and when you
" are dead, our ſiſters, the laws in the regions below,
" will be as little favourable to you; knowing that
" you have been guilty of uſing your utmoſt endea-
" vours to deſtroy us."

Socrates obſerved to Crito, that he ſeemed to have a perfect ſenſe of all he had ſaid, and that the force of his reaſons had made ſo ſtrong and irreſiſtible an impreſſion upon his mind, that they entirely engroſſed him, and left him neither thoughts nor words to object. Crito agreeing in effect that he had nothing to reply, continued ſilent, and withdrew from his friend.

(q) At length the fatal ſhip returned to Athens, which was in a manner the ſignal for the death of Socrates. The next day all his friends, except Plato, who was ſick, repaired to the priſon early in the morning. The jailer deſired them to wait a little, becauſe the eleven magiſtrates (who had the direction of the priſons) were at that time ſignifying to the priſoner, that he was to die the ſame day. Preſently after they entered, and found Socrates, whoſe * chains had been taken off, ſitting by Xantippe his wife, who held one of his children in her arms. As ſoon as ſhe perceived them, ſetting up great cries, ſobbing, and tearing her face and hair, ſhe made the priſon reſound with her complaints, *Oh my dear Socrates, your friends are come to ſee you this day for the laſt time!* He deſired that ſhe

(q) Plat. in Phæd. p. 59, &c.

* *At Athens, as ſoon as ſentence was pronounced upon a criminal, he was unbound, and conſidered as the victim of death, when it was no longer lawful to keep in chains.*

might

might be taken away, and she was immediately carried home.

Socrates passed the rest of the day with his friends, and discoursed with them with his usual chearfulness and tranquillity. The subject of conversation was the most important and best adapted to the present conjuncture, that is to say, the immortality of the soul. What gave occasion to this discourse, was a question introduced in a manner by chance, whether a true philosopher ought not to desire and take pains to die. This proposition taken too literally implied an opinion, that a philosopher might kill himself. Socrates shews that nothing is more unjust than this notion, and that man, appertaining to God, who formed and placed him with his own hand in the post he possesses, cannot abandon it without his permission, nor depart from life without his order. What is it then that can induce a philosopher to entertain this love for death? It can be only the hope of that happiness, which he expects in another life, and that hope can be founded only upon the opinion of the soul's immortality.

Socrates employed the last day of his life in entertaining his friends upon this great and important subject, from which conversation Plato's admirable dialogue, intitled *The Phædon*, is wholly taken. He explains to his friends all the arguments for believing the soul immortal, and refutes all the objections against it, which are very near the same as are made at this day. This treatise is too long for me to attempt an abstract of it.

(r) Before he answers any of these objections, he deplores a misfortune common enough amongst men, who, in consequence of hearing ignorant persons, that contradict and doubt every thing, dispute, believe there is nothing certain. "Is it not a great misfortune, "dear Phædon, that having reasons which are true, "certain, and very easy to be understood, there should "however be those in the world, who are not at all

(r) Plat. p. 90, 91.

"affected

" affected with them, from their having heard thoſe " frivilous diſputes, wherein all things appear ſome- " times true and ſometimes falſe. Theſe unjuſt and " unreaſonable men, inſtead of blaming themſelves " for theſe doubts, or charging the narrowneſs of " their ſenſe with them, from aſcribing the defect to " the reaſons themſelves, proceed at length to a de- " teſtation of them; and believe themſelves more " knowing and judicious than all others, becauſe they " imagine they are the only perſons, who compre- " hend, that there is nothing true or certain in the " nature of things."

Socrates demonſtrates the injuſtice of this proceeding. He obſerves, that of two things equally uncertain, it conſiſts with wiſdom to chooſe that which is moſt advantagious with leaſt hazard. " If what I " advance," ſays he, " upon the immortality of the " ſoul proves true, it is good to believe it; and if af- " ter my death it proves falſe, I ſhall always have the " advantage from it, to have been leſs ſenſible here of " the evils which generally attend human life." This reaſoning * of Socrates (which, *we are to ſuppoſe*, can be only real and true in the mouth of a chriſtian) is very remarkable. If what I ſay is true, I gain all things, whilſt I hazard very little; and if falſe, I loſe nothing; on the contrary, I am ſtill a great gainer.

Socrates does not confine himſelf to the mere ſpeculation of this great truth, that the ſoul is immortal; he draws uſeful and neceſſary concluſions from it for the conduct of life; in explaining what the hope of an happy eternity demands from man, tha it be not fruſtrated, and that inſtead of attaining the rewards prepared for the good, they do not experience the puniſhments allotted for the wicked. The philoſopher here ſets forth theſe great truths, which a conſtant tradition, though very much obſcured by fiction and fable, had always preſerved amongſt the Pagans. The laſt

* *Monſieur Paſcal has expatiated upon this reaſoning in his ſeventh article, and deduced from it a demonſtration of infinite force.*

judgment

judgment of the righteous and wicked; the eternal punishments to which great criminals are condemned; a place of peace and joy without end for the souls that retain their purity and innocence, or which during this life have expiated their offences by repentance and satisfaction; and an intermediate state, in which they purify themselves, for a certain time, from less considerable crimes, that have not been atoned for during this life.

" (*s*) My friends, there is still one thing, which it " is very just to believe; if the soul be immortal, it " requires to be cultivated with attention, not only for " what we call the time of life, but for that which is " to follow, I mean eternity; and the least neglect in " this point may be attended with endless consequences. " If death were the final dissolution of being, the " wicked would be great gainers in it, by being deli- " vered at once from their bodies, their souls, and " their vices: but as the soul is immortal, it has no " other means of being freed from its evils, nor any " safety for it but in becoming very good and very " wise; for it carries nothing away with it, but its " good or bad deeds, its virtues or vices, which are " commonly the consequence of the education it has " received, and the causes of eternal happiness or " misery.

" (*t*) When the dead are arrived at the fatal ren- " dezvous of departed souls, whither their * dæmon " conducts them, they are all judged. Those, who " have passed their lives in a manner neither entirely " criminal nor absolutely innocent, are sent into a " place, where they suffer pains proportioned to their " faults, till being purged and cleansed of their guilt, " and afterwards restored to liberty, they receive " the reward of the good actions they have done in " the body. Those who are judged to be incurable

(*s*) Plat. p. 107. (*t*) Ibid. p. 113, 114.

* *Dæmon is a Greek word, which signifies spirit, genius, and with us, angel.*

" upon

" upon account of the greatneſs of their crimes, who " from deliberate will have committed ſacrileges and " murthers, and other ſuch great offences, the fatal " deſtiny, that paſſes judgment upon them, hurls " them into Tartarus, from whence they never de- " part. But thoſe who are found guilty of crimes, " great indeed, but worthy of pardon; who have " committed violences in the tranſports of rage " againſt their father or mother, or have killed ſome " one in a like emotion, and afterwards repented, " theſe ſuffer the ſame puniſhment, and in the ſame " place with the laſt; but for a time only, till by " their prayers and ſupplications they have obtained " pardon from thoſe they have injured.

" But for thoſe, who have paſſed thro' life with " peculiar ſanctity of manners, delivered from their " baſe earthly abodes as from a priſon, they are re- " ceived on high in a pure region, which they inha- " bit; and as philoſophy has ſufficiently purified " them, they live * without their bodies thro' all eter- " nity in a ſeries of joys and delights it is not eaſy " to deſcribe, and which the ſhortneſs of my time " will not permit me to explain more at large.

" What I have ſaid will ſuffice, I conceive, to " prove, that we ought to endeavour ſtrenuouſly " throughout our whole lives, to acquire virtue and " wiſdom: for you ſee, how great a reward, and " how high an hope is propoſed to us. And tho' the " immortality of the ſoul were dubious, inſtead of " appearing a certainty as it does, every wiſe man " ought to aſſure himſelf, that it is well worth his " trouble to riſk his belief of it in this manner. And " indeed can there be a more glorious hazard? We " ought to enchant ourſelves with this bleſſed hope; " for which reaſon I have lengthned this diſcourſe ſo " much."

Cicero expreſſes theſe noble ſentiments of Socrates

* *The reſurrection of the body was unknown to the pagans.*

with his uſual delicacy. * Almoſt at the very moment that he held the deadly draught in his hand, he talked in ſuch a manner, as ſhewed that he looked upon death not as a violence done to him, but as a means beſtowed upon him of aſcending to heaven. He declared, that upon departing out of this life, two ways are open to us; the one leads to the place of eternal miſery ſuch ſouls, as have ſullied themſelves here below in ſhameful pleaſures and criminal actions; the other conducts thoſe to the happy manſions of the gods, who have retained their purity upon earth, and have led in human bodies a life almoſt divine.

(*a*) When Socrates had done ſpeaking, Crito deſired him to give him and the reſt of his friends his laſt inſtructions in regard to his children, and other affairs, that by executing them, they might have the conſolation of doing him ſome pleaſure. "I ſhall recommend nothing to you this day, replied Socrates, "more than I have always done, which is to take care "of yourſelves. You cannot do yourſelves a greater "ſervice, nor do me and my family a greater plea"ſure." Crito having aſked him afterwards, in what manner he thought fit to be buried: "As you pleaſe, "ſaid Socrates, if you can lay hold of me, and I not "eſcape out of your hands." At the ſame time looking upon his friends with a ſmile: "I can never per"ſuade Crito, that Socrates is he who converſes with "you, and diſpoſes the ſeveral parts of his diſcourſe; "for he always imagines, that I am what he is go-

(*a*) Pag. 115—118.

* Cum penè in manu jam mortiferum illud teneret poculum, locutus ita eſt, ut non ad mortem trudi, verùm in cœlum videretur aſcendere. Ita enim cenſebat, itàque diſſeruit: duas eſſe vias dupliceſque curſus animorum è corpore excedentium. Nam, qui ſe humanis vitiis contaminaſſent, & ſe totos libidinibus dedidiſſent, quibus coarctati velut domeſticis vitiis atque flagitiis ſe inquinaſſent, iis devium quoddam iter eſſe, ſecluſum à concilio deorum: qui autem ſe integros caſtoſque ſervaviſſent, quibuſque fuiſſet minima cum corporibus contagio, ſeſeque ab his ſemper ſevocaſſent, eſſentque in corporibus humanis vitam imitati deorum, his ad illos, à quibus eſſent profecti, reditum facilem patêre. *Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. lib.* 1. *n.* 71, 72.

"ing

" ing to ſee dead in a little while. He confounds me
" with my carcaſs, and therefore aſks me how I would
" be interred." In finiſhing theſe words he roſe up, and went to bathe himſelf in a chamber adjoining. After he came out of the bath, his children were brought to him, for he had three, two very little, and the other grown up. He ſpoke to them for ſome time, gave his orders to the women who took care of them, and then diſmiſſed them. Being returned into his chamber, he laid him down upon his bed.

The ſervant of the Eleven entered at the ſame inſtant, and having informed him, that the time for drinking the hemlock was come, (which was at ſunſet) the ſervant was ſo much affected with ſorrow, that he turned his back, and fell a weeping. " See, ſaid
" Socrates, the good heart of this man! Since my im-
" priſonment he has often come to ſee me, and to
" converſe with me. He is more worthy than all his
" fellows. How heartily the poor man weeps for me."
This is a remarkable example, and might teach thoſe in an office of this kind how they ought to behave to all priſoners, but more eſpecially to perſons of merit, when they are ſo unhappy to fall into their hands. The fatal cup was brought. Socrates aſked what it was neceſſary for him to do. Nothing more, replied the ſervant, than as ſoon as you have drunk off the draught to walk about till you find your legs grow weary, and afterwards lie down upon your bed. He took the cup without any emotion or change in his colour or countenance, and regarding the man with a ſteady and aſſured look, " Well, ſaid he, what ſay you of this
" drink; may one make a libation out of it?" Upon being told that there was only enough for one doſe:
" at leaſt, continued he, we may ſay our prayers to
" the gods, as it is our duty; and implore them to
" make our exit from this world, and our laſt ſtage
" happy; which is what I moſt ardently beg of
" them." After having ſpoke theſe words he kept ſilence for ſome time, and then drank off the whole

draught with an amazing tranquillity, and a ſerenity of aſpect not to be expreſſed or conceived.

Till then his friends with great violence to themſelves had refrained from tears, but after he had drank the potion, they were no longer their own maſters, and wept abundantly. Apollodorus, who had been in tears during almoſt the whole converſation, began then to raiſe great cries, and to lament with ſuch exceſſive grief, as pierced the hearts of all that were preſent. Socrates alone remained unmoved, and even reproved his friends, tho' with his uſual mildneſs and good nature. What are you doing? ſaid he to them, I admire at you. Ah! What is become of your virtue? Was it not for this I ſent away the women, that they might not fall into theſe weakneſſes? For I have always heard ſay, that we ought to die peaceably, and bleſſing the gods. Be at eaſe, I beg you, and ſhew more conſtancy and reſolution. Thoſe words filled them with confuſion, and obliged them to reſtrain their tears.

In the mean time he kept walking to and fro, and when he found his legs grow weary he laid down upon his back, as he had been directed.

The poiſon then operated more and more. When Socrates found it began to gain upon the heart, uncovering his face, which had been covered without doubt to prevent any thing from diſturbing him in his laſt moments, *Crito*, ſaid he, which were his laſt words, *we owe a cock to Æſculapius*; *diſcharge that vow for me, and pray don't forget it*; ſoon after which he breathed his laſt. Crito went to his body, and cloſed his mouth and eyes. Such was the end of Socrates; in the firſt year of the 95th Olympiad, and the ſeventieth of his age. Cicero * ſays, he could never read the deſcription of his death in Plato without tears.

Plato and the reſt of Socrates's diſciples, apprehending the rage of his accuſers was not ſatiated by that vic-

* Quid dicam de Socrate, cujus morti illacrymari ſolco Platonem legens? *De Nat. deor. lib.* 3. *n.* 82.

tim,

tim, retired to Mægara to the houſe of Euclid; where they ſtaid till the ſtorm blew over. Euripides however, to reproach the Athenians with the horrible crime they had committed, in condemning the beſt of men to die upon ſuch ſlight grounds, compoſed his tragedy, called *Palamedes*, in which under the name of that hero, who was alſo deſtroyed by a black calumniation, he deplored the misfortune of his friend. When the actor came to repeat this verſe,

You doom the juſteſt of the Greeks to periſh,

the whole theatre, remembring Socrates in ſo diſtinct an image of him, melted into tears, and a decree paſſed to prohibit ſpeaking any more of him in public. Some believe Euripides was dead before Socrates, and reject this circumſtance.

However it were, the people of Athens did not open their eyes till ſome time after the death of Socrates. Their hatred being ſatisfied, their prejudices expired, and time having given them opportunity for reflection, the notorious injuſtice of the ſentence appeared in all its horrors. Nothing was heard throughout the city but diſcourſes in favour of Socrates. The academy, the Lycæum, private houſes, public walks, and market-places ſeemed ſtill to re-echo the ſound of his loved voice. Here, ſaid they, he formed our youth, and taught our children to love their country, and to honour their parents. In this place, he gave us his admirable leſſons, and ſometimes made us ſeaſonable reproaches, to engage us more warmly in the purſuit of virtue. Alas! how have we rewarded him for ſuch important ſervices? Athens was in univerſal mourning and conſternation. The ſchools were ſhut up, and all exerciſes ſuſpended. The accuſers were called to account for the innocent blood they had cauſed to be ſhed. Melitus was condemned to die, and the reſt baniſhed. Plutarch obſerves, that all thoſe, who had any ſhare in this black calumny, were in ſuch abomination amongſt the citizens, that no one would give them fire, anſwer them any queſtion, nor go into the

ſame bath with them; and had the place cleanſed where they had bathed, leſt they ſhould be polluted by touching it; which drove them into ſuch deſpair, that many of them killed themſelves.

(*b*) The Athenians not contented with having puniſhed his accuſers, cauſed a ſtatue of braſs to be erected to him of the workmanſhip of the celebrated Lyſippus, and placed it in one of the moſt conſpicuous parts of the city. Their reſpect and gratitude roſe even to a religious veneration; they dedicated a chapel to him, as to a hero and a demi-god, which they called Σωκρατεῖον, that is to ſay, *the chapel of Socrates.*

SECT. VIII. *Reflections upon the ſentence paſſed upon Socrates by the Athenians, and upon Socrates himſelf.*

WE muſt be very much ſurprized, when on the one ſide we conſider the extreme delicacy of the people of Athens, as to what regards the worſhip of the gods, which ran ſo high as to occaſion their condemning the moſt eminent perſons upon the ſimple ſuſpicion of their failing in reſpect for them; and on the other, when we ſee the exceeding toleration, to call it no worſe, with which the ſame people hear comedies every day, in which all the gods are turned into ridicule in a manner capable of inſpiring the higheſt contempt for them. All Ariſtophanes's pieces abound with pleaſantries, or rather buffooneries, of this kind; and if it is true, that this poet did not know what it was to ſpare the greateſt men of the republic, it may be ſaid alſo as juſtly, he was ſtill leſs favourable to the gods.

Such were the daily entertainments in the theatre, which the people of Athens not only heard without pain, but with ſuch joy, pleaſure, and applauſe, that they rewarded the poet with public honours, who diverted them ſo agreebly. What was there in Socrates, that came near this exceſſive licenſe? Never did any perſon of the pagan world ſpeak of the divinity, or of the

(*b*) Diog. p. 116.

adoration

adoration due to him, in ſo pure, ſo noble, and ſo reſpectful a manner. He did not declare againſt the gods publickly received and honoured by a religion more antient than the city, he only avoided imputing to them the crimes and infamous actions, which the popular credulity aſcribed to them, and which were only proper to depreciate and decry them in the ſenſe of the people. He did not blame the ſacrifices, feſtivals, nor the other ceremonies of religion; he only taught, that all that pomp and outward ſhew could not be agreeable to the gods without uprightneſs of intention and purity of heart.

This wiſe, this illumined, this religious man however, with all his veneration and noble ſentiments in regard to the divinity, is condemned as an impious perſon by the ſuffrages of almoſt an whole people, without his accuſers being able to inſtance one ſingle avowed fact, or to produce any proof with the leaſt appearance of probability.

From whence could ſo evident, ſo univerſal, and ſo determinate a contradiction ariſe amongſt the Athenians? A people, abounding in other reſpects with wit, taſte, and knowledge, muſt without doubt have had their reaſons, at leaſt in appearance, for a conduct ſo different, and ſentiments ſo oppoſite, to their general character. May we not ſay, that the Athenians conſidered their gods in a double light? They confined their real religion to the public, ſolemn and hereditary worſhip as they had received it from their anceſtors, as it was eſtabliſhed by the laws of the ſtate, had been practiſed from immemorial time, and eſpecially confirmed by the oracles, augurs, offerings, and ſacrifices. It is by this ſtandard they regulated their piety; againſt which they could not ſuffer the leaſt attempt whatſoever: it was of this worſhip alone they were jealous; it was for theſe antient ceremonies they were ſuch ardent zealots; and they believed, though without foundation, that Socrates was an enemy to them. But there was another kind of religion, founded upon

fable, poetical fictions, popular opinions, and foreign cuſtoms; for this they were little concerned, and abandoned it entirely to the poets, to the repreſentations of the theatre, and common converſation.

(c) What groſſneſs did they not attribute to Juno and Venus? No citizen would have been ſatisfied, that his wife or daughters ſhould have reſembled thoſe goddeſſes. Timotheus, the famous muſician, having repreſented Diana upon the ſtage of Athens, tranſported with folly, fury, and rage, one of the ſpectators conceived, he could not make a greater imprecation againſt him, than to wiſh his daughter might become the likeneſs of that divinity. It is better, ſays Plutarch, to believe there are no gods, than to imagine them of this kind; open and declared impiety being leſs prophane, if we may be allowed to ſay ſo, than ſo groſs and abſurd a ſuperſtition.

However it be, the ſentence of which we have related the circumſtances, will, through all ages, cover Athens with infamy and reproach, that all the ſplendor of its glorious actions for which it is otherwiſe ſo juſtly renowned can never obliterate, and ſhews at the ſame time, what is to be expected from a people, gentle, humane, and beneficent at bottom, for ſuch the Athenians really were, but warm, proud, haughty, inconſtant, wavering with every wind, and every impreſſion. It is therefore with reaſon, that their aſſemblies have been compared to a tempeſtuous ſea; as that element, like the people, though calm and peaceable of itſelf, is ſubject to be frequently agitated by a violence not its own.

As to Socrates, it muſt be allowed that the pagan world never produced any thing ſo great and perfect. When we obſerve to what an height he carries the ſublimity of his ſentiments, not only in reſpect to moral virtue, temperance, ſobriety, patience in adverſity, the love of poverty, and the forgiveneſs of wrongs; but what is far more conſiderable, in regard to the Di-

(c) Plut. de ſuperſtit. p. 170.

vinity,

vinity, his unity, omnipotence, creation of the world, and providence in the government of it; the immortality of the ſoul, its ultimate end and eternal deſtiny; the rewards of the good, and the puniſhment of the wicked; when we conſider this train of ſublime knowledge, we aſk our reaſon whether it is a pagan who thinks and ſpeaks in this manner, and can ſcarce perſuade ourſelves, that from ſo dark and obſcure a fund as paganiſm, ſhould ſhine forth ſuch living and ſuch glorious rays of light.

It is true, his reputation was not without alloy, and it has been affirmed that the purity of his manners did not anſwer thoſe of his ſentiments. (*a*) This queſtion has been diſcuſſed amongſt the learned, but my plan will not admit me to treat it in its extent. The reader may ſee abbé Fraguier's diſſertation in defence of Socrates againſt the reproaches made him upon account of his conduct. The negative argument he makes uſe of in his juſtification, ſeems a very ſtrong one. He obſerves, that neither Ariſtophanes in his comedy of the Clouds, which is entirely againſt Socrates, nor his vile accuſers in his trial, have advanced one word that tends to impeach the purity of his manners: and it is not probable, that ſuch violent enemies as thoſe would have neglected one of the moſt likely methods to diſcredit him in the opinion of his judges, if there had been any foundation or appearance for the uſe of it.

I confeſs however, that certain principles of Plato his diſciple, held by him in common with his maſter, upon the nudity of the combatants in the public games, from which at the ſame time he did not exclude the fair ſex, and the behaviour of Socrates himſelf, who wreſtled naked man to man with Alcibiades, give us no great idea of that philoſopher's delicacy in point of modeſty and baſhfulneſs. (*b*) What ſhall we ſay of his viſit to Theodota, a woman of Athens of indifferent reputation, only to aſſure himſelf with his own

(*a*) Memoires de l'Academie des inſcript. Tom. IV. p. 372.
(*b*) Xenoph. Memorab. l. 3. p. 783—786.

eyes of her extraordinary beauty, which was much talked of, and of the precepts he gave her, for the attraction of admirers, and the retaining them in her ſnares. Do ſuch leſſons conſiſt much with a philoſopher? I paſs over many other things in ſilence.

I am the leſs ſurprized after this, that ſeveral of the fathers have cenſured him in regard to purity of manners, and that they have thought fit to apply to him, as well as to his diſciple Plato, what St. Paul (*c*) ſays of the philoſophers; that God by a juſt judgment has abandoned them to a reprobate ſenſe, and to the moſt ſhameful luſts for their puniſhment; in that having clearly known there was but one true God, they had not honoured him as they ought, by publickly avowing their belief, and were not aſhamed to aſſociate him with an innumerable multitude of divinities, ridiculous and infamous even in their own opinions.

And in this properly ſpeaking conſiſts the crime of Socrates, who was not guilty in the eyes of the Athenians, but gave occaſion for his being juſtly condemned by the eternal truth. It had illuminated his ſoul with the moſt pure and ſublime lights, of which the pagan world was capable; for we are not ignorant, that all knowledge of God, even natural, cannot come but from himſelf alone. He held admirable principles with relation to the divinity. He agreeably rallied the fables, upon which the ridiculous myſteries of his age were founded. He often ſpoke, and in the moſt exalted terms, of the exiſtence of one only God, eternal, inviſible, creator of the univerſe, ſupreme director and arbiter of all events, avenger of crimes, and rewarder of virtues: But he * did not dare to give a publiic

(*c*) Rom. ch. i. v. 17—32.

* Quæ omnia (ait Seneca) ſapiens ſervabit tanquam legibus juſſa, non tanquam diis grata——— Omnem iſtam ignobilem deorum turbam, quam longo ævo longa ſuperſtitio congeſſit, ſic, inquit, adorabimus, ut meminerimus cultum ejus magis ad morem, quam ad rem, pertinere—Sed iſte, quem philoſophia quaſi liberum fecerat, tamen, quia illuſtris ſenator erat, colebat quod reprehendebat, agebat quod

public teſtimony of theſe great truths. He perfectly diſcerned the falſe and the ridiculous of the pagan ſyſtem, and nevertheleſs, as Seneca ſays of the wiſe man, and acted himſelf, he obſerved exactly all the cuſtoms and ceremonies, not as agreeable to the gods, but as enjoined by the laws. He acknowledged at bottom one only divinity, and worſhipped with the people that multitude of infamous idols, which antient ſuperſtition had heaped up during a long ſucceſſion of ages. He held peculiar opinions in the ſchools, but followed the multitude in the temples. As a philoſopher, he deſpiſed and deteſted the idols in ſecret; as a citizen of Athens and a ſenator, he paid them in public the ſame adoration with others: by ſo much the more to be condemned, ſays St. Auguſtin, as that worſhip, which was only external and diſſembled, ſeemed to the people to be the effect of ſincerity and conviction.

And it cannot be ſaid that Socrates altered his conduct at the end of his life, or that he then expreſſed a greater zeal for truth. In his defence before the people, he declared, that he had always received and honoured the ſame gods as the Athenians; and the laſt order he gave before he expired, was to ſacrifice in his name a cock to Æſculapius. Behold then this prince of the philoſophers, declared by the Delphic oracle the wiſeſt of mankind, who, notwithſtanding his internal conviction of one only divinity, dies in the boſom of idolatry, and with the profeſſion of adoring all the gods of the pagan theology. Socrates is the more inexcuſable in this, that declaring himſelf a man expreſsly appointed by heaven to bear witneſs to the truth, he fails in the moſt eſſential duty of the glorious commiſſion he aſcribes to himſelf. For if there be any truth in religion, that we ought more particu-

quod arguebat, quod culpabat adorabat——eo damnabilius, quo illa, quæ mendaciter agebat, ſic ageret, ut eum populus veraciter agere exiſtimaret. *S. Auguſt. de civit. Dei, l.* 6. c. 10.

Eorum ſapientes, quos philoſophos vocant, ſcholas habebant diſſentientes, et templa communia. *Id. lib. de ver. rel.* c. 1.

larly

larly to avow, it is that, which regards the unity of the Godhead, and the vanity of idol-worſhip. In this his courage had been well placed; nor would it have been any great difficulty to Socrates, determined beſides as he was to die. But, * ſays St. Auguſtin, theſe philoſophers were not deſigned by God to enlighten the world, nor to bring men over from the impious worſhip of falſe deities to the holy religion of the true God.

We cannot deny Socrates to have been the hero of the pagan world in regard to moral virtues. But to judge rightly of him, let us draw a parallel between this ſuppoſed hero and the martyrs of chriſtianity, who often were young children and tender virgins, and yet were not afraid to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood, to defend and confirm the ſame truths, which Socrates knew, without daring to aſſert in public: I mean, the unity of God, and the vanity of idols. Let us alſo compare the ſo much boaſted death of this prince of philoſophers, with that of our holy biſhops, who have done the chriſtian religion ſo much honour, by their ſublimity of genius, the extent of their knowledge, and the beauty and excellence of their writings; a Saint Cyprian, a Saint Auguſtin, and ſo many others who were all ſeen to die in the boſom of humility, fully convinced of their unworthineſs and nothingneſs, penetrated with a lively fear of the judgments of God, and expecting their ſalvation from his ſole goodneſs and condeſcending mercy. Philoſophy inſpires no ſuch ſentiments; they could proceed only from the grace of the Mediator, which, *we are taught to believe*, Socrates did not deſerve to know.

* Non ſic iſti nati erant, ut populorum ſuorum opinionem ad verum cultum veri Dei à ſimulacrorum ſuperſtitione atque ab hujus mundi vanitate converterent. *S. Auguſt. l. de ver. rel. c. 2.*

BOOK

BOOK THE EIGHTH.

THE ANTIENT HISTORY OF THE Perſians *and* Grecians.

MANNERS and CUSTOMS of the GREEKS.

THE moſt eſſential part of hiſtory, and which it concerns the reader moſt to know, is that which explains the character and manners as well of the people in general, as of the great perſons in particular of whom it treats; and this may be ſaid to be in ſome ſort the ſoul of hiſtory, of which the facts are only the body. I have endeavoured, as occaſion offered, to paint in their true colours the moſt illuſtrious perſonages of Greece; it remains for me to ſhew the genius and character of the people themſelves. I ſhall confine myſelf to thoſe of Lacedæmon and Athens, who always held the firſt rank amongſt the Greeks, and ſhall reduce what I have to ſay upon this ſubject to three heads; their political government, war, and religion.

Sigonius,

Sigonius, Meurſius, Potter, and ſeveral others, who have wrote upon the Grecian antiquities, ſupply me with great lights, and are of equal uſe to me in the matters it remains for me to treat.

CHAPTER I.

Of political government.

THERE are three principal forms of government: *Monarchy*, in which a ſingle perſon reigns; *Ariſtocracy*, in which the eldeſt and wiſeſt govern; and *Democracy*, in which the ſupreme authority is lodged in the hands of the people. The moſt celebrated writers of antiquity, as Plato, Ariſtotle, Polybius, and Plutarch, give the preference to the firſt kind, as including the moſt advantages with the feweſt inconveniences. But all agree, and it cannot be too often inculcated, that the end of all government, and the duty of every one in authority, in whatſoever manner it be, is to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to render thoſe under his command happy and juſt, by obtaining for them on the one ſide ſafety, and tranquillity, with the advantages and conveniences of life; and on the other, all the means and helps that may contribute to making them virtuous. As the pilot's end, ſays Cicero *, is to ſteer his veſſel happily into its port, the phyſician's to preſerve or reſtore health, the general's of an army to obtain victory; ſo a prince, and every man who governs others, ought to make the utility of the governed his view and motive, and to remember, that the ſupreme rule of all juſt government is the good of the public, (*a*) *Salus populi ſuprema lex eſto.* He adds, that the greateſt and moſt noble function

(*a*) Cic. de leg. l. 3. n. 8.

* Tenes-ne igitur, moderatorem illum reip. quo referre velimus omnia?—Ut gubernatori curſus ſecundus, medico ſalus, imperatori victoria, ſic huic moderatori reip. beata civium vita propoſita eſt, ut opibus firma, copiis locuples, gloriâ ampla, virtute honeſta ſit. Hujus enim operis maximi inter homines atque optimi illum eſſe perfectorem volo. *Ad Attic.* l. 8. *Epiſt.* 10.

ction in the world is to be the author of the happineſs of mankind.

Plato in an hundred places eſteems as nothing the moſt ſhining qualities and actions of thoſe who govern, if they do not tend to promote the two great ends I have mentioned, the virtue and happineſs of the people; and he refutes at large, in the firſt book (*b*) of his Republic, one Thraſymachus, who advanced, that ſubjects were born for the prince, and not the prince for his ſubjects; and that whatever promoted the intereſts of the prince and commonwealth ought to be deemed juſt and lawful.

In the diſtinctions which have been made upon the ſeveral forms of government, it has been agreed, That would be the moſt perfect, which ſhould unite in itſelf, by an happy mixture of inſtitutions, all the advantages, and exclude all the inconveniencies, of the reſt; and almoſt all the antients have believed (*c*), that the Lacedæmonian government came neareſt to this idea of perfection.

ARTICLE I.

Of the government of Sparta.

FROM the time that the Heraclides had re-entered Peloponneſus, Sparta was governed by two kings, who were always of the ſame two families, deſcended from Hercules by two different branches; as I have obſerved elſewhere. Whether from pride, or the abuſe of deſpotic power on the ſide of the kings, or the deſire of independance, and an immoderate love of liberty on that of the people, Sparta, in its beginnings, was always involved in commotions and revolts; which would infallibly have occaſioned its ruin, as had happened at Argos and Meſſene, two neighbouring cities equally powerful with itſelf, if the wiſe foreſight of Lycurgus had not prevented fatal conſequences by the reformation he made in the ſtate. I

(*b*) Pag. 338—343. (*c*) Polyb. l. 6. p. 458, 459.

have

have related it at large (*c*) in the life of that legiſlator, and ſhall only touch here upon what regards the government.

SECT. I. *Abridged idea of the Spartan government. Entire ſubmiſſion to the laws in a manner the ſoul of it.*

LYCURGUS reſtored order and peace in Sparta by the eſtabliſhment of the ſenate. It conſiſted of twenty-eight ſenators, and the two kings preſided in it. This auguſt council, formed out of the wiſeſt and moſt experienced men in the nation, ſerved as a counterpoiſe to the two other authorities, that of the king's, and that of the people; and whenever the one was for over-bearing the other, the ſenate interpoſed by joining the weakeſt, and thereby held the balance between both. At length, to prevent this body itſelf from abuſing its power, which was very great, a kind of curb was annexed to it, by the nomination of five Ephori, who were elected out of the people, whoſe office laſted only one year, and who had authority, not only over the ſenators, but the kings themſelves.

The power of the kings was extremely limited, eſpecially in the city, and in time of peace. In war they had the command of the fleets and armies, and at that time greater authority. (*d*) However they had even then a kind of inſpectors and commiſſioners aſſigned them, who ſerved as a neceſſary council, and were generally choſen for that office, from their being out of favour with them, in order that there ſhould be no connivance on their ſide, and the republic be the better ſerved. There was almoſt continually ſome ſecret miſ-underſtanding between the two kings; whether it proceeded from a natural jealouſy between the two branches, or was the effect of the Spartan policy, to which their two great union might have given umbrage.

The Ephori had a greater authority at Sparta, than the tribunes of the Roman people. They preſided in

(*c*) Vol. II. (*d*) Ariſt. de rep. l. 2. p. 331.

the

the election of the magistrates, and could call them to an account for their administration. Their power extended even to the persons of their kings, and of the princes of the blood royal, whom they had a right to imprison, which they actually used in regard to Pausanias. When they sate upon their seats in the tribunal, they did not rise up when the kings entered, which was a mark of respect paid them by all the other magistrates, and seems to imply a kind of superiority in the Ephori from their representing the people; and it is observed of Agesilaus (*e*), that when he was seated upon his throne to dispense justice, and the Ephori came in, he never failed to rise up to do them honour. It is very probable, that before him it was not usual for the kings to behave in that manner, Plutarch relating this behaviour of Agesilaus as peculiar to him.

All public business was proposed and examined in the senate, and resolutions passed accordingly in the same place. But the decrees of the senate were not of force, unless ratified by the people.

There must have been exceeding wisdom in the laws established by Lycurgus for the government of Sparta, because as long as they were exactly observed, no commotions or seditions of the people were ever known in the city, no change in the form of government was ever proposed, no private person usurped authority by violence, or made himself tyrant, the people never thought of depriving the two families, in which it had always been, of the sovereignty, nor did any of the kings ever attempt to assume more power than the laws admitted. (*f*) This reflection, which both Xenophon and Polybius make, shews the idea they had of the wisdom of Lycurgus, in point of his policy, and the opinion we ought to have of it. In effect no other city of Greece had this advantage, and all of them experienced many changes and vicissitudes, for

(*e*) Plut. in Agesil. p. 597. (*f*) Xenoph. in Agesil. p. 651. Polyb. l. 6. p. 456.

want

want of the like laws to perpetuate their form of government.

The reaſon of this conſtancy and ſtability of the Lacedæmonians in their government and conduct is, that in Sparta the laws governed abſolutely, and with ſovereign authority; whereas the greateſt part of the other Grecian cities, abandoned to the caprice of private men, to deſpotic power, to an arbitrary and irregular ſway, experienced the truth of Plato's ſaying (*g*), that the city is miſerable, where the magiſtrates command the laws, and not the laws the magiſtrates.

The examples of Argos and Meſſene, which I have already related, would alone ſuffice to ſhew how juſt and true that reflection is. (*h*) After their return from the Trojan war, the Greeks, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Dorians, eſtabliſhed themſelves in three cities of Peloponneſus, Lacedæmon, Argos, and Meſſene; and ſwore alliance, and protection of each other. Theſe three cities, governed alike by monarchical power, had the ſame advantages; except in the fertility of the lands where they were ſituated, in which the two latter carried it extremely. Argos and Meſſene however did not long preſerve their ſuperiority. The haughtineſs of the kings, and the diſobedience of the people, occaſioned their fall from the flouriſhing condition in which they had been at firſt; and their example proved, ſays Plutarch after Plato, that it was the peculiar favour of the gods, which gave the Spartans ſuch a man as Lycurgus, capable of preſcribing ſo wiſe and reaſonable a plan of government.

To ſupport it without change, particular care was taken to educate the youth according to the laws and manners of the country; in order that they might become a ſecond nature in them, by being early engrafted into them, and confirmed by long habitude. The hard and ſober manner, in which they were brought up, inſpired them during the reſt of their lives with a

(*g*) Plat. l. 4. de leg. p. 715. (*h*) Plat. l. 3. de leg. p. 683—685. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 43.

natural

natural taſte for frugality and temperance, that diſtinguiſhed them from all other people, and wonderfully adapted them to ſupport the fatigues of war. (*k*) Plato obſerves, that this ſalutary cuſtom had baniſhed from Sparta, and all the territory in its dependance, drunkenneſs, debauchery, and all their conſequential diſorders; inſomuch that it was a crime puniſhable by law to drink wine to exceſs even in the Bacchanalia, which every where elſe were days of licence, whereon whole cities gave themſelves up to the laſt exceſſes.

They alſo accuſtomed the children from their earlieſt infancy to an entire ſubmiſſion to the laws, magiſtrates, and all in authority; and * their education, properly ſpeaking, was no more than an apprenticeſhip of obedience. It was for this reaſon Ageſilaus adviſed Xenophon to ſend his children to Sparta, as to an excellent ſchool, † where they might learn the greateſt and moſt noble of all ſciences, *to obey and to command*, for the one naturally leads on to the other. It was not only the mean, the poor, and the ordinary citizens, who were ſubjected in this manner to the laws; but the rich, the powerful, the magiſtrates, and even kings; and they did not diſtinguiſh themſelves from the others in any thing but a more exact obedience; convinced that ſuch behaviour was the ſureſt means to their being obeyed and reſpected themſelves by their inferiors.

(*l*) Hence came the ſo much celebrated anſwers of Demaratus. Xerxes could not comprehend, how the Lacedæmonians, who had no maſter to controul them, ſhould be capable to confront dangers and death. "They are free and independent of all men," replied Demaratus, "but the law is above them and "commands them; and that law ordains that they "muſt conquer or die." (*m*) Upon another occaſion,

(*k*) Plato de leg. l. 1. p. 637.
(*m*) Plut. in Apoph. Lacon. p. 220.

* Ὡς τὴν παιδείαν εἶναι μελέτην εὐπειθείας. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 58.

(*l*) Herod. l. 7. c. 145, 146.

† Μαθητομιθόνας τῶν μαθημάτων τὸ κάλλιστον, ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν. Plut. in Ageſ. p. 606.

when

when ſomebody expreſſed their ſurprize, that being king he ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be baniſhed: *It is*, ſays he, *becauſe at Sparta the laws are ſtronger than the kings.*

(*n*) This appears evidently in the ready obedience of Ageſilaus to the orders of the Ephori, when recalled by them to the ſupport of his country; a delicate occaſion for a king and a conqueror; but to him it ſeemed more † glorious to obey his country and the laws, than to command numerous armies, or even to conquer Aſia.

SECT. II. *Love of poverty inſtituted at Sparta.*

TO this entire ſubmiſſion to the laws of the ſtate, Lycurgus added another principle of government no leſs admirable, which was to remove from Sparta all luxury, profuſion, and magnificence; to decry riches abſolutely; to make poverty honourable, and at the ſame time neceſſary, by ſubſtituting a ſpecies of iron money to gold and ſilver coin, which till then had been current. I have explained elſewhere the meaſures that were uſed to make ſo difficult an undertaking ſucceed, and ſhall confine myſelf here to examining what judgment ſhould be paſſed on it, as it affects a government.

The poverty to which Lycurgus reduced Sparta, and which ſeemed to prohibit all conqueſt, and to deprive it of all means to augment its force and grandeur, was well adapted to rendering it powerful and flouriſhing. Such a conſtitution of government, which till then had no example, nor has ſince been imitated by any ſtate, argues a great fund of prudence and policy in a legiſlator; and the medium conceived afterwards under Lyſander, in continuing individuals in their poverty, and reſtoring to the public the uſe of gold and ſilver coin, was it not a wiſe amendment of what was

(*n*) Id. in Ageſil. p. 603, 604.

† Multo glorioſius duxit, ſi inſtitutis patriæ paruiſſet, quàm ſi bello ſuperaſſet Aſiam. *Cornel. Nep. in Ageſil.* c. 4.

too

too ſtrained and exceſſive in that law of Lycurgus of which we are ſpeaking?

It ſeems, if we conſult only the common views of human prudence, that it is juſt to reaſon in this manner; but the event, which is an infallible evidence and arbiter in this place, obliges me to be of a quite different opinion. Whilſt Sparta remained poor, and perſiſted in the contempt of gold and ſilver, which continued for ſeveral ages, ſhe was powerful and glorious, and the commencement of her decline may be dated from the time when ſhe began to break through the ſevere prohibition of Lycurgus againſt the uſe of gold and ſilver money.

The education which he inſtituted for the young Lacedæmonians, the hard and ſober life which he recommended with ſo much care, the painful and violent exerciſes of the body preſcribed by him, the abſtraction from all other application and employment, in a word, all his laws and inſtitutions ſhew, that his view was to form a people of ſoldiers, ſolely devoted to arms and military functions. I do not pretend to juſtify abſolutely this ſcheme, which had its great inconveniencies, and I have expreſſed my thoughts of it elſewhere. But admitting it good, we muſt confeſs, that legiſlator ſhewed great wiſdom in the means he took for its execution.

The almoſt inevitable danger of a people ſolely trained up for war, who have always their arms in their hands, and what is moſt to be feared, is injuſtice, violence, ambition, the deſire of increaſing their power, of taking advantage of their neighbours weakneſs, of oppreſſing them by force, of invading their lands under falſe pretexts, which the luſt of dominion never fails to ſuggeſt, and of extending their bounds as far as poſſible; all vices and extremes, which are horrid in private perſons, and the ordinary commerce of life, but which men have thought fit to applaud as grandeur and glory in the perſons of princes and conquerors.

The

The great care of Lycurgus was to defend his people againſt this dangerous temptation. Without mentioning the other means he made uſe of, he employed two which could not fail of producing their effect. The * firſt was to prohibit all navigation and war at ſea to his citizens. The ſituation of his city, and the fear leſt commerce, the uſual ſource of luxury and depravation, ſhould corrupt the purity of the Spartan manners, might have a ſhare in this decree. But his principal motive was to put it out of his citizens power to project conqueſts, which a people, ſhut up within the narrow bounds of a peninſula, could not carry very far, without being maſters at ſea.

The ſecond means, ſtill more efficacious, was to forbid all uſe of gold or ſilver money, and to introduce a ſpecies of iron coin in its ſtead, which was of great weight and ſmall value, and could only be current at home. How with ſuch money ſhould foreign troops be raiſed and paid, fleets fitted out, and numerous armies kept up either by land or ſea?

So that the deſign of Lycurgus, in rendering his city warlike and putting arms into their hands, was not, as (o) Polybius obſerves and Plutarch after him, to make them illuſtrious conquerors, who might carry war into remote regions, and ſubject great numbers of people. His ſole end was, that, ſhut up within the extent of the lands and dominion left them by their anceſtors, they ſhould have no thoughts, but of maintaining themſelves in peace, and defending themſelves ſucceſsfully againſt ſuch of their neighbours, as ſhould have the raſhneſs to invade them; and for this they had occaſion for neither gold nor ſilver, finding in their own country, and ſtill more in their ſober and temperate manner of life, all that was ſufficient for the ſupport of their armies, when they did not quit their own, or the lands of their neighbours.

(o) Polyb. l. 6. p. 491. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 59.

* Ἀπείργετο δὲ αὐτοῖς ναύταις εἶναι, καὶ ναυμαχεῖν. Plut. in inſtit. Lacon. p. 239.

Now, ſays Polybius, this plan once admitted, it muſt be allowed, that there is nothing more wiſe nor more happily conceived than the inſtitutions of Lycurgus, for the maintaining a people in the poſſeſſion of their liberty, and to ſecure to them the enjoyment of peace and tranquillity. In effect, let us imagine a little republic, like that of Sparta, of which all the citizens are inured to labour, accuſtomed to live on a little, warlike, couragious, intrepid; and that the fundamental principle of this ſmall republic is to do no wrong to any one, nor to diſturb its neighbours, nor invade their lands or intereſts, but on the contrary, to declare in favour of the oppreſſed againſt the injuſtice and violence of oppreſſors; is it not certain, that ſuch a republic, ſurrounded by a great number of ſtates of equal extent, would be generally reſpected by all the neighbouring people, would become the ſupreme arbiter of all their quarrels, and exerciſe an empire over them, by ſo much the more glorious and laſting, as it would be voluntary, and founded ſolely in the opinion thoſe neighbours would have of its virtue, juſtice, and valour?

(*p*) This was the end Lycurgus propoſed to himſelf. Convinced that the happineſs of a city, like that of a private perſon, depends upon virtue, and upon being well within itſelf, he regulated Sparta ſo as it might always ſuffice to its own happineſs, and act upon principles of wiſdom and equity. From thence aroſe that univerſal eſteem of the neighbouring people and even of ſtrangers for the Lacedæmonians, who aſked of them neither money, ſhips, nor troops; but only that they would lend them a Spartan to command their armies; and when they had obtained their requeſt, they paid him entire obedience, with every kind of honour and reſpect. In this manner the Sicilians obeyed Gylippus, the Chalcidians Braſidas, and all the Greeks

(*p*) Plut. p. 58.

of

of Aſia Lyſander, Callicratidas and Ageſilaus; * regarding the city of Sparta as a model for all others, in the arts of living and governing.

The epocha of the declenſion of Sparta begins with the open violation of Lycurgus's laws. I do not pretend that they had always been exactly obſerved till that time, which was far from the caſe; but the ſpirit and genius of thoſe laws had almoſt always prevailed with the majority of the perſons who governed. No ſooner had the ambition of reigning over all Greece inſpired them with the deſign of having naval armies, and foreign troops, and that money was neceſſary for the ſupport of thoſe forces, Sparta, forgetting her antient maxims, ſaw herſelf reduced to have recourſe to the Barbarians, which till then ſhe had deteſted, and baſely to make her court to the kings of Perſia, whom ſhe had formerly vanquiſhed with ſo much glory; and that only to draw from them ſome aids of money and troops againſt their own brethren, that is to ſay, againſt people born and ſettled in Greece like themſelves. Thus had they the imprudence and miſfortune to recal with gold and ſilver into Sparta all the vices and crimes, which the iron money had baniſhed; and to prepare the way for the changes which enſued, and were the cauſe of their ruin. And this infinitely exalts the wiſdom of Lycurgus, in having foreſeen at ſuch a diſtance, what might ſtrike at the happineſs of his citizens, and provided ſalutary remedies againſt it in the form of government he eſtabliſhed at Sparta. Another legiſlator, who had preceded him ſeveral ages, has a right to ſhare this glory with him.

† Πρὸς σύμπασαν τὴν τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν πόλιν ὥσπερ παιδαγωγὸν ἢ διδάσκαλον εὐχήμονα βίᾳ καὶ τεταγμένης πολιτείας ἀποδλέποντες.

SECT.

SECT. III. *Laws eſtabliſhed by Minos in Crete the model of thoſe of Sparta.*

ALL the world knows, that Lycurgus had formed the plan of moſt of his laws upon the model of thoſe obſerved in the iſland of Crete, where he paſſed a conſiderable time for the better ſtudying of them. It is proper I ſhould give ſome idea of them here, having forgot to do it in the place where it would have been more natural, that is, when I ſpoke for the firſt time of Lycurgus and his inſtitutions.

Minos, whom fable calls the ſon of Jupiter, was the author of theſe laws. He lived about an hundred years before the Trojan war. (*q*) He was a powerful, wiſe, and gentle prince, and ſtill more eſtimable for his moral virtues, than his military abilities. After having conquered the iſland of Crete, and ſeveral others in its neighbourhood, he applied himſelf to ſtrengthen by wiſe laws the new ſtate, of which he had poſſeſſed himſelf by the force of arms. (*r*) The end which he propoſed in the eſtabliſhment of theſe laws, was to render his ſubjects happy, by making them virtuous. He baniſhed idleneſs and voluptuouſneſs from his ſtates, and with them, luxury and vicious pleaſures, the fruitful ſources of all vice. Well knowing, that liberty was juſtly regarded as the moſt precious and greateſt good, and that it cannot ſubſiſt without a perfect union of the people, he endeavoured to eſtabliſh a kind of equality amongſt them; which is the tie and baſis of it, and very proper to remove all envy, jealouſy, hatred, and diſſenſion. He did not undertake to make any new diviſions of lands, nor to prohibit the uſe of gold and ſilver. He applied himſelf to the uniting of his ſubjects by other ties, which ſeemed to him neither leſs firm nor leſs reaſonable.

He decreed, that the children ſhould be all brought up and educated together by troops and bands; in order that they might learn early the ſame principles and

(*q*) A. M. 2720. Ant. J. C. 1284. (*r*) Strab. l. 10. p. 480.

maxims. Their life was hard and ſober. They were accuſtomed to be ſatisfied with little, to ſuffer heat and cold, to walk over ſteep and rugged places, to ſkirmiſh with each other in ſmall parties, to ſuffer couragiouſly the blows they received, and to exerciſe themſelves in a kind of dance, in which they carried arms in their hands, and which was afterwards called the Pyrrhic; in order, ſays Strabo, that even to their diverſions, every thing might breathe, and form them for, the war. They were alſo made to learn certain airs of muſic, but of a manly, martial kind.

(*s*) They were not taught either to ride, or to wear heavy armour; but in return, they were made to excel in drawing the bow, which was their moſt uſual exerciſe. Crete is not a flat even country, nor fit for breeding of horſes, as is that of the Theſſalians, who paſſed for the beſt cavalry in Greece; but a rough, broken country, full of ſhelves and high lands, where heavy-armed troops could not exerciſe themſelves in the horſe-race. But as to archery and light-armed ſoldiers, fit to execute the devices and ſtratagems of war, the Cretans pretended to hold the foremoſt rank.

Minos thought proper to eſtabliſh in Crete a community of tables and meals. Beſides ſeveral other great advantages which he found in this inſtitution, as the introducing a kind of equality in his dominions, the rich and poor having the ſame diet, the accuſtoming his ſubjects to a frugal and ſober life, the cementing friendſhip and unity between them by the uſual gaiety and familiarity of the table, he had alſo in view the cuſtom of war, in which the ſoldiers are obliged to eat together. (*t*) It was the public that ſupplied the expences of theſe tables. Out of the revenues of the ſtate, a part was applied to the uſes of religion, and the ſalaries of the magiſtrates, and the reſt allotted for the public meals. So that the women, children, and men of all ages were fed at the coſt, and in the name of the republic. In this, Ariſtotle gives the preference

(*s*) Plat. de leg. l. 1. p. 623. (*t*) Ariſtot. de rep. l. 2. c. 10.

to

to the meals of Crete before thoſe of Sparta, wherein private perſons were obliged to furniſh their proportion, and without it were not admitted into the aſſemblies; which was to exclude the poor.

(*u*) After eating, the old men diſcourſed upon the affairs of the ſtate. The converſation turned generally upon the hiſtory of the country, upon the actions and virtues of the great men of it, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves either by their valour in war, or their wiſdom in peace; and the youth, who were preſent at theſe entertainments, were exhorted to propoſe thoſe great perſons to themſelves as their models, for the forming of their manners, and the regulation of their conduct.

(*x*) Minos, as well as Lycurgus, is reproached with having no other view in his laws than war; which is a very great fault in a legiſlator. It is true, this appears to have been his principal attention, becauſe he was convinced that the repoſe, liberty, and riches of his ſubjects were under the protection, and in a manner under the guard of arms and military knowledge; the conquered being deprived of all thoſe advantages by the victor. But he ordained, that war ſhould be only made for the ſake of peace; and his laws are far from being confined to that ſole object.

Amongſt the Cretans, the cultivation of the mind was not entirely neglected, and care was taken to give the youth ſome tincture of learning. The works of (*y*) Homer, of much later date than the laws of Minos, were not unknown amongſt them, though they ſet ſmall value upon, and made little uſe of, foreign poets. (*z*) They were very curious in ſuch knowledge as is proper to form the manners; and what is no ſmall praiſe, they piqued themſelves upon thinking much and ſpeaking little. (*a*) The poet Epimenides, who made a voyage to Athens in the time of Solon,

(*u*) Athen. l. 4. p. 643.
(*y*) Id. l. 2. p. 680.
(*a*) Plut. in Solon. p. 84.
(*x*) Plat. de leg. l. 1. p. 626.
(*z*) Id. l. 1. p. 641.

and was in great eſtimation there, was of Crete, and by ſome placed in the number of the ſeven ſages.

One of Minos's inſtitutions, which Plato (*b*) admires the moſt, was to inſpire early into the youth an high reſpect for the maxims, cuſtoms, and laws of the ſtate, and not to ſuffer them to diſpute or call in queſtion the wiſdom of their inſtitution; but to conſider them not as preſcribed and impoſed by men, but as emanations of the divinity himſelf. Accordingly he had induſtriouſly apprized the people, that Jupiter himſelf had dictated them to him. He had the ſame attention in regard to the magiſtrates and aged perſons, whom he recommended to honour in a peculiar manner; and in order that nothing might prevent the reſpect due to them, he ordained, that if any defects were obſerved in them, they ſhould never be mentioned in the preſence of the youth: A wiſe precaution, and which would be very becoming in the ordinary practice of life!

The government of Crete was at firſt monarchical, of which Minos has left a perfect model to all ages. According to him, as a moſt great and excellent * man obſerves, the king can do every thing over the people, but the laws every thing over him. He has an abſolute power to do good, and his hands are tied up from doing evil. The laws intruſt the people in his hands as the moſt ſacred of depoſites, upon condition that he ſhall be their common father. The ſame laws require, that a ſingle man by his wiſdom and moderation ſhall conſtitute the felicity of an infinite number of ſubjects; and not that the ſubjects, by their miſery and abject ſlavery, ſhall be ſubſtituted to gratify the pride and low paſſions of a ſingle man. According to him, the king ought to be abroad the defender of his country at the head of armies, and at home the judge of his people, to render them good, wiſe, and happy. It is not for himſelf that the gods have made him king, and

(*b*) De leg. l. 1. p. 634.

* *Mr Fenelon archbiſhop of Cambray.*

he

he is only ſo for the ſervice of his people. He owes them his whole time, care, and affection; and is worthy of the throne, only as he forgets, and devotes himſelf to the public good. (*c*) Such is the idea Minos had of the ſovereignty, of which he was a living image in his own perſon, and which Heſiod has perfectly expreſſed in two words, by calling that prince, *the moſt royal of mortal kings*, βασιλεύτατον θνητῶν βασιλήων; that is to ſay, that he poſſeſſed in a ſupreme degree all royal virtues, and was a king in all things.

(*d*) It appears, that the authority of king was of no long duration, and that it gave place to a republican government, as Minos had intended. The ſenate, compoſed of thirty ſenators, formed the public council. In that aſſembly the public affairs were examined, and reſolutions taken; but they were of no force, till the people had given them their approbation, and confirmed them by their ſuffrages. The magiſtrates, to the number of ten, eſtabliſhed for maintaining good order in the ſtate, and therefore called * *Coſmi*, held the two other bodies of the ſtate in reſpect, and were the balance between them. In time of war the ſame perſons commanded the army. They were choſen by lot, but only out of certain families. Their office was for life, and they were not accountable to any for their adminiſtration. Out of this company the ſenators were elected.

The Cretans made the ſlaves and mercenaries cultivate their lands, who were obliged to pay them a certain annual ſum. They were called *Periœci*, apparently from their being people in the neighbourhood, whom Minos had ſubjected. As they inhabited an iſland, and conſequently a country ſeparate from all others, the Cretans had not ſo much to fear from theſe vaſſals, as the Lacedæmonians from the helots, who often joined the neighbouring people againſt them.

(*c*) Plat. in Min. p. 320.

(*d*) Ariſt. de rep. l. 2. c. 10.

* κόσμος, ordo.

(*e*) A cuſtom antiently eſtabliſhed in Crete, from whence it was adopted by the Romans, gives us reaſon to believe, that the vaſſals who manured the lands, were treated with great goodneſs and favour. In the feaſts of Mercury, the maſters waited on their ſlaves at table, and did them the ſame offices as they received from them the reſt of the year; precious remains and traces of the primitive world, in which all men were equal, that ſeemed to inform the maſters, that their ſervants were of the ſame condition with themſelves, and that to treat them with cruelty or pride, was to renounce humanity.

(*f*) As a prince cannot do every thing alone, and is obliged to aſſociate co-operators with himſelf, for whoſe conduct he is accountable, Minos charged his brother Rhadamanthus with a ſhare in the adminiſtration of juſtice in the capital city; which is the moſt eſſential and indiſpenſible function of ſovereignty. He knew his probity, diſintereſtedneſs, ability and conſtancy, and had taken pains to form him for ſo important an office. Another miniſter had the care of the reſt of the cities, who made a circuit three times a year, to examine whether the laws eſtabliſhed by the prince were duly obſerved, and the inferior magiſtrates and officers religiouſly acquitted themſelves of their duty.

Crete, under ſo wiſe a government, changed its aſpect entirely, and ſeemed to have become the abode of virtue, probity, and juſtice; as we may judge, from what fable tells us of the honour Jupiter did theſe three brothers in making them the judges of the other world; for every body knows, that fable is founded upon real hiſtory, though diſguiſed under agreeable emblems and allegories, adapted to recommend truth by the ornaments of fancy.

(*g*) It was according to fabulous tradition, a law eſtabliſhed from all times, that men in departing out of

(*e*) Athen. l. 14. p. 639. (*f*) Plat. in Min. p. 320. (*g*) Plat. in Gorg. p. 523—526. In Axioch. p. 371.

this

this life ſhould be judged, in order to their receiving the reward or puniſhment due to their good or evil actions. In the reign of Saturn, and in the firſt years of that of Jupiter, this judgment was pronounced at the inſtant preceding death, which left room for very flagrant injuſtices. Princes, who had been cruel and tyrannical, appearing before their judges in all the pomp and ſplendor of their power, and producing witneſſes to depoſe in their favour; becauſe, as they were ſtill alive, they dreaded their anger; the judges, dazzled with this vain ſhew, and deceived by ſuch falſe evidence, declared theſe princes innocent, and diſmiſſed them with permiſſion to enter into the happy abodes of the juſt. The ſame may be ſaid in regard to the rich; but for the poor and helpleſs, calumny and malice purſued them even to this laſt tribunal, and found means to have them doomed for ever as criminals.

Fable adds, that upon reiterated complaints and warm remonſtrances made to Jupiter upon this account, he changed the form of theſe trials. The time for them was fixed to be the very moment after death. Rhadamanthus and Æacus, both ſons of Jove, were appointed judges; the firſt for the Aſiatics, the other for the Europeans; and Minos over them to decide ſupremely in caſes of doubt and obſcurity. Their tribunal is ſituated in a place called *the field of truth*, becauſe neither falſhood nor calumny can approach it. The greateſt prince muſt appear there, aſſoon as he has reſigned his laſt breath, deprived of all his grandeur, reduced to his naked ſelf without defence or protection, ſilent and trembling for his own doom, after having made the whole world tremble for theirs. If he be found guilty of crimes, which are of a nature to be expiated, he is confined in Tartarus for a certain time only, and with aſſurance of being releaſed, as ſoon as he ſhall be ſufficiently purified. But if his crimes are unpardonable, ſuch as injuſtice, perjury, and the oppreſſion of his people, he is caſt into the ſame Tartarus, there to ſuffer eternal miſeries. The juſt on

the contrary, of whatsoever condition they are, are conducted into the blest abodes of peace and joy, to partake of a felicity which shall have no end.

Who does not see that the poets, under the cover of these fictions, ingenious indeed, but little to the honour of the gods, intended to give us the model of an accomplished prince, whose first care is to render justice to his people; and to image the extraordinary happiness Crete enjoyed under the wise government of Minos? This happiness did not expire with him. (*b*) The laws he established, subsisted in all their vigour even in Plato's time; that is to say, more than nine hundred years after. (*i*) And they were considered as the effect of his long * conversations for many years with Jupiter, who had condescended to become his teacher, to enter into a † familiarity with him as with a friend, and to form him in the great art of reigning with a secret complacency, as a favourite disciple, and a tenderly beloved son. It is in this manner Plato explains these words of Homer; (*k*) Διὸς μεγάλα ἀπριεπής; the most exalted praise, according to him, that can be given to a mortal, and which that poet ascribes only to Minos.

Notwithstanding so shining and solid a merit, the theatres of Athens resounded with nothing so much as imprecations against the memory of Minos; and Socrates, in the dialogue of Plato I have already often cited, observes upon, and gives the reason for them: But first he makes a reflection well worthy of being weighed. "When either the praise or dispraise of "great men is in question, it is infinitely proper," says he, "to treat them with circumspection and wisdom; "because upon that depends the idea men form to "themselves of virtue and vice, and the distinction "they ought to make between the good and the bad. "For, adds he, God conceives a just indignation,

(*b*) Plat in Min. p. 321. (*i*) Id. p. 319. (*k*) Odyss. l. T. v. 179.

* Et Jovis arcanis Minos admissus. *Horat.*

† *This poetical fiction is perhaps taken from the holy scriptures, which say of Moses:* And the Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend. *Exod.* xxxiii. 11.

"when

" when a perſon is blamed who reſembles himſelf;
" and on the contrary another praiſed, who is the re-
" verſe of him. We muſt not believe that nothing
" is ſacred but braſs and marble; (he ſpeaks of the
" ſtatues that were worſhipped:) The juſt man is the
" moſt ſacred, and the wicked the moſt deteſtable, of
" all beings in this world."

After this reflection, Socrates obſerves, that the ſource and cauſe of the Athenians hatred of Minos was the unjuſt and cruel tribute he impoſed upon them, in obliging them to ſend him every nine years, ſeven young men and as many maids, to be devoured by the Minotaur; and he could not avoid reproaching that prince, with having drawn upon himſelf the abhorrence of a city like Athens abounding with learned men, and of having ſharpened the tongues of the poets againſt him, a dangerous and formidable race of men, from the poiſoned ſhafts they never fail to let fly againſt their enemies.

It appears from what I have repeated, that Plato imputes to Minos the impoſition of that cruel tribute. Apollodorus, Strabo, and Plutarch ſeem to be of the ſame opinion. * Monſieur the Abbé Banier alledges and proves, that they are miſtaken, and confound the firſt Minos, of whom we ſpeak, with a ſecond his grandſon, who reigned after him in Crete, and to avenge the death of his ſon Androgeus killed in Attica, declared war againſt the Athenians, and impoſed that tribute, to which Theſeus put an end by killing the Minotaur. It would indeed be difficult to reconcile ſo inhuman and barbarous a conduct with what all antiquity relates of the goodneſs, lenity, and equity of Minos, and with the magnificent praiſes it beſtows upon the polity and inſtitutions of Crete.

It is true the Cretans degenerated very much from their antient reputation, which at length they abſolutely loſt by an entire change of their manners, becoming avaricious, and ſelf-intereſted to a degree of baſe-

* Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſcrip. Tom. III.

ing that no gain was baſe, enemies of labour and regularity of life, profeſſed liars and knaves, ſo that to *Cretiſe* became a proverb amongſt the Greeks, implying to lie and to deceive. Every body knows that * St. Paul cites againſt them as truth the teſtimony of one of their antient poets, (it is believed of Epimenides) who paints them in colours much to their diſhonour; but this change of manners, in whatever time it might arrive, does not at all affect the probity of the antient Cretans, nor the glory of Minos their king.

(*l*) The moſt certain proof of that legiſlator's wiſdom, as Plato obſerves, is the ſolid and laſting happineſs, which was the effect of the ſole imitation of his laws by Sparta. Lycurgus had regulated the government of that city upon the plan and idea of that of Crete, and it ſubſiſted in an uniform manner for many ages, without experiencing the viciſſitudes and revolutions, ſo common in all the other ſtates of Greece.

ARTICLE II.

Of the government of Athens.

THE government of Athens was neither ſo permanent nor ſo uniform as that of Sparta, but ſuffered various alterations according to the diverſity of times and conjunctures. Athens, after having long been governed by kings, and afterwards by archons, aſſumed entire liberty, which gave place however for ſome years to the tyrannic power of the Piſiſtratides, but was ſoon after re-eſtabliſhed, and ſubſiſted with ſplendor till the defeat in Sicily, and the taking of the city by the Lacedæmonians. Theſe ſubjected them to the Thirty Tyrants, whoſe authority was not of long duration, and gave place again to liberty, which continued amidſt various events during a long ſeries of

(*l*) Plat. p. 320.

* Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεύσαι, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί. *The Cretans are always liars, evil beaſts, ſlow bellies.* Titus i. 12.

years,

years, till the Roman power had ſubdued Greece and reduced it into a province.

I ſhall conſider in this place only the popular government, and ſhall examine in particular five or ſix heads: The foundation of the government according to Solon's eſtabliſhment, the different parts of which the republic conſiſted, the council or ſenate of the five hundred, the aſſemblies of the people, the different tribunals for the adminiſtration of juſtice, the revenues or finances of the republic. I ſhall be obliged to be more extenſive upon what regards the government of Athens, than I have been upon that of Sparta, becauſe the latter is almoſt ſufficiently known, from what has been ſaid of it in the life of Lycurgus (*m*).

SECT. I. *Foundation of the government of Athens according to Solon's plan.*

(*n*) SOLON was not the firſt who eſtabliſhed the popular government at Athens. Theſeus long before him had traced out the plan, and began the execution of it. After having united the twelve towns into one city, he divided the inhabitants into three bodies; that of the nobility, to whom the ſuperintendence in religious affairs and all offices were confided; the labourers or huſbandmen; and the artiſans. He had propoſed the eſtabliſhment of a kind of equality between the three orders. For if the nobles were conſiderable by their honours and dignities, the huſbandmen had the advantage of their utility to the public, and the neceſſity there was for their labours; and the artiſans had the ſuperiority to both the other bodies in their number. Athens, to ſpeak properly, did not become a popular ſtate, till the eſtabliſhment of the nine Archons, whoſe authority continued only for one year, whereas before it was for ten; and it was not till many years after, that Solon by the wiſdom of his laws, inſtituted and confirmed this form of government.

(*o*) Solon's great principle was to eſtabliſh as much

(*m*) Vol. II. (*n*) Plut. in Theſ. p. 10, 11. (*o*) Plut. in Solon. p. 87.

as

as poſſible a kind of equality amongſt his citizens, which he regarded with reaſon as the foundation and eſſential point of liberty. He reſolved therefore to leave the public employments in the hands of the rich, as they had been till then, but to give the poor alſo ſome ſhare in the government, from which they were excluded. For this reaſon he made an eſtimation of what each individual was worth. Thoſe who were found to have an annual revenue of five hundred meaſures, as well in grain as liquid things, were placed in the firſt claſs, and called the *Pentacoſiomedimni*, that is, thoſe who had a revenue of five hundred meaſures. The ſecond claſs was compoſed of ſuch as had three hundred, and could maintain a horſe for war; theſe were called *horſemen* or *knights*. Thoſe, who had only two hundred, were in the third claſs, and were called * *Zugitæ*. Out of theſe three only claſſes the magiſtrates and commanders were choſen. All the other citizens who were below theſe three claſſes, and had leſs revenues, were comprized under the name of *Theti*, hirelings, or workmen labouring with their hands. Solon did not permit them to hold any office, and granted them only the right of giving their ſuffrages in the aſſemblies and trials of the people, which at firſt ſeemed a very ſlight privilege, but at length was found to be a very great advantage, as will appear in the ſequel. I do not know whether Solon foreſaw it, but he uſed to ſay, (*p*) that the people were never more obedient and ſubmiſſive, than when they poſſeſſed neither too much nor too little liberty: which comes very near Galba's expreſſion, (*q*) when to incline Piſo to treat the Roman people with goodneſs and lenity, he deſires him to remember, † that he was going to command

(*p*) R. p. 110.

* *It is believed they were ſo called from their being yoked together, as the knights and the Theti; as the public employments were placed in the middle were termed Zugitæ; their place was between the Thalamitæ and Thranitæ.*

(*q*) Tacit. Hiſt. l. 10. c. 16.

† Imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam ſervitutem pati poſſunt, nec totam libertatem.

men

men who were incapable of bearing either entire liberty, or abſolute ſubjection.

(*b*) The people of Athens, being become more haughty after their victories over the Perſians, pretended to have a right to ſhare in all the public offices and the magiſtracy; and Ariſtides, to prevent the diſorders which too tenacious oppoſition might have occaſioned, thought proper to give way to them in this point. (*i*) It appears however from a paſſage in Xenophon, that the people contented themſelves with the offices from whence ſome profit aroſe, and left thoſe, which related more particularly to the government of the ſtate, in the hands of the rich.

(*k*) The citizens of the three firſt claſſes paid every year a certain ſum of money, to be laid up in the public treaſury; the firſt a * talent, the knights half a talent, and the Zugitæ ten † minæ.

As the proportion of revenue determined the order of the claſſes, as their revenues augmented, the people were allowed to riſe to a ſuperior claſs.

If (*l*) Plutarch may be believed, Solon formed two councils, which were a kind of double limitation to fix and temper the aſſemblies of the people. The firſt was the Areopagus: but it was much more antient than his inſtitutions, and he only reformed it, and gave it new luſtre by augmenting its power. The ſecond was the council of the Four Hundred, that is, an hundred of each tribe; for Cecrops, the firſt king of the Athenians, had divided the people into four tribes. Cliſthenes long after him changed that order, and eſtabliſhed ten. It was in this council of the Four Hundred, all affairs were conſidered before they were propoſed to the aſſembly of the people, as we ſhall ſoon explain.

I do not mention here another diviſion of the people into three parties or factions, which till the time of Pi-

(*b*) Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 332. (*i*) Xenoph. de rep. Athen. p. 691. (*k*) Pollux. l. 8. c. 10. (*l*) In Solon. p. 88.

* *One thouſand Pounds.* † *Five hundred livres.*

ſiſtratus

ſiſtratus were a continual ſource of troubles and ſeditions. One of theſe three parties was formed out of thoſe who inhabited the high lands, and favoured popular government; the other out of thoſe who lived in the plains, and they were for oligarchy; and the third out of the people upon the coaſt, and theſe held the mean between both.

It is neceſſary, for the better underſtanding what we have now ſaid, to enter into a more particular account of the Athenian people.

SECT. II. *Of the inhabitants of Athens.*

(*m*) THERE were three ſorts of inhabitants of Athens: citizens, ſtrangers, and ſervants. In the account taken by Demetrius Phalereus in the cxvith Olympiad, their number amounted to twenty one thouſand citizens, ten thouſand ſtrangers, and * forty thouſand ſervants. The number of citizens was almoſt the ſame in the time of Cecrops, and leſs under Pericles.

1. *Of the citizens.*

A citizen could only be ſuch by birth or adoption. To be a natural denizen of Athens, it was neceſſary to be born of a father and mother both free, and Athenians. (*n*) We have ſeen that Pericles reſtored this law to all its force, which had not been exactly obſerved, and which he himſelf ſome ſmall time after infringed. The people could confer the freedom of the city upon ſtrangers; and thoſe, whom they had ſo adopted, enjoyed almoſt the ſame rights and privileges as the natural citizens. The quality of citizen of Athens was ſometimes granted in honour and gratitude to thoſe, who had rendered great ſervices to the ſtate; as to Hippocrates; and even kings have ſometimes

(*m*) Athen. l. 6. p. 272. A. M. 3690. Ant. J. C. 314.
(*n*) Vol. III.

* *The text ſays,* μυριάδας τετταράκοντα, four hundred thouſand, *which is a manifeſt error.*

canvaſſed

canvaſſed that title for themſelves and their children. Evagoras king of Cyprus thought it much to his honour.

When the young men attained the age of twenty, they were inrolled upon the liſt of citizens, after having taken an oath; and it was only in virtue of that public and ſolemn act, that they became members of the ſtate. The form of this oath is exceedingly remarkable, which Stobæus and (*o*) Pollux have preſerved in the following words. "I will never diſhonour the profeſſion of arms, nor ſave my life by a "ſhameful flight. I will fight to my laſt breath for "the religion and civil intereſts of the ſtate in concert "with the other citizens, and alone if occaſion be. "I will not bring my country into a worſe condition "than I found it, but will uſe my utmoſt endeavours "to make it more happy and flouriſhing. I will al"ways ſubmit myſelf to the laws and magiſtrates, "and to all that ſhall be ordained by the common "conſent of the people. If any one ſhall violate, "or make void the laws, I will not diſguiſe or con"ceal ſuch an attempt, but will oppoſe it either alone "or in conjunction with my fellow-citizens. and I "will conſtantly adhere to the religion of my forefa"thers. To all which I call to witneſs Agraulis, "Enyalus, Mars and Jupiter." I leave the reader to his own reflections upon this auguſt ceremony, well adapted to inſpire the love of their country into the hearts of the young citizens.

The whole people at firſt had been divided into four tribes, and afterwards into ten. Each tribe was ſubdivided into ſeveral parts, which were called Δῆμοι, *Pagi*. It was by theſe two titles the citizens were deſcribed in the public acts. *Melitus, è tribu Cecropide, è pago Pitthenſi.*

2. *Of the ſtrangers.*

I call thoſe by that name, who being of a foreign

(*o*) Pollux, l. 8. c. 9.

country

country came to ſettle at Athens, or in Attica, whether for the ſake of commerce, or the exerciſing any trade. They were termed μέτοικοι, *Inquilini*. They had no ſhare in the government, nor votes in the aſſembly of the people, and could not be admitted into any office. They put themſelves under the protection of ſome citizen, as we find from a paſſage of * Terence, and upon that account were obliged to render him certain duties and ſervices, as the clients did at Rome to their patrons. They were held to obſerve all the laws of the republic, and to conform entirely to all its cuſtoms. They paid a yearly tribute to the ſtate of twelve † drachmas, and in default of payment were made ſlaves, and expoſed to ſale. (*p*) Xenocrates, the celebrated, but poor, philoſopher, was very near experiencing this misfortune, and was carried to priſon; but Lycurgus the orator, having paid the tax, releaſed him from the farmers of the public revenues; a kind of men who in all times have been very little ſenſible to merit, with the exception of an exceeding few of their number. That philoſopher, meeting ſome time after the ſons of his deliverer, told them, *I pay your father the favour he has done me with uſury, for all the world praiſes him upon my account.*

3. *Of the ſervants.*

There were two kinds of them. The one, who were free, and not able to get their bread by their work, were obliged by the bad ſtate of their affairs to go into ſervice, and their condition was eaſy, and not laborious. The ſervice of the other was forced and unavoidable; theſe were ſlaves, who had either been taken priſoners in war, or bought of ſuch as trafficked publickly in them. Part of their maſters eſtate conſiſted in them, who diſpoſed abſolutely of them, but gene-

(*p*) Plut. in Flamin. p. 375.

* Thais patri ſe commendavit in clientelam & fidem: Nobis dedit ſeſe. *Eunuch.* Act 5. ſcen. ult.

† *Six livres.*

rally

rally treated them with great humanity. (q) Demoſthenes obſerves in one of his harangues, that the condition of ſervants was infinitely more gentle at Athens than any where elſe. There was in that city an aſylum and place of refuge for ſlaves, where the bones of Theſeus had been interred, aud that aſylum ſubſiſted in Plutarch's time. How glorious was it for Theſeus, that his tomb ſhould do that twelve hundred years after his death, which he had done himſelf during his life, and continue the protector of the oppreſſed as he had been!

(r) When the ſlaves were treated with too much rigour and inhumanity, they had their action againſt their maſters, who were obliged to ſell them to others, if the fact were ſufficiently proved. (s) They could ranſom themſelves even againſt their maſters conſent, when they had laid up money enough for that purpoſe. For out of what they got by their labour, after having paid a certain proportion to their maſters, they kept the remainder for themſelves, and made a ſtock of it at their own diſpoſal. Private perſons, when they were ſatisfied with their ſervices, often gave theſe ſlaves their liberty; and the ſame grace was always granted them by the public, when the neceſſity of the times obliged the ſtate to arm and liſt them for the war amongſt the citizens.

The human and equitable uſage, with which the Athenians treated their ſervants and ſlaves, was an effect of the good temper natural to that people; and very remote from the auſtere and cruel ſeverity of the Lacedæmonians in regard to their helots, which often brought their republic to the very brink of deſtruction. (t) Plutarch with great reaſon condemns this rigour. He thinks it proper to habituate one's ſelf always to mercy, even with regard to beaſts, were it only, ſays he, to learn by that means to treat men well, and for

(q) Philip. 3. (r) Plut. de ſuperſtit. p. 166. (s) Plaut. in Caſin. (t) Plut. in Catone, p. 338, 339.

the

the ſake of habituating humanity and benevolence. He relates upon this occaſion a very ſingular fact, and very proper to explain the character of the Athenians. After having finiſhed the temple called *Hecatonpedon*, they ſet all the beaſts of burden at liberty, that had been employed in the work, and aſſigned them fat paſturages as conſecrated animals. And it was ſaid, that one of theſe beaſts having come to offer itſelf at the work, and put itſelf at the head of thoſe that drew the carriages to the citadel, walking foremoſt as if to exhort and encourage them, the Athenians ordained by a decree, that the creature ſhould be maintained at the public expence till its death.

SECT. III. *Of the council or ſenate of Five Hundred.*

IN conſequence of Solon's inſtitutions, the people of Athens had a great ſhare and authority in the government. Appeals might be brought to their tribunal in all cauſes; they had a right to cancel the old laws, and eſtabliſh new ones; in a word, all important affairs, whether relating to war or peace, were decided in their aſſemblies. In order to their determinations being made with more wiſdom and maturity, Solon had inſtituted a council compoſed of four hundred ſenators, an hundred out of each tribe, which were then four in number; they prepared and digeſted the affairs which were to be laid before the people, as we ſhall ſoon explain more at large. Cliſthenes, about an hundred years after Solon, having increaſed the number of tribes to ten, augmented alſo that of the ſenators to five hundred; each tribe ſupplying fifty. This was called the council, or ſenate, of the Five Hundred. They received their ſtipend out of the public treaſury.

They were choſen by lot, in which they made uſe of black and white beans, which were mingled and ſhaken in an urn, and each tribe gave in the names of thoſe who aſpired to that truſt, and had the revenue aſſigned by the laws to qualify them for it. None could

could be admitted under the age of thirty. After enquiry made into the manners and conduct of the candidate, he was made to take an oath, whereby he engaged to give at all times the beſt counſel he could to the people of Athens, and never to depart in the leaſt from the tenor of the laws.

This ſenate aſſembled every day, except upon the days appointed for feſtivals. Each tribe in its turn furniſhed thoſe who were to preſide in it, called * *Prytanes*, and this rank was decided by lot. This preſidency continued thirty-five days, which being reckoned ten times, amounts to the number of days, except four, of the lunar year followed at Athens. This time of the preſidency or prytaniſm, was divided into five weeks with regard to the five tens of the *Prytanes*, who were to preſide in them, and every week ſeven of theſe ten Prytanes drawn by lot preſided, each their day, and were denominated Πρόεδροι, that is to ſay, *Preſidents*. He, † who was ſo for the day, preſided in the aſſembly of the ſenators and in that of the people. He was charged with the public ſeal, as alſo with the keys of the citadel and treaſury.

The ſenators, before they aſſembled, offered a ſacrifice to Jupiter and Minerva, under the additional appellation of *goddeſs of good counſel* ‖, to demand the prudence and underſtanding neceſſary in wiſe deliberations. The preſident propoſed the buſineſs, which was to be conſidered in the aſſembly. Every one gave his opinion in his turn, and always ſtanding. After a queſtion had been ſettled, it was drawn up in writing, and read with a loud voice. Each ſenator then gave his vote by ſcrutiny, in putting a bean into the urn. If the number of the white beans carried it, the queſtion paſſed, otherwiſe it was rejected. This ſort of decree was called Ψήφισμα, or Προβούλευμα, as much as to ſay preparatory reſolution. It was afterwards laid before the aſſembly of the people, where,

* Πρυτάνιες. † *He was called* Ἐπιστάτης. ‖ Βούλαιος, Βούλαια.

if

if it was received and approved, it had the force of a law; if not, its authority ſubſiſted only one year. This ſhews with what wiſdom Solon eſtabliſhed this council, to inform and direct the people, to fix their inconſtancy, to prevent their temerity, and to aſſiſt their deliberations with a prudence and maturity not to be expected in a confuſed and tumultuous aſſembly, compoſed of a great number of citizens, moſt of them without education, capacity, or much zeal for the public good. The reciprocal dependency, and natural intercourſe of the two bodies of the ſtate, which were obliged to lend each other their authority, and remained equally without force when without union and a good underſtanding, were beſides a method judiciouſly contrived for ſupporting a wiſe ballance between the two bodies; the people not being able to inſtitute any thing without its being firſt propoſed and approved by the ſenate, nor the ſenate to paſs any decree into a law till it had been ratified by the people.

We may judge of the importance of this council by the matters which were treated in it; the ſame without any exception, as were laid before the people; wars, taxes, maritime affairs, treaties of peace, alliances, in a word, whatever related to government; without mentioning the account which they obliged the magiſtrates to give on quitting their offices, and their frequent deciſions and judgments upon the moſt ſerious and important affairs.

SECT. IV. *Of the Areopagus.*

THIS council took its name from the place where it aſſembled, called * *the quarter*, or *hill of Mars*, becauſe according to ſome, Mars had been cited thither in judgment for a murder committed by him. It was believed to be as antient as the nation. Cicero and Plutarch attribute the inſtitution of it to Solon; but he only re-eſtabliſhed it, by giving it more luſtre and authority then it had had till then, and for that reaſon

* Ἄρειος πάγος.

was

was looked upon as its founder. The number of the ſenators of the Areopagus was not fixed; at certain times they amounted to two or three hundred. Solon thought proper that only thoſe who had borne the office of archon, ſhould be honoured with that dignity.

This ſenate had the care of ſeeing the laws duly obſerved, of inſpecting the manners of the people, and eſpecially of judging in criminal caſes. They held their ſittings in an open place, and during the night. The former very probably to avoid being under the ſame roof with the criminals, and not to defile themſelves by ſuch a commerce with them; the latter that they might not be ſoftened by the ſight of the guilty, and might judge according to juſtice and the laws. It was for the ſame reaſon, the orators were not permitted to uſe their exordium or peroration, nor allowed to excite the paſſions, and were obliged to confine themſelves ſolely to the ſubject matter of their cauſe. The ſeverity of their judgments was exceedingly dreaded, particularly in regard to murder, and they were highly attentive to inſpire their citizens with horror for that crime. They * condemned a child to be put to death for making it his paſtime to put out the eyes of quails; conceiving the ſanguinary inclination, as the mark of a very wicked diſpoſition, which might one day prove fatal to many, if he were ſuffered to grow up with impunity.

The affairs of religion, as blaſphemies againſt the gods, contempt of ſacred myſteries, different ſpecies of impiety, and the introduction of new ceremonies and new divinities, were alſo brought before this tribunal. (*u*) We read in Juſtin Martyr, that Plato, who in his travels in Egypt had acquired great lights concerning the unity of God, when he returned to Athens, took great care to diſſemble and conceal his ſentiments, for

(*u*) Cohort. ad Græc.

* Nec mihi videntur Areopagitæ, cùm damnaverunt puerum oculos coturnicum eruentem, aliud judicaſſe, quàm id ſignum eſſe perniciosiſſimæ mentis, multiſque malo futuræ ſi adoleviſſet. *Quintil.* l. 5. c. 9.

fear of being obliged to appear and give an account of them before the Areopagitæ; and we know that St. Paul was traduced before them, as teaching a new doctrine (*x*), and endeavouring to introduce new gods.

These judges were in great reputation for their probity, equity and prudence, and generally respected. Cicero in writing to his friend Atticus, upon the fortitude, constancy, and wise severity of the Roman senate, thinks he makes a great encomium upon it, in comparing it with the Areopagus. (*y*) *Senatus*, Ἄρειος πάγος, *nil constantius, nil severius, nil fortius.* Cicero must have conceived a very advantagious idea of it, to speak of it as he does in the first book of his Offices. * He compares the famous battle of Salamin, in which Themistocles had so great a part, with the establishment of the Areopagus, that he ascribes to Solon; and makes no scruple to prefer, or at least to equal, the legislator's service to that for which Athens was obliged to the general of its army. "For in reality, says "he, that victory was useful to the republic only for "once, but the Areopagus will be so throughout all "ages; as by the wisdom of that tribunal, the laws "and antient customs of the Athenian state are pre"served. Themistocles did no service to the Areo"pagus, but the Areopagus abundantly contributed to "the victory of Themistocles; because the republic "was at that time directed by the wise counsels of that "august senate."

It appears from this passage of Cicero's, that the Areopagus had a great share in the government, and I do not doubt but it was consulted upon important affairs.

(*x*) Acts xvii. 18—20.

* Quamvis Themistocles jure laudetur, & sit ejus nomen, quàm Solonis, illustrius, citeturque Salamis clarissimæ testis victoriæ, quæ anteponatur consilio Solonis ei, quo primùm constituit Areopagitas: non minùs præclarum hoc, quàm illud, judicandum est. Illud enim semel profuit, hoc semper proderit civitati: hoc consilio leges Athenienses, hoc majorum instituta servantur. Et Themistocles quidem nihil dixerit, in quo ipse Areopagum juverit: at ille adjuvit Themistoclem. Est enim bellum gestum consilio Senatus ejus, qui à Solone erat constitutus. *Offic.* l. 1. n. 75.

(*y*) Ad Attic. l. 1. Ep. 13.

Cicero here perhaps may have confounded the council of the Areopagus with that of the Five Hundred. It is certain however that the Areopagitæ were extremely active in the public affairs.

Pericles, who could never enter the Areopagus, because chance having always been againſt him, he had not paſſed through any of the employments neceſſary to his admiſſion, attempted to weaken its authority, and attained his point: which is a great blot in his reputation.

SECT. V. *Of the Magiſtrates.*

OF theſe a great number were eſtabliſhed for different functions. I ſhall ſpeak only of the Archons, who are the moſt known. I have obſerved elſewhere that they ſucceeded the kings, and that their authority at firſt continued during life. It was at length limited to ten years, and reduced at laſt only to one. When Solon was commiſſioned to reform the government, he found them upon this foot, and to the number of nine. He did not aboliſh their office, but he very much diminiſhed their power.

The firſt of theſe nine magiſtrates was called THE ARCHON, by way of eminence, and the year denominated from him: * *under ſuch an Archon ſuch a battle was fought.* The ſecond was called the THE KING, which was the remains and footſteps of the authority to which they had ſucceeded. The third was THE POLEMARCH, who at firſt commanded the armies, and always retained that name, tho' he had not the ſame authority, of which he had ſo long preſerved ſome part. For we have ſeen in ſpeaking of the battle of Marathon, that the polemarch had a right to vote in the council of war, as well as the ten generals then in command. The ſix other archons were called by the common name, THESMOTHETÆ, which implies that they had a particular ſuperintendance over the laws, in order to their being duly obſerved. Theſe

* *From thence he was alſo called* Ἐπώνυμος.

nine

nine archons had each of them a peculiar province, and were judges in certain affairs allotted to their cognizance. I do not think it neceſſary to enter into the particulars of their duty, nor into thoſe of many other employments and offices, eſtabliſhed for the adminiſtration of juſtice, for the levying of taxes and tributes, for the preſervation of good order in the city, for ſupplying it with proviſions, in a word, for every thing relating to commerce and civil ſociety.

SECT. VI. *Of the aſſemblies of the people.*

THESE were of two ſorts, the one ordinary and fixed to certain days, and for theſe there was no kind of ſummons; the other extraordinary, according to the different occaſions that aroſe, and the people were informed of it by expreſs proclamation.

The place for the aſſembly was not fixed. Sometimes it was the public market-place, ſometimes a part of the city near the citadel, called Πνὺξ, and ſometimes the theatre of Bacchus.

The Prytanes generally aſſembled the people. Some days before the aſſembly papers were fixed up, wherein the buſineſs to be conſidered was ſet down.

All the citizens, poor as well as rich, had a right to give their ſuffrages. They were liable to a penalty, who failed of being preſent at the aſſembly, or who came too late; and to induce their punctual attendance a reward was annexed to it, at firſt of an obolus, which was the ſixth part of a drachma, then of three oboli, which made about five pence French.

The aſſembly always began with ſacrifices and prayers, in order for the obtaining from the gods the knowledge and underſtanding neceſſary to wiſe deliberations, and they never failed to add the moſt terrible imprecations againſt ſuch as ſhould wilfully adviſe any thing contrary to the public good.

The preſident propoſed the affair upon which they were to deliberate. If it had been examined in the ſenate, and drawn up there as a queſtion, it was read; after

after which thoſe who would ſpeak were invited to aſcend the tribunal, that they might be the better heard by the people, and inform them in the matter propoſed. The oldeſt general ſpoke firſt, and then the reſt according to their ſeniority: when the orators had done ſpeaking and concluded, that it was neceſſary to approve or reject the decree of the ſenate; the people proceeded to vote, and the moſt common method of doing it was by holding up their hands, to denote their approbation; which was called χειροτονεῖν. The aſſembly was ſometimes adjourned till another day, becauſe it was too late for the number of thoſe that lifted up their hands to be diſtinguiſhed, and the plurality decided. After a reſolution had been formed in this manner, it was reduced to writing, and read by an officer to the people with a loud voice, who confirmed it again by holding up their hands as before; after which the decree had the force of a law. And this was called ψήφισμα, from the greek word ψῆφος, which ſignifies *a pebble or ſmall ſtone*, becauſe they were ſometimes uſed in giving ſuffrages by ſcrutiny.

All the great affairs of the republic were diſcuſſed in theſe aſſemblies. It was in them new laws were propoſed and old ones amended; the religion and worſhip of the gods examined; magiſtrates, generals and officers created; their behaviour and conduct enquired into; peace or war concluded; deputies and ambaſſadors appointed; treaties and alliances ratified; freedom of the city granted; rewards and honours decreed for thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in war, or rendered great ſervices to the republic; and puniſhments ordained for thoſe who had behaved themſelves ill, or had violated the laws of the ſtate, and were baniſhed by oſtraciſm. In fine, juſtice was adminiſtred, and judgment paſſed there upon the moſt important affairs. We ſee from this account, which is however very imperfect, how far the people's power extended; and with what truth it may be ſaid, that the government of Athens, tho' qualified with Ariſtocracy, and the au-

thority of the elders, was by its conſtitution democratical and popular.

I ſhall take occaſion to obſerve in the ſequel of what weight the talent of eloquence is in ſuch a republic, and in what manner orators ought to be conſidered in it. It is not eaſy to conceive, how they could make themſelves heard in ſo numerous an aſſembly, and where ſuch a multitude of auditors were preſent. We may judge how great that was, from what has been ſaid of it in two inſtances. The firſt relates to oſtraciſm, and the other to the adoption of a ſtranger for a citizen. On each of theſe occaſions, it was neceſſary that no leſs than ſix thouſand citizens ſhould be preſent in the aſſembly.

I reſerve for another place the reflections, which naturally ariſe from what I have already related, and what it remains for me to ſay further upon the government of Athens.

SECT. VII. *Of Trials.*

THERE were different tribunals according to the difference of the affairs to be adjudged, but appeals might be brought to the people from all decrees of other judges, and this it was that rendered their power ſo great and conſiderable. (z) All the allies, when they had any cauſe to try, were obliged to repair to Athens; where they often remained a conſiderable time, without being able to obtain audience, from the multiplicity of affairs to be adjuged. This law had been impoſed upon them, in order to render them more dependent upon the people, and more ſubmiſſive to their authority; inſtead of which, had they ſent commiſſioners to the places, they would have been the ſole perſons, to whom the allies would have made their court and paid their homage.

The parties pleaded their cauſes either in perſon, or employed advocates to do it for them. The time allowed for the hearing was generally fixed, and a wa-

(z) Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 664.

ter-clock, called in Greek κλεψύδρα, regulated its duration. The decree was paſſed by plurality of voices; and when the ſuffrages were equal, the judges inclined to the ſide of mercy, and acquitted the accuſed. It is remarkable that a friend was not obliged to give evidence againſt a friend.

All the citizens, even the pooreſt, and ſuch as had no eſtates, were admitted into the number of the judges, provided they had attained the age of thirty, and were known to be perſons of good morals. Whilſt they ſate in judgment, they held in their hands a kind of ſceptre, which was the mark of their dignity, and laid it down when they withdrew.

The judges ſalary was different at different times. They had at firſt only an obolus a day, and afterwards three, where their fee remained fixed. It was but a ſmall matter in itſelf, but became in time a very great charge to the public, and exhauſted the treaſury without much enriching particulars. We may judge of this from what is related in Ariſtophanes's comedy of *the Waſps*, wherein that poet ridicules the paſſion of the Athenians for trying cauſes, and their eager deſire for the gain ariſing from it, which protracted and multiplied ſuits to infinitude.

In this comedy a young Athenian, who was to act the part I have mentioned, of turning the judges and trials of Athens into ridicule, from a ſtate of the revenues paid into the public treaſury, finds their amount to be two thouſand talents *. He then examines how much of that ſum falls to the ſhare of the judges, with whom Athens was over-run, at three oboli a head *per* day. This appears to be annually, including all of them, only an hundred and fifty talents †. The calculation is eaſy. The judges were paid only ten months in the year, the other two being employed in feſtivals, when all proceedings at law were prohibited. Now three oboli a day paid to ſix thouſand men makes fifteen talents a month, and in conſequence one hun-

* *About* 280000 l. *ſterling.*

† *About* 7000 l. *ſterling.*

dred and fifty in ten months. According to this calculation, the moſt aſſiduous judge gained only ſeventy five livres (about three guineas) a year. What then becomes of the remainder of the two thouſand talents, cries the young Athenian? What, replies his father who was one of the judges, it goes to thoſe——but let us not expoſe the ſhame of Athens; let us always be for the people. The young Athenian goes on to explain that the remainder went to ſuch as robbed the public treaſury; to the orators, who inceſſantly flattered the people; and to thoſe who were employed in the government and army. I have extracted this remark from the works of father Brumoi the Jeſuit, with which I ſhall make very free, when I come to ſpeak of public ſhews and dramatic repreſentations.

SECT. VIII. *Of the Amphictyons.*

THE famous council of the Amphictyons is introduced here, though not particular to the Athenians, but common to all Greece, becauſe it is often mentioned in the Grecian hiſtory, and I do not know whether I ſhall have a more natural occaſion to ſpeak of it.

The aſſembly of the Amphictyons was in a manner the holding of a general aſſembly of the ſtates of Greece. The eſtabliſhment of it is attributed to Amphictyon, king of Athens and ſon of Deucalion, who gave them his name. His principal view in the inſtitution of this council, was to unite in the ſacred band of amity the ſeveral people of Greece admitted into it, and to oblige them by that union to undertake the defence of each other, and be mutually vigilant for the happineſs and tranquillity of their country. The Amphictyons were alſo created to be the protectors of the oracle of Delphos, and the guardians of the prodigious riches of that temple; and alſo to adjudge the differences which might ariſe between the Delphians, and thoſe who came to conſult the oracle. This council was held at Thermopylæ, and ſometimes at Delphos

Delphos itſelf. It aſſembled regularly twice a year, in the ſpring and autumn, and more frequently when affairs required.

The number of people or cities which had a right to ſit in this aſſembly is not preciſely known, and varied without doubt at different times. When the Lacedæmonians, in order to paſs in it what decrees they thought fit, were for excluding the Theſſalians, Argives, and Thebans; (*a*) Themiſtocles, in the ſpeech he made to the Amphictyons to prevent that deſign from taking effect, ſeems to inſinuate, that there were only one and thirty cities at that time which had this right.

Each city ſent two deputies, and in conſequence had two votes in the council; and that without diſtinction, or the more powerful having any prerogative of honour or pre-eminence over inferior ſtates in regard to the ſuffrages; the liberty upon which theſe people valued themſelves, requiring that every thing ſhould be equal amongſt them.

The Amphictyons had full power to diſcuſs and determine finally in all differences which might ariſe between the Amphictyonic cities, and to fine the culpable in ſuch manner as they thought fit. They could employ, not only the rigour of the laws in the execution of their decrees, but even raiſe troops, if it were neceſſary, to compel ſuch as rebelled to ſubmit to them. The three ſacred wars undertaken by their order, of which I have ſpoke elſewhere, are an evident proof of this power.

Before they were inſtalled into this body, they took a very remarkable oath, of which * Æſchines has preſerved the form; it runs to this effect: "I ſwear that "I will never deſtroy any of the cities honoured with "the right of ſitting in the Amphictyonic council, "nor turn their running waters out of their courſe "either in times of war or peace: If any people

(*a*) Plut in Themiſt. p. 122.

* Æſchin. in orat. περὶ παραπρεσβείας.

" ſhall make ſuch an attempt, I hereby engage to
" carry the war into their country, to demoliſh their
" cities, towns, and villages, and to treat them in all
" things as the moſt cruel enemies. Moreover, if at
" any time, any perſon ſhall dare to be ſo impious to
" ſteal and take away any of the rich offerings, pre-
" ſerved in the temple of Apollo at Delphos, or abett
" any others in committing that crime, either by aid-
" ing or only counſelling him therein, I will uſe my
" feet, hands, voice, in a word, all my powers and
" faculties, to avenge ſuch ſacrilege." That oath was attended with the moſt terrible imprecations and execrations. " That if any one infringes any thing con-
" tained in the oath I have now taken, whether pri-
" vate perſon, city, or people, may that perſon, city,
" or people, be deemed accurſed; and in that accep-
" tation, experience the whole vengeance of Apollo,
" Latona, Diana, and Minerva the fore-knower.
" May their country produce none of the fruits of
" the earth, and their women, inſtead of generating
" children reſembling their fathers, bring forth no-
" thing but monſters; may their animals ſhare in the
" ſame curſe. May thoſe ſacrilegious men loſe all
" ſuits at law; may they be conquered in war, have
" their houſes demoliſhed, and be themſelves and
" their children put to the ſword." I am not aſtoniſhed, that after ſuch terrible engagements, the holy war, undertaken by the order of the Amphictyons, ſhould be carried on with ſo much ardor and fury. The religion of an oath was of great force with the antients; and how much more regard ought to be had to it in the Chriſtian world, which profeſſes to believe, that the violation of it ſhall be puniſhed with eternal torments; and yet how many are there amongſt us, who make a trifle of breaking through the moſt ſolemn oaths?

The authority of the Amphictyons had always been of great weight in Greece, but it began to decline exceedingly from the moment they condeſcended to admit

mit Philip of Macedon into their body. For that prince, enjoying by this means all their rights and privileges, ſoon knew how to ſet himſelf above all law, and to abuſe his power ſo far, as to preſide by proxy both in this illuſtrious aſſembly, and in the Pythian games; of which games the Amphictyons were judges and Agonothetæ in virtue of their office. This Demoſthenes reproaches him with in his third philippic; *When he does not deign*, ſays he, *to honour us with his preſence, he ſends* HIS SLAVES *to preſide over us.* An odious, but emphatical term, and in the ſpirit of the Grecian liberty, by which the Athenian orator images the baſe and abject ſubjection of the greateſt lords in Philip's court.

If the reader deſires a further knowledge of what relates to the Amphictyons, the diſſertations of Monſieur Valois (*a*) may be be conſulted in the memoirs of the academy of Belles Lettres, wherein this ſubject is treated with great extent and erudition.

SECT. IX. *Of the revenues of Athens.*

THE revenues *, according to the paſſage of Ariſtophanes which I have cited above, and in conſequence as they ſtood in the time of the Peloponneſian war, amounted to two thouſand talents, that is to ſay, to ſix millions of livres. They were generally reduced to four ſpecies.

1. The firſt relates to the revenues ariſing from agriculture, the ſale of woods, the produce of mines, and other funds of a like nature, appertaining to the public. Amongſt theſe may be included the duties upon the import and export of merchandize, and the taxes levied upon the inhabitants of the city, as well natives as ſtrangers.

The hiſtory of Athens often mentions the ſilver mines of Laurium, which was a mountain, ſituate between the Piræum and cape Sunium; and thoſe of

(*a*) Vol. III.

* Τέλη.

Thrace from whence many perſons extracted immenſe riches. * Xenophon in a treatiſe, wherein he ſtates this matter at large, demonſtrates, how much the public might gain by induſtriouſly working theſe mines, from the example of the many perſons they had enriched. (*b*) Hipponicus let his mines and ſix hundred ſlaves to an undertaker, who paid him an † obulus a day for each ſlave, clear of all charges, which amounted in the whole to a mina, about two pounds five ſhillings. Nicias, who was killed in Sicily, farmed out his mines and a thouſand ſlaves in the ſame manner, and with the ſame profit in proportion to that number.

2. The ſecond ſpecies of revenue were the contributions paid the Athenians by the allies for the common expences of the war. At firſt, under Ariſtides, they amounted to only four hundred and ſixty talents ‖. Pericles augmented them almoſt a third, and raiſed them to ſix hundred, and ſometime after they were run up to thirteen hundred. Taxes, which in the beginning were moderate and neceſſary, became thus in a little time exceſſive and exorbitant, notwithſtanding all the proteſtations made the allies, and the moſt ſolemn engagements to the contrary.

3. A third ſort of revenue were the extraordinary capitation taxes, levied upon the inhabitants of the country, as well natives as ſtrangers, in preſſing occaſions and emergencies of the ſtate.

4. The fines laid upon perſons by the judges for different miſdemeanors, were applied to the uſes of the public, and laid up in the treaſury; except the tenth part of them, which was conſecrated to Minerva, and a fiftieth to the other divinities.

The moſt natural and legal application of theſe different revenues of the republic, was in paying the troops both by ſea and land, building and fitting our fleets,

(*b*) Pag. 925.

* De ration. redituum.

† *Six oboli made a drachma, one hundred drachmas a mina, and ſixty minæ a talent.*

‖ *A talent was worth a thouſand crowns.*

keeping

keeping up and repairing the public buildings, temples, walls, ports, and citadels. But the greateſt part of them, eſpecially after Pericles's time, was miſapplied to unneceſſary uſes, and often conſumed in frivolous expences; games, feaſts, and ſhews, which coſt immenſe ſums, and were of no manner of utility to the ſtate.

SECT. X. *Of the education of the youth.*

I Place this article under the head of government, becauſe all celebrated legiſlators have with reaſon believed, that the education of youth was an eſſential part of it.

The exerciſes that ſerved for the forming of either the bodies or minds of the young Athenians, (and as much may be ſaid of almoſt all the people of Greece) were dancing, muſic, hunting, fencing, riding, polite learning, and philoſophy. It may be obſerved that I ſpeak generally, and treat very ſlightly theſe ſeveral articles.

1. *Dancing. Muſic.*

Dancing is one of the exerciſes of the body, cultivated by the Greeks with great attention. It made a part of what the antients called *the Gymnaſtic*, divided, according to * Plato, into two kinds, *the Orcheſtric*, which takes its name from the dance, and *the Palæſtric* †, ſo called from a Greek word which ſignifies *wreſtling*. The exerciſes of the latter kind principally conduced to form the body for the fatigues of war, navigation, agriculture, and the other uſes of ſociety.

Dancing had another end, and taught ſuch rules of motion, as were moſt proper to render the ſhape free and eaſy; to give the body a juſt proportion, and the whole perſon an unconſtrained, noble, and graceful air; in a word, an external politeneſs, if we may be allowed to uſe that expreſſion, which never fails to

* Ὀρχεῖσθαι, Saltare. † Πάλη.

prejudice people in favour of thoſe, who have been formed to it early.

Muſic was cultivated with no leſs application and ſucceſs. The antients aſcribed wonderful effects to it. They believed it very proper to calm the paſſions, ſoften the manners, and even humanize people naturally ſavage and barbarous. (*c*) Polybius, a grave and ſerious hiſtorian, and who is certainly worthy of belief, attributes the extreme difference between two people of Arcadia, the one infinitely beloved and eſteemed for the elegance of their manners, their benevolent inclinations, humanity to ſtrangers, and piety to the gods; the other on the contrary generally reproached and hated for their malignity, brutality, and irreligion: Polybius, I ſay, aſcribes this difference to the ſtudy of muſic, (I mean, ſays he, the true and noble muſic) induſtriouſly cultivated by the one, and abſolutely neglected by the other people.

After this it is not ſurprizing, that the Greeks conſidered muſic as an eſſential part in the education of youth. * Socrates himſelf in a very advanced age was not aſhamed to learn to play upon muſical inſtruments. Themiſtocles, however otherwiſe eſteemed, † was thought to be wanting in point of merit, becauſe at an entertainment he could not touch the lyre like the reſt of the company. ‖ An ignorance in this reſpect was deemed a defect of education; on the contrary, a capacity in it did honour to the greateſt men. ‡ Epaminondas was praiſed for dancing, and playing well upon the flute. We may obſerve in this place the dif-

(*c*) Polyb. p. 288—291.

* Socrates, jam ſenex inſtitui lyra non erubeſcebat. *Quintil.* l. 1. c. 10.

† Themiſtocles, cum in epulis recuſaſſet lyram, habitus eſt indoctior. *Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt.* l. 1. n. 4.

‖ Summam eruditionem Græci ſitam cenſebant in nervorum vocumque cantibus——diſcebantque id omnes; nec qui neſciebat, ſatis excultus doctrina putabatur. *Ibid.*

‡ In Epaminondæ virtutibus commemoratum eſt ſaltaſſe cum commode, ſcienterque tibiis cantaſſe——Scilicet non eadem omnibus honeſta ſunt atque turpia, ſed omnia majorum inſtitutis judicantur. *Corn. Nep. in præfat. vit. Epam.*

ferent

ferent taſtes and genius of nations. The Romans were far from having the ſame opinion with the Greeks in regard to muſic and dancing, and ſet no value upon them. It is very likely, the wiſeſt and moſt knowing amongſt the latter, did not apply to them with any great induſtry; and Philip's expreſſion to his ſon Alexander, who had ſhewn too much ſkill in muſic at a feaſt, induces me to be of this opinion: *Are you not aſhamed*, ſaid he, *to ſing ſo well?*

For the reſt this eſteem for dancing and muſic had its foundation. Both the one and the other were employed in the moſt auguſt feaſts and ceremonies of religion to expreſs their acknowledgment to the gods with the greater force and dignity, for the favours they had vouchſafed to confer upon them. They had generally the greateſt ſhare in their feaſts and entertainments, which ſeldom or ever began or ended, without ſome odes being ſung in honour of the victors in the Olympic games, and on other the like occaſions. They had a part alſo in war; and we know, that the Lacedæmonians marched to battle dancing, and to the ſound of flutes. (*d*) Plato, the moſt grave philoſopher of antiquity, conſidered both theſe arts, not as ſimple amuſements, but as they had a great ſhare in the ceremonies of religion, and military exerciſes. Hence we ſee him very intent in his books of laws, to preſcribe rules upon dancing and muſic, and to keep them within the bounds of utility and decorum.

They did not continue long within theſe reſtrictions. The licence of the Grecian ſtage, on which dancing was in the higheſt vogue, and in a manner proſtituted to buffoons and the moſt contemptible people, who made no other uſe of it, than to ſuggeſt or ſupport the moſt vicious paſſions; this licence, I ſay, ſoon corrupted an art, which might have been of ſome advantage, had it been regulated by Plato's opinion. Muſic had a like deſtiny; and perhaps the corruption of this did not a little contribute to the depraving and pervert-

(*d*) De leg. l. 7.

ing

ing of dancing. Voluptuouſneſs and ſenſual pleaſure were the ſole arbiters conſulted in the uſes made of both, and the theatre became a ſchool of every kind of vice.

(*e*) Plutarch, in lamenting that the art of dancing was ſo much fallen from the merit, which rendered it eſtimable to the great men of antiquity, does not omit to obſerve, that it was corrupted by a vicious kind of poetry, and a ſoft effeminate muſic, with which it was ill united, and which had taken place of the antient poetry and muſic, that had ſomething noble, majeſtic, and even religious and heavenly in them. He adds, that being made ſubſervient to low taſte and ſenſuality, by their aid, it exerciſed a kind of tyrannical power in the theatres, which were become the public ſchools of criminal paſſions and groſs vices, wherein no regard was had to reaſon.

The reader, without my obſerving upon it to him, will make the application of this paſſage of Plutarch to the ſort of muſic, which engroſſes our theatres at this day, and which, by its effeminate and wanton airs, has given the laſt wound to the little manly force and virtue that remained amongſt us. Quintilian deſcribes the muſic of his times in theſe terms, (*f*) *Quæ nunc in ſcenis effeminata, & impudicis modis fracta, non ex parte minima, ſi quid in nobis virilis roboris manebat, excidit.*

2. *Of the other exerciſes of the body.*

The young Athenians, and in general, all the Greeks, were very intent upon forming themſelves to all the exerciſes of the body, and to go through their leſſons regularly with the maſters of the Palæſtræ. They called the places allotted for theſe exerciſes, Palæſtra or Gymnaſia; which anſwers very near to our academies. Plato in his books of laws after having ſhewn of what importance it was in war to cultivate the hands and feet, adds, (*g*) that far from baniſhing

(*e*) Sympoſ. l. 9. qu. 15. p. 748.
(*f*) Quintil. l. 1. c. 1.
(*g*) Lib. 8. de leg. p. 832, 833.

from

from a well regulated republic the profeſſion of the Athletæ, on the contrary, prizes ought to be propoſed for all exerciſes, that conduce to the improvement of military virtue; ſuch as are thoſe which render the body more active, and fitter for the race; more hard, robuſt, and ſupple, more capable of ſupporting great fatigues, and effecting great enterprizes. We muſt remember, that there was no Athenian, who ought not to have been capable of handling the oar in the largeſt galleys. The citizens themſelves did this office, which was not left to ſlaves and criminals as in theſe days. They were all deſtined to the trade of war, and often obliged to wear arms of iron from head to foot of a great weight. For this reaſon, Plato and all the antients looked upon the exerciſes of the body, as highly uſeful and even abſolutely neceſſary to the good of the public, and therefore this philoſopher excludes only thoſe from them, who were incapable of ſervice in war.

(*b*) There were alſo maſters, who taught the youth to ride, and to handle their arms or fence; and others whoſe buſineſs it was to inſtruct them in all that was neceſſary to be known, in order to excel in the art military, and to become good commanders. The whole ſcience of the latter conſiſted in what the antients called the Tactic, that is to ſay, the art of drawing up troops in battle, and of making military evolutions. That ſcience was uſeful, but did not ſuffice. (*o*) Xenophon ſhews its defect, in producing a young man lately come from ſuch a ſchool, in which he imagined he had learnt every thing, though in reality he had only acquired a fooliſh eſteem for himſelf, attended with perfect ignorance. He gives him, by the mouth of Socrates, admirable precepts upon the buſineſs of a ſoldier, and very proper to form an excellent officer.

Hunting was alſo conſidered by the antients, as a fit exerciſe for forming youth to the ſtratagems and fatigues of war. It is for this reaſon, Xenophon, who

(*b*) Plat. in Lachete, p. 181. (*i*) Memorab. l. 3. p. 761, &c.

was

was no leſs a great general than a great philoſopher, (*k*) did not think it below him to write a treatiſe expreſsly upon hunting, in which he deſcends to the loweſt particular; and obſerves upon the conſiderable advantages conſequential of it, from being enured to ſuffer hunger, thirſt, heat, cold, without being diſcouraged either by the length of the courſe, the difficulty of the cliſts and thickets, through which it is often neceſſary to preſs, or the ſmall ſucceſs of the long and painful fatigues, which they often undergo to no purpoſe. He adds, that this innocent pleaſure removes others equally ſhameful and criminal; and that a wiſe and moderate man would not however abandon himſelf ſo much to it as to neglect the care of his domeſtic affairs. (*l*) The ſame author in the Cyropædia frequently praiſes hunting, which he looks upon as a real exerciſe of war, and ſhews in the example of his young hero the good uſe that may be made of it.

3. *Of the exerciſe of the mind.*

Athens, to ſpeak properly, was the ſchool and abode of polite learning, arts and ſciences. The ſtudy of poeſy, eloquence, philoſophy, and mathematics, were in great vogue there, and much cultivated by the youth.

The young people were ſent firſt to learn grammar under maſters, who taught them regularly, and upon proper principles, their own language; by which they attained a knowledge of its whole beauty, energy, number, and cadence. (*m*) Hence proceeded the univerſal fine taſte of Athens, where, as hiſtory informs us, a ſimple herb-woman diſtinguiſhed Theophraſtus to be a ſtranger from the affectation of a ſingle word in expreſſing himſelf. And from the ſame cauſe the orators were greatly apprehenſive of letting fall the leaſt injudicious expreſſion, for fear of offending ſo refined and delicate an audience. It was very common for the young people to get the tragedies repreſented

(*k*) De venatione. (*l*) Cyrop. l. 1. p. 5, 6. & l. 2. p. 59, 60.
(*m*) Cic. in Brut. n. 172. Quintil. l. 8. c. 1. Plut. in Peric. p. 156.

upon

upon the ſtage by heart. We have ſeen, that after the defeat of the Athenians before Syracuſe, many of them, who had been taken priſoners and made ſlaves, ſoftened their ſlavery by reciting the works of Euripides to their maſters, who, extremely delighted with hearing ſuch ſublime verſes, treated them from thenceforth with kindneſs and humanity. The compoſitions of the other poets had no doubt the ſame effect, and Plutarch tells us, that Alcibiades, when very young, having entered a ſchool in which there was not an Homer, gave the maſter a box on the ear as an ignorant fellow, (*n*) and one who diſhonoured his profeſſion.

As for eloquence, it is no wonder that it was particularly ſtudied at Athens. It was that opened the way to the higheſt offices, reigned abſolute in the aſſemblies, decided the moſt important affairs of the ſtate, and gave an almoſt unlimited power to thoſe, who had the talent of ſpeaking in an eminent degree.

This therefore was the great employment of the young citizens of Athens, eſpecially of thoſe, who aſpired to the higheſt employments. To the ſtudy of rhetoric, they annexed that of philoſophy: I comprize under the latter, all the ſciences, which are either parts of, or relate to, it. The perſons, known to antiquity under the name of ſophiſts, had acquired a great reputation at Athens, eſpecially in the time of Socrates. Theſe teachers, who were as preſumptuous as avaritious, ſet themſelves up for univerſal ſcholars. Their whole art lay in philoſophy and eloquence, both of which they corrupted by the falſe taſte and wrong principles, they inſtilled into their diſciples. I have obſerved in the life of Socrates, that philoſopher's endeavours and ſucceſs in diſcrediting them.

(*n*) In Alcib. p. 194.

CHAP.

CHAPTER II.

Of WAR.

SECT. I. *People of Greece in all times very warlike, especially the Lacedæmonians and Athenians.*

NO people of antiquity, (I except the Romans,) could diſpute the glory of arms and military virtue with the Greeks. During the Trojan war Greece ſignalized her valour in battle, and acquired immortal fame by the bravery of the captains ſhe ſent thither. This expedition was however, properly ſpeaking, no more than the cradle of her infant glory; and the great exploits, by which ſhe diſtinguiſhed herſelf there, were only her firſt eſſays, and apprenticeſhip in the art of war.

There were in Greece at that time ſeveral ſmall republics, neighbours to one another by their ſituation, but extremely remote in their cuſtoms, laws, characters, and particularly in their intereſts. This difference of manners and intereſts was a continual ſource and occaſion of diviſions amongſt them. Every city, little ſatisfied with its own dominion, was ſtudious to aggrandize itſelf at the expence of its next neighbours, according as they lay moſt commodious for it. Hence all theſe little ſtates, either out of ambition, and to extend their conqueſts, or the neceſſity of a juſt defence, were always under arms, and by that continual exerciſe of war, formed in the univerſal people a martial ſpirit, and an intrepidity of courage which made them invincible in the field; as appeared in the ſequel, when the whole united forces of the Eaſt came to invade Greece, and made her ſenſible what ſhe was, and of what capable.

Two cities diſtinguiſhed themſelves above the reſt and held indiſputably the firſt rank; theſe were Sparta and Athens: in conſequence of which thoſe cities, either ſucceſſively or together, had the empire of Greece,

and

and maintained themſelves thro' a long ſeries of time in a power, which the ſole ſuperiority of merit, univerſally acknowledged by all the other ſtates, had acquired them. This merit conſiſted principally in their military knowledge and martial virtue; of which they had given the moſt glorious proofs in the war againſt the Perſians. Thebes diſputed this honour with them for ſome years, by ſurprizing actions of valour, which had ſomething of prodigy in them; but this was but a ſhort-liv'd blaze, which, after having ſhone out with exceeding ſplendor, ſoon diſappeared, and left that city in its original obſcurity. Sparta and Athens will therefore be the only objects of our reflections as to what relates to war, and we ſhall join them together, in order to be the better able to diſtinguiſh their characters, as well in what they reſemble, as in what they differ from, each other.

SECT. II. *Origin and cauſe of the valour and military virtue by which the Lacedæmonians and Athenians always diſtinguiſhed themſelves.*

ALL the laws of Sparta and inſtitutions of Lycurgus ſeem to have no other object than war, and tended ſolely to the making the ſubjects of that republic a body of ſoldiers. All other employments, all other exerciſes were prohibited amongſt them. Arts, polite learning, ſciences, trades, even huſbandry itſelf, had no ſhare in their applications, and ſeemed in their eyes unworthy of them. From their earlieſt infancy no other taſte was inſtilled into them but for arms; and indeed the Spartan education was wonderfully well adapted to that end. To go barefoot, to lie hard, to ſhift with little meat and drink, to ſuffer heat and cold, to exerciſe continually hunting, wreſtling, running on foot and horſeback, to be enured to blows and wounds ſo as to vent neither complaint nor groan; theſe were the rudiments of the Spartan youth with regard to war, and enabled them one day to ſupport all its fatigues, and to confront all its dangers.

The

The habit of obeying, contracted from the moſt early years, reſpect for the magiſtrates and elders, a perfect ſubmiſſion to the laws, from which no age nor condition was exempt, prepared them amazingly for military diſcipline, which is in a manner the ſoul of war, and the principle of ſucceſs in all great enterprizes.

Now one of theſe laws was to conquer or die, and never to ſurrender to the enemy. Leonidas with his three hundred Spartants was an illuſtrious example of this, and his intrepid valour, extolled in all ages with the higheſt applauſes, and propoſed as a model to all poſterity, had given the ſame ſpirit to the nation, and traced them out the plan they were to follow. The diſgrace and infamy annexed to the violation of this law, and to ſuch as quitted their arms in battle, confirmed the obſervance of it, and rendered it in a manner inviolable. The mothers recommended to their ſons, when they ſet out for the field, to return either with, or upon, their bucklers. They did not weep for thoſe who died with their arms in their hands, but for thoſe who preſerved themſelves by flight. Can we be ſurprized after this, that a ſmall body of ſuch ſoldiers with ſuch principles ſhould put an innumerable army of Barbarians to a ſtand?

The Athenians were not bred up ſo roughly as the people of Sparta, but had no leſs valour. The taſte of the two people was quite different in regard to education and employment; but they attained the ſame end, tho' by different means. The Spartans knew only how to uſe their arms, and were no more than ſoldiers: but amongſt the Athenians (and we muſt ſay as much of the other people of Greece) arts, trades, huſbandry, commerce and navigation were held in honour, and thought no diſgrace to any one. Theſe occupations were no obſtacles to the valour and knowledge neceſſary in war; they diſqualified none for riſing to the greateſt commands and the firſt dignities of the republic. Plutarch obſerves, that Solon, ſeeing the territory of Attica was barren, applied himſelf to turning

turning the induſtry of his citizens upon arts, trades and commerce, in order to ſupply his country thereby with what it wanted on the ſide of fertility. This taſte became one of the maxims of the government and fundamental laws of the ſtate, and perpetuated itſelf amongſt the people, but without leſſening in the leaſt their ardor for war.

The antient glory of the nation, which had always diſtinguiſhed itſelf by military bravery, was a powerful motive for not degenerating from the reputation of their anceſtors. The famous battle of Marathon, wherein they had ſuſtained alone the ſhock of the Barbarians, and gained a ſignal victory over them, infinitely heightened their courage, and the battle of Salamin, in the ſucceſs of which they had the greateſt ſhare, raiſed them to the higheſt pitch of glory, and rendered them capable of the greateſt enterprizes.

A noble emulation not to give place in point of merit to Sparta, the rival of Athens, and a lively jealouſy of their glory, which during the war with the Perſians contained itſelf within due bounds, were another ſtrong incentive to the Athenians, who every day made new efforts to excel themſelves, and ſuſtain their reputation.

The rewards and honours granted to thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in battle; the monuments erected in memory of the citizens who had died in the defence of their country, the funeral orations publickly pronounced in the midſt of the moſt auguſt religious ceremonies, to render their names immortal; all conſpired infinitely to eternize the valour of both nations, and particularly of the Athenians, and to make fortitude a kind of law and indiſpenſable neceſſity to them.

(*n*) Athens had a law by which it was ordained, that thoſe who had been maimed in the war, ſhould be maintained at the expence of the public. The ſame grace was granted to the fathers and mothers, as well

(*n*) Plat. in Solon. p. 96. Id. in Menex. p. 248, 249. Diog. Laert. in Solon. p. 37.

as

as the children of ſuch as had fallen in battle, and left their families poor and not in a condition to ſubſiſt themſelves. The republic like a good mother, genenerouſly took them into her care, and with great regard to them ſupplied all the duties, and procured all the relief, they could have expected from thoſe whoſe loſs they deplored.

This exalted the courage of the Athenians, and rendered their troops invincible, tho' not very numerous. In the battle of Platæa, where the army of the Barbarians, commanded by Mardonius, conſiſted of no leſs than three hundred thouſand men, and the united forces of the Greeks of only one hundred and eight thouſand two hundred men, there were in the latter only ten thouſand Lacedæmonians, of which one half were Spartans, that is to ſay, inhabitants of Sparta, and eight thouſand Athenians. It is true, each Spartan brought with him ſeven helots, which made in all thirty-five thouſand men; but they were ſcarce ever reckoned as ſoldiers.

This ſhining merit in point of martial valour, generally acknowledged by the other ſtates and people, did not ſuppreſs in their minds all ſentiments of envy and jealouſy; as appeared once in relation to the Lacædemonians. The allies, who were very much ſuperior to them in number, were in pain to ſee themſelves ſubjected to their orders, and murmured againſt it in ſecret. Ageſilaus, king of Sparta, without ſeeming to have any knowledge of their diſguſt, aſſembled the whole army, and after having made all the allies ſit down on one ſide, and the Lacedæmonians by themſelves on the other, he cauſed proclamation to be made by an herald, that all ſmiths, maſons, carpenters, and ſo on, thro' the other trades, ſhould riſe up. Almoſt all the allies did ſo, and not one of the Lacedæmonians, to whom all trades were prohibited. Ageſilaus then ſmiling, "You ſee, ſaid he, how many "more ſoldiers Sparta furniſhes than all the reſt of the allies together;" thereby intimating, that to be a good

good ſoldier it was neceſſary to be only a ſoldier; that trades diverted the artiſan from applying himſelf wholly to the profeſſion of arms and the ſcience of war, and prevented his ſucceeding ſo well in it, as thoſe who made it their ſole buſineſs and exerciſe. But Ageſilaus ſpoke and acted in that manner from the prejudice of his opinion in favour of the Lacedæmonian education; for indeed thoſe, whom he was for having conſidered only as ſimple artiſans, had well demonſtrated in the glorious victories they had obtained over the Perſians, and even Sparta itſelf, that they were by no means inferior to the Lacedæmonians, entirely ſoldiers as they were, either in valour or military knowledge.

SECT. III. *Different kind of troops of which the armies of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians were compoſed.*

THE armies both of Sparta and Athens were compoſed of four ſorts of troops: citizens, allies, mercenaries and ſlaves. The ſoldiers were ſometimes marked in the hand, to diſtinguiſh them from the ſlaves, who had that character impreſt upon their forehead. Interpreters believe, that in alluſion to this double manner of marking, it is ſaid in the Revelations, that all were obliged (*o*) *to receive the mark of the beaſt in their right hand, or in their foreheads*; and that St. Paul ſays of himſelf, (*p*) *I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jeſus.*

The citizens of Lacedæmonia were of two ſorts, either thoſe who inhabited Sparta itſelf, and who for that reaſon were called Spartans, or thoſe who lived in the country. In Lycurgus's time the Spartans amounted to nine thouſand, and the others to thirty thouſand. This number ſeems to have been ſomewhat diminiſhed in the time of Xerxes, as Demaratus, ſpeaking to him of the Lacedæmonian troops, computes only eight thouſand Spartans. The latter were the flower of the nation, and we may judge of the value they ſet upon them, by the anxiety the republic ex-

(*o*) Rev. xiii. 16. (*p*) Gal. vi. 17.

preſſed

preſſed for three or four hundred, beſieged by the Athenians in the ſmall iſland of Sphacteria, where they were taken priſoners. The Lacedæmonians generally ſpared the troops of their country very much, and ſent only a few of them into the armies. When a Lacedæmonian general was aſked, how many Spartans there was in the army; he anſwered; *as many as are neceſſary to repulſe the enemy.* They ſerved the ſtate at their own expence, and it was not till after a length of time that they received pay from the public.

The greateſt number of the troops in the two republics were compoſed of the *Allies*, who were paid by the cities which ſent them.

The foreign troops in the pay of the republic to the aid of which they were called in, were ſtiled *Mercenaries.*

The Spartans never marched without helots, and we have ſeen that in the battle of Platæa every citizen had ſeven. I do not believe this number was fixed, nor do I well comprehend for what ſervice they were deſigned. It would have been very ill policy to have put arms into the hands of ſo great a number of ſlaves, generally much diſcontented with their maſters harſh treatment of them, and who in conſequence had every thing to fear from them in a battle. Herodotus however, in the paſſage I have cited from him, repreſents them carrying arms in the field as light-armed ſoldiers.

The infantry conſiſted of two kinds of ſoldiers. The one were heavy-armed, and carried great bucklers, lances, half-pikes and ſcymitars. The other were light-armed, that is to ſay, with bows and ſlings. They were commonly placed in the front of the battle, or upon the wings as a firſt line to ſhoot their arrows, and fling their javelins and ſtones at the enemy; and when they had diſcharged, they retired through the intervals behind the battalions as a ſecond line, and continued their volleys.

(*q*) Thucydides, in deſcribing the battle of Mantinæa,

(*q*) Lib. 5. p. 390.

tinæa, divides the Lacedæmonian troops in this manner. There were ſeven regiments of four companies each, without including the Squirites, to the number of ſix hundred; theſe were horſemen of whom I ſhall ſoon ſpeak further. The company conſiſted, according to the Greek interpreter, of an hundred and twenty-eight men, and was ſubdivided into four plattoons, each of thirty-two men. So that a regiment amounted to five hundred and twelve men, and the ſeven made together three thouſand five hundred fourſcore and four. Each plattoon had four men in front and eight in depth, for that was the uſual depth of the files, which the officers might change according to occaſion.

The Lacedæmonians did not actually begin to uſe cavalry, till after the war with Meſſene, where they perceived their want of it. (*r*) They raiſed their horſe principally in a ſmall city not far from Lacedæmon, called *Sciros*, from whence theſe troops were denominated *Scirites*, or *Squirites*. They were always on the extremity of the left wing, and this was their poſt by right.

Cavalry was ſtill more rare amongſt the Athenians: the ſituation of Attica, broke with abundance of mountains, was the cauſe of this. It did not amount, after the war with the Perſians, which was the time when the proſperity of Greece was at the higheſt, to more than three hundred horſe; but encreaſed afterwards to twelve hundred; a ſmall body for ſo powerful a republic.

I have already obſerved, that amongſt the antients as well Grecks as Romans, no mention is made of the ſtirrop, which is very ſurprizing. They threw themſelves nimbly on horſeback.

——————*Corpora ſaltu*
Subjiciunt in equos.—— Æn. l. 11. v. 287.
And with a leap fit ſtready on the horſe.

(*r*) Id. l. 5. p. 390.

Sometimes

Sometimes the horſe, broke early to that kind of manage, would ſtoop down before, to give his maſter the opportunity of mounting with more eaſe;

Inde inclinatus collum, ſubmiſſus & armos
De more, inflexis præbebat ſcandere terga
Cruribus. Sil. Ital. de equo Cœlii Equ. Rom.

Thoſe, whom age or weakneſs rendered heavy, made uſe of a ſervant in mounting on horſeback; in which they imitated the Perſians, with whom it was the common cuſtom. Gracchus cauſed fine ſtones to be placed on each ſide of the great roads of Italy at certain diſtances from one another, to help travellers to get on horſeback without the aſſiſtance of any body *.

I am ſurprized that the Athenians, expert as they were in the art of war, did not diſtinguiſh, that the cavalry was the moſt eſſential part of an army, eſpecially in battles; and that ſome of their generals did not turn their attention that way, as Themiſtocles did in regard to maritime affairs. Xenophon was well capable of rendering them a like ſervice in reſpect to the cavalry, of the importance of which he was perfectly apprized. He wrote two treatiſes upon this ſubject; one of which regards the care it is neceſſary to take of horſes, and how to underſtand and break them; to which he adds the exerciſe of the ſquadron; both well worth the reading of all who profeſs arms. In the latter he ſtates the means of placing the cavalry in honour, and lays down rules upon the art military in general, which might be of very great uſe to all thoſe, who are deſigned for the trade of war.

I have wondered, in running over this ſecond treatiſe, to ſee with what care Xenophon, a ſoldier and a pagan, recommends the practice of religion, a veneration for the gods, and the neceſſity of imploring their aid upon all occaſions. He repeats this maxim in

* Ἀναβολέως μὴ διομένοις. This word ἀναβολεὺς, ſignifies a *ſervant, who helped his maſter to mount on horſeback.*

thirteen

thirteen different places, of a tract in other respects brief enough; and rightly judging that these religious insinuations might give some people offence, he makes a kind of apology for them, and concludes the piece with a reflection, which I shall repeat entire in this place. "If any one, says he, wonders that I insist "so much here upon the necessity of not forming any "enterprize without first endeavouring to render the "divinity favourable and propitious, let him reflect, "that there are in war a thousand unforeseen and ob-"scure conjunctures, wherein the generals, vigilant to "take advantages, and lay ambuscades for each other, "from the uncertainty of an enemy's motions, can "take no other counsel than that of the gods. No-"thing is doubtful or obscure with them. They un-"fold the future to whomsoever they please on the "inspection of the entrails of beasts, by the singing "of birds, by visions, or in dreams. Now we may "presume that the gods are more inclined to illumi-"nate the minds of such as consult them not only in "urgent necessities, but who at all times, and when "no dangers threaten them, render them all the ho-"mage and adoration of which they are capable."

It became this great man to give the most important of instructions to his son Gryllus, to whom he addresses the treatise we mention, and who according to the common opinion was appointed to discipline the Athenian cavalry.

SECT. IV. *Of maritime affairs, fleets and naval forces.*

IF the Athenians were inferior to the Lacedæmonians in respect to cavalry, they carried it infinitely against them in naval affairs, and we have seen their abilities that way make them masters at sea, and give them a great superiority to all the other states of Greece. As this subject is very necessary to the understanding many passages in this history, I shall treat it more extensively than other matters, and shall make great use

of what the learned father Don Bernard de Montfaucon has ſaid of it in his books upon antiquity.

The principal parts of a ſhip were the prow or head, the poop or ſtern, and the middle, called in latin *carina*, the hulk or waſte.

The PROW was the part in the front of the waſte or belly of the ſhip: it was generally adorned with paintings and different ſculptures of gods, men, or animals. The beak, called *roſtrum*, lay lower, and level with the water: it was a piece of timber which projected from the prow, covered at the point with braſs and ſometimes with iron. The Greeks termed it ἔμβολον.

The other end of the ſhip oppoſite to the prow was called the POOP. There the pilot ſate and held the helm, which was a longer and larger oar than the reſt.

The WASTE was the hollow of the veſſel, or the hold.

The ſhips were of two kinds. The one were rowed with oars, which were ſhips of war, the other carried ſails, and were veſſels of burden, intended for commerce and tranſports. Both of them ſometimes made uſe of oars and ſails together, but that very rarely. The ſhips of war are alſo very often called long ſhips by authors, and by that name diſtinguiſhed from veſſels of burden.

The long ſhips were further divided into two ſpecies: thoſe which were called, *actuariæ naves*, and were very light veſſels like our brigantines; and thoſe called only long ſhips. The firſt were uſually termed *open ſhips*, becauſe they had no decks. Of theſe light veſſels there were ſome larger than ordinary, of which ſome had twenty, ſome thirty, and others forty oars, half on one ſide and half on the other, all on the ſame line.

The long ſhips, which were uſed in war, were of two ſorts. Some had only one rank of oars on each ſide; the others two, three, four, five, or a greater

number, to forty; but theſe laſt were rather for ſhew than uſe.

The long ſhips of one rank of oars were called *aphracti*; that is to ſay, uncovered, and had no decks: this diſtinguiſhed them from the *cataphracti*, which had decks. They had only ſmall places to ſtand on at the head and ſtern in the time of action.

The ſhips moſt commonly uſed in the battles of the antients, were thoſe which carried from three to five ranks or benches of oars, and were called *triremes* and *quinqueremes*.

It is a great queſtion, and has given occaſion for abundance of learned diſſertations, how theſe benches of oars were diſpoſed. Some will have it that they were placed at length like the ranks of oars in the modern galleys. Others maintain, that the ranges of the biremes, triremes, quinqueremes, and ſo on to the number of forty in ſome veſſels, were one above another. To ſupport this laſt opinion innumerable paſſages are cited from antient authors, which ſeem to leave no manner of doubt in it, and are conſiderably corroborated by the column of Trajan, which repreſents theſe ranks one above another. Father Montfaucon however avers, that all the perſons of greateſt ſkill in naval affairs whom he had conſulted, declared, that the thing conceived in that manner ſeemed to them utterly impoſſible. But ſuch a way of reaſoning is a weak proof againſt the experience of ſo many ages, confirmed by ſo many authors. It is true that in admitting theſe ranks of oars to be diſpoſed perpendicularly one above another, it is not eaſy to comprehend how they could be worked: but in the biremes and triremes of the column of Trajan the lower ranks are placed obliquely, and as it were riſing by degrees.

In antient times the ſhips with ſeveral ranks of oars were not known: they made uſe of long ſhips, in which the rowers, of whatever number they were,

worked all upon the ſame line. (*a*) Such was the fleet which the Greeks ſent againſt Troy. It was compoſed of twelve hundred ſail, of which the galleys of Bœotia had each an hundred and twenty men, and thoſe of Philoctetes fifty; and this no doubt intends the greateſt and ſmalleſt veſſels. Their galleys had no decks, but were built like common boats; which is ſtill practiſed, ſays Thucydides, by the pyrates, to prevent their being ſo ſoon diſcovered at a diſtance.

(*b*) The Corinthians are ſaid to have been the firſt, who changed the form of ſhips, and inſtead of ſimple galleys, made veſſels with three ranks, in order to add by the multiplicity of oars to the ſwiftneſs and impetuoſity of their motion. Their city, advantagiouſly ſituated between two ſeas, lay well for commerce, and ſerved as a ſtaple for merchandize. From their example the inhabitants of Corcyra, and the tyrants of Sicily equipped alſo many galleys of three benches a little before the war againſt the Perſians. It was about the ſame time, the Athenians, at the warm inſtances of Themiſtocles, who foreſaw the war which ſoon broke out, built ſhips of the ſame form, the whole deck not being yet in uſe; and from thenceforth they applied themſelves to naval affairs with incredible ardour and ſucceſs.

The beak of the prow (*roſtrum*) was that part of the veſſel of which moſt uſe was made in ſea-fights. (*c*) Ariſton of Corinth perſuaded the Syracuſans, when their city was beſieged by the Athenians, to make their prows lower and ſhorter; which advice gained them the victory. For the prows of the Athenian veſſels being very high and very weak, their beaks ſtruck only the parts above water, and for that reaſon did little damage to the enemy's ſhips; whereas the Syracuſans, whoſe prows were ſtrong and low, and their

(*a*) Thucyd. l. 1, p. 8. (*b*) Id. p. 10. (*c*) Diod. l. 13. p. 141.

beaks

beaks level with the water, at a ſingle blow often ſunk the triremes of the Athenians.

Two ſorts of people ſerved on board theſe galleys. The one were employed in ſteering and working the ſhip, who were the rowers, *remiges*, and the mariners, *nautæ*. The reſt were ſoldiers intended for the fight, and are meant in Greek by the word ἐπιβάται. This diſtinction was not underſtood in the early times, when the ſame perſons rowed, fought, and did all the neceſſary work of the ſhip; which was alſo not wholly diſuſed in later days. For (*d*) Thucydides in deſcribing the arrival of the Athenian fleet at the ſmall iſland of Sphacteria, obſerves, that only the rowers of the loweſt bench remained in the ſhips, and that the reſt went on ſhore with their arms.

1. The condition of the rowers was very hard and laborious. I have already ſaid, that the rowers as well as mariners were all citizens and freemen, and not ſlaves or ſtrangers as in theſe days. The rowers were diſtinguiſhed by their ſeveral ſtages. The lower rank were called *Thalamitæ*, the middle *Zugitæ*, and the higheſt *Thranitæ*. Thucydides remarks that the latter had greater pay than the reſt, becauſe they worked with longer and heavier oars than thoſe of the lower benches. * It ſeems that the crew in order to act in concert, and with better effect, were ſometimes guided by the ſinging of a man, and ſometimes by the ſound of an inſtrument; and this grateful harmony ſerved not only to regulate the motion of their oars, but to diminiſh and ſooth the pains of their labour.

It is a queſtion amongſt the learned, whether there was a man to every oar in theſe great ſhips, or ſeveral, as in the galleys of theſe days. What Thucydides

(*d*) Thucyd. l. 4. p. 275.

* Muſicam natura ipſa videtur ad tolerandos facilius labores veluti muneri nobis dediſſe. Siquidem & remiges cantus hortatur; nec ſolum in iis operibus, in quibus plurium conatus præeunte aliqua jucunda voce conſpirat, ſed etiam ſingulorum fatigatio quamlibet ſe rudi modulatione ſolatur. *Quinctil.* l. 1. c. 10.

obſerves on the pay of the Thranitæ, ſeems to imply that they worked ſingle. For if others had ſhared the work with them, wherefore had they greater pay given them than thoſe who managed an oar alone, as the latter had as much and perhaps more of the labour than them? Father Montfaucon believes, that in the veſſels of five ranks there might be ſeveral men to one oar.

He who took care of the whole crew, and commanded the veſſel, was called *nauclerus*, and was the principal officer. The ſecond was the pilot, *gubernator*; his place was in the poop, where he held the helm in his hand, and ſteered the veſſel. His ſkill conſiſted in knowing the coaſts, ports, rocks, ſhoals, and eſpecially the winds and ſtars; for before the invention of the compaſs, the pilot had nothing to direct him during the night but the ſtars.

2. The ſoldiers, who fought in the ſhips, were armed almoſt in the ſame manner with the land-forces. (*e*) The Athenians at the battle of Salamin had an hundred and fourſcore veſſels, and in each of them eighteen fighting men, four of whom were archers and the reſt heavy-armed troops. The officer who commanded theſe ſoldiers was called τριήραρχος, and the commander of the whole fleet, ναύαρχος or στρατηγὸς.

We cannot exactly ſay the number of ſoldiers, mariners and rowers that ſerved on board each ſhip; but it generally amounted to two hundred more or leſs, as appears from Herodotus's eſtimate of the Perſian fleet in the time of Xerxes, and in other places where he mentions that of the Greeks. I mean here the great veſſels, the triremes, which were the ſpecies moſt in uſe.

The pay of thoſe who ſerved in theſe ſhips varied very much at different times. When young Cyrus arrived in Aſia (*f*), it was only three oboli, which was

(*e*) Plut. in Themiſt. p. 119.

(*f*) Xenoph. Hiſt. l. 1. p. 441.

half

half a drachma, or five pence; and the * treaty between the Perſians and Lacedæmonians was concluded upon this foot; which gives reaſon to believe, that the uſual pay was three oboli. Cyrus at Lyſander's requeſt added a fourth, which made ſix-pence half-penny a day. (g) It was often raiſed to a whole drachma, about ten pence French. In the fleet fitted out againſt Sicily the Athenians gave a drachma a day to the troops. The ſum of ſixty talents (b) *, which the people of Egeſta advanced the Athenians monthly for the maintaining of ſixty ſhips, ſhews that the pay of each veſſel for a month amounted to a talent, that is to ſay, to three thouſand livres; which ſuppoſes, that each ſhip's company conſiſted of two hundred men, each of whom received a drachma or ten pence a day. As the officers pay was higher, the republic perhaps either furniſhed the overplus, or it was deducted out of the total of the ſum advanced for a veſſel, by abating ſomething in the pay of the private men.

The ſame may be ſaid of the land troops as has been ſaid of the ſeamen, except that the horſe had double their pay. It appears that the ordinary pay of the foot was three oboli a day, and that it was augmented according to times and occaſions. (i) Thimbron the Lacedæmonian, when he marched againſt Tiſſaphernes, promiſed a Daric a month to each ſoldier, two to a captain, and four to the colonels. Now a Daric a month is four oboli a day. Young Cyrus, to animate his troops, whom a too long march had diſcouraged, inſtead of one Daric, promiſed one and a half to each ſoldier, which amounted to a drachma, or ten pence French a day.

It may be aſked how the Lacedæmonians, whoſe

(g) Thucyd. l. 6. p. 431. (b) Ibid. p. 415. (i) Xenoph. exped. Cyr. l. 7.

* *This treaty ſtipulated, that the Perſians ſhould pay thirty minæ a month for each ſhip, which was half a talent; the whole amounted to three oboli a day for every man that ſerved on board.*

† *About* 8400 *l. ſterling.*

iron coin, the only ſpecies current amongſt them, would go no where elſe, could maintain armies by ſea and land, and where they found money for their ſubſiſtance. It is not to be doubted, but they raiſed it, as the Athenians did, by contributions from their allies, and ſtill more from the cities, to which they gave liberty and protected; or from thoſe they had conquered from their enemies. Their ſecond fund for paying their fleet and armies was the aids they drew from the king of Perſia, as we have ſeen on ſeveral occaſions.

SECT. V. *Peculiar character of the Athenians.*

PLUTARCH furniſhes us with almoſt all the matter upon this head. Every body knows how well he ſucceeds in copying nature in his portraits, and how proper a perſon he was to trace the character of a people, whoſe genius and manners he had ſtudied with ſo profound an attention.

(*k*) " I. * The people of Athens, ſays Plutarch, " were eaſily provoked to anger, and as eaſily in- " duced to reſume their ſentiments of benevolence " and compaſſion." Hiſtory ſupplies us with an infinitude of examples of this kind. The ſentence of death paſſed againſt the inhabitants of Mitylene, and revoked the next day: The condemnation of the ten generals, and that of Socrates, both followed with an immediate repentance and the moſt lively grief.

" II. † They were better pleaſed with penetrating " and almoſt gueſſing an affair of themſelves, than to " give themſelves leiſure to be informed in it thoroughly, and in all its extent."

Nothing is more ſurprizing than this circumſtance in their character, which it is very hard to conceive, and ſeems almoſt incredible. Artificers, huſbandmen,

(*k*) Plut. in præcept. reip. ger. p. 793.

* Ὁ δῆμος Ἀθηναίων εὐκίνητός ἐστι πρὸς ὀργήν, εὐμετάθετος πρὸς ἔλεον.

† Μᾶλλον ὀξέως ὑπονοεῖν, ἢ διδάσκεσθαι καθ' ἡσυχίαν βουλόμενον.

ſoldiers,

ſoldiers, mariners, are generally a dull, heavy kind of people, and very groſs in their conceptions; but the people of Athens were of a quite different turn. They had naturally an amazing penetration, vivacity, and even delicacy of wit. I have already mentioned what happened to Theophraſtus. * He was cheapening ſomething of an old woman at Athens that ſold herbs: *No Mr. Stranger*, ſaid ſhe, *you ſhall have it for no leſs*. He was ſtrangely ſurprized to ſee himſelf treated as a ſtranger, who had paſſed almoſt his whole life at Athens, and who piqued himſelf upon excelling all others in the elegance of his language. It was however from that ſhe knew he was not of her country. We have ſaid, that the Athenian ſoldiers knew the fine paſſages of Euripides by heart. Theſe artificers and ſoldiers, from aſſiſting at the public deliberations, were beſides verſed in affairs of ſtate, and underſtood every thing at half a word. We may judge of this from the orations of Demoſthenes, whoſe ſtile we know is ardent, brief, and conciſe.

" III. † As they naturally inclined to relieve per-
" ſons of a low condition and mean circumſtances,
" ſo were they fond of converſations ſeaſoned with
" pleaſantry, and proper to make people laugh."

(*l*) They aſſiſted perſons of a mean condition, becauſe from ſuch they had nothing to apprehend in regard to their liberty, and ſaw in them the characters of equality and reſemblance with themſelves. They loved pleaſantry, and ſhewed in that they were men; but men abounding with humanity and indulgence, who underſtood raillery, who were not prone to take

(*l*) Xenoph. de Athen. rep. p. 691.

* Cum Theophraſtus percontaretur ex anicula quadam, quanti aliquid venderet, & reſpondiſſet illa, atque addidiſſet: Hoſpes, non pote minoris; tulit moleſtè, ſe non effugere hoſpitis ſpeciem, cùm ætatem ageret Athenis, optimeque loqueretur. *Cic. de clar. orat.* n. 172.

† Ὥσπερ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῖς ἀδόξοις καὶ ταπεινοῖς βοηθεῖν προθυμότερον, ἕτως τῶν λόγων τὰς παιγνιώδεις καὶ γελοίους ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ προτιμᾶν.

offence

offence, nor over delicate in point of the reſpect to be paid them. One day when the aſſembly was fully formed, and the people had already taken their places and ſat down, Cleon, after having made them wait his coming a great while, appeared at laſt with a wreath of flowers upon his head, and deſired the people to adjourn their deliberations to the next day. "For to "day," ſaid he, "I have buſineſs. I have been ſa-"crificing to the gods, and am to entertain ſome "ſtrangers my friends at ſupper." The Athenians, ſetting up a laugh, roſe and broke up the aſſembly. At Carthage, ſuch a pleaſantry would have coſt any man his life, that had preſumed to vent it, and to take ſuch a liberty with a * proud, haughty, jealous, moroſe people, of a genius averſe to complacency, and leſs inclined to humour. Upon another occaſion the orator Stratocles, having informed the people of a victory, and in conſequence cauſed ſacrifices to be offered, three days after news came of the defeat of the army. As the people expreſſed their diſcontent and reſentment upon the falſe information, he aſked them, "of what "they had to complain, and what harm he had done "them, in making them paſs three days more agree-"ably than they would elſe have done?"

"IV. † They were pleaſed with hearing them-"ſelves praiſed, and could not bear to be railed at, "or criticiſed." The leaſt acquaintance with Ariſtophanes and Demoſthenes will ſhew, with what addreſs and effect they employed praiſes and criticiſm with regard to the people of Athens.

(*m*) When the republic enjoyed peace and tranquillity, ſays the ſame Plutarch in another place, the Athenian people diverted themſelves with the orators who flattered them: But in important affairs and emergencies of the ſtate, they became ſerious, and gave

(*m*) Plut. in Phocian. p. 746.

* Πικρὸν, σκυθρωπὸν, πρὸς παιδίαν καὶ χάριν ἀνήδυτον καὶ σκληρόν.

† Τοῖς μὲν ἐπαινέσιν αὐτὸν μᾶλλον χάιρει, τοῖς δὲ σκώπτουσιν ἥκιστα δυσχεραίνει.

the

the preference to thoſe, whoſe cuſtom it had been to oppoſe their unjuſt deſires, ſuch as Pericles, Phocion, and Demoſthenes.

" V. * They kept thoſe who governed them in " awe, and ſhewed their humanity even to their ene- " mies."

The people of Athens made good uſe of the talents of thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their eloquence and prudence; but they were full of ſuſpicion, and kept themſelves always on their guard againſt their ſuperiority of genius and ability: they took pleaſure in reſtraining their courage, and leſſening their glory and reputation. This may be judged from the oſtraciſm, which was inſtituted only as a curb on thoſe, whoſe merit and popularity ran too high, and which ſpared neither the greateſt nor the moſt worthy perſons. The hatred of tyranny and tyrants, which was in a manner innate in the Athenians, made them extremely jealous and apprehenſive for their liberty, with regard to thoſe who governed.

As to what relates to their enemies, they did not treat them with rigour; they did not make an inſolent uſe of victory, nor exerciſe any cruelty towards the vanquiſhed. The amneſty decreed after the tyranny of the Thirty, ſhews that they could forget the injuries which had been done them.

To theſe different characteriſticks, which Plutarch unites in the ſame paſſage of his works, ſome others may be added, extracted principally from the ſame author.

VI. It was from this † fund of humanity and benevolence, of which I have now ſpoke, and which was natural to the Athenians, that they were ſo attentive to the rules of politeneſs, and ſo delicate in point of juſt behaviour; qualities one would not ex-

* Φοβερὶς ἐστιν ἀ'χρὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων, εἶτα φιλάνθρωπ@ ἀ'χρι τῶν πολεμίων.

† Πάτριον ἀυτοῖς κ᾽ σύμφυτον ἦν τὸ φιλάνθρωπον. In Pelop. p. 280.

pect

pect to find among the common people. (*n*) In the war againſt Philip of Macedon, having intercepted one of his couriers, they read all the letters he carried, excepting that of Olympias his wife, which they returned ſealed up and unopened, out of regard to conjugal love and ſecreſy, the rights of which are ſacred, and ought to be reſpected even amongſt enemies. The ſame Athenians having decreed, that a ſtrict ſearch ſhould be made after the preſents diſtributed by Harpalus amongſt the orators, would not ſuffer the houſe of Callicles, who was lately married, to be viſited, out of reſpect for his bride, not long brought home. Such behaviour is not very common, and upon like occaſions people do not ſtand much upon forms and politeneſs.

VII. The taſte of the Athenians for all arts and ſciences is too well known to require dwelling long upon it in this place. Beſides which, I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of it with ſome extent elſewhere. But we cannot ſee without admiration a people compoſed for the moſt part, as I have ſaid before, of artiſans, huſbandmen, ſoldiers, and mariners, carry delicacy of taſte in every kind to ſo high a degree of perfection, which ſeems the peculiar attribute of a more exalted condition and a noble education.

VIII. It is no leſs wonderful, that this people * ſhould have ſuch great views, and roſe ſo high in their pretenſions. In the war Alcibiades made them undertake, filled with vaſt projects and unbounded hopes, they did not confine themſelves to the taking of Syracuſe or the conqueſt of Sicily, but had already added Italy, Peloponneſus, Lybia, the Carthaginian ſtates, and the empire of the ſea to the pillars of Hercules. Their enterprize failed, but they had formed it; and the taking of Syracuſe, which ſeemed no great difficulty, might have enabled them to put it in execution.

IX. The ſame people, ſo great, and one may ſay, ſo haughty in their projects, had nothing of that cha-

(*n*) Plut. in Demetr. p. 898.

* *Μέγα φρονεῖ, μεγαλέων ὀρέγεται.* Plut.

racter in other reſpects. In what regarded the expence of the table, dreſs, furniture, private buildings, and in a word, private life, they were frugal, ſimple, modeſt, and poor; but ſumptuous and magnificent in all things public, and capable of doing honour to the ſtate. Their victories, conqueſts, wealth, and continual communication with the people of Aſia Minor, introduced neither luxury, gluttony, pomp, nor vain profuſion amongſt them. (c) Xenophon obſerves that a citizen could not be diſtinguiſhed from a ſlave by his dreſs. The richeſt inhabitants, and the moſt famous generals were not aſhamed to go to market themſelves.

It was very glorious for Athens to have produced and formed ſo many excellent perſons in the arts of war and government; in philoſophy, eloquence, poeſy, painting, ſculpture, and architecture: of having furniſhed alone more great men in every kind than any other city of the world; if perhaps we except Rome, * which had imbibed learning and arts from her, and knew how to apply her leſſons to the beſt advantage; of having been in ſome ſort the ſchool, and tutor of almoſt the whole univerſe; of having ſerved, and ſtill continuing to ſerve, as the model for nations, which pique themſelves moſt upon the excellency of taſte; in a word, of having taught the language, and preſcribed the laws of all that regards the talents and productions of the mind. The part of this hiſtory, wherein I ſhall treat the ſciences and learned men, that rendered Greece illuſtrious, with the arts alſo and thoſe who excelled in them, will ſet this in a clear light.

X. I ſhall conclude this deſcription of the Athenians with one more attribute, which cannot be denied

(c) De rep. Athen. p. 693.

* Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, & artes
Intulit agreſti Latio. *Horat. Epiſt.* 1. l. 2.

Greece taken, took her ſavage victors hearts,
And poliſhed ruſtick Latium with her arts.

them, and appears evidently in all their actions and enterprizes; and that is, their ardent love of liberty. This was their darling paſſion and great principle of policy. We ſee them from the commencement of the war with the Perſians ſacrifice every thing to the liberty of Greece. They abandon without the leaſt regret their lands, eſtates, city, and houſes, and remove to their ſhips in order to fight the common enemy, whoſe view was to enſlave them. What could be more glorious for Athens, than, when all the allies were trembling at the vaſt offers made her by the king of Perſia, to anſwer his ambaſſador by the mouth of (*p*) Ariſtides, that all the gold and ſilver in the world was not capable of tempting them to ſell their own, or the liberty of Greece. It was from ſuch generous ſentiments that the Athenians not only became the bulwark of Greece, but preſerved the reſt of Europe, and all the weſtern world from the invaſion of the Perſians.

Theſe great qualities were mingled with great defects, often the very reverſe of them, ſuch as we may imagine in a fluctuating, light, inconſtant, capricious people, as the Athenians.

SECT. VI. *Common character of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians.*

I Cannot refuſe giving a place here to what Mr. Boſſuet ſays upon the character of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. The paſſage is long, but will not appear ſo, and includes all that is wanting to a perfect knowledge of the genius of both thoſe people.

Amongſt all the republics of which Greece was compoſed, Athens and Lacedæmon were undoubtedly the principal. No people could have more wit than the Athenians, nor more ſolid ſenſe than the Lacedæmonians. Athens affected pleaſure; the Lacedæmonian way of life was hard and laborious. Both loved glory and liberty; but the liberty of Athens tended

(*p*) Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 324.

to

to licence; and controuled by ſevere laws at Lacedæmon, the more reſtrained it was at home, the more ardent it was to extend itſelf in rule abroad. Athens was alſo for reigning, but upon another principle, in which intereſt had a ſhare with glory. Her citizens excelled in the art of navigation, and the ſovereignty at ſea had enriched her. To continue in the ſole poſſeſſion of all commerce, there was nothing ſhe would not have ſubjected to her power; and her riches, which inſpired this paſſion, ſupplied her with the means of gratifying it. On the contrary, at Lacedæmon money was in contempt. As all the laws tended to make the latter a military republic, the glory of arms was the ſole object that engroſſed her citizens. From thence ſhe naturally affected dominion; and the more ſhe was above intereſt, the more ſhe abandoned herſelf to ambition.

Lacedæmon, from her regular life, was ſteady and determinate in her maxims and meaſures. Athens was more lively and active, and the people too much maſters. Their laws and philoſophy had indeed the moſt happy effects upon ſuch exquiſite natural parts as theirs, but reaſon alone was not capable of keeping them within due bounds. (q) A wiſe Athenian, who knew admirably the genius of his country, informs us that fear was neceſſary to thoſe too ardent and free ſpirits; and that it was impoſſible to govern them, after the victory at Salamin had removed their fears of the Perſians.

Two things then ruined them, the glory of their great actions, and the ſuppoſed ſecurity of their preſent condition. The magiſtrates were no longer heard, and as Perſia was afflicted with exceſſive ſlavery, ſo Athens, ſays Plato, experienced all the evils of exceſſive liberty.

Thoſe two great republics, ſo contrary in their manners and conduct, interfered with each other in

(q) Plat. l. 3. de leg.

the deſign they had each formed of ſubjecting all Greece; ſo that they were always enemies, more from the contrariety of their intereſts, than the incompatibility of their humours.

The Grecian cities were againſt ſubmitting to the dominion of either the one or the other; for, beſides the deſire of preſerving their liberty, they found the empire of thoſe two republics too grievous to bear. That of the Lacedæmonians was ſevere. That people were obſerved to have ſomething almoſt brutal in their character. (*r*) A government too rigid, and a life too laborious, rendered their tempers too haughty, auſtere and imperious in power: beſides which they could never expect to live in peace under the influence of a city, which being formed for war, could not ſupport itſelf, but by continuing perpetually in arms. (*s*) So that the Lacedæmonians were capable of attaining the command, and all the world were afraid they ſhould do ſo.

(*t*) The Athenians were naturally obliging and agreeable. Nothing was more delightful to behold than their city, in which feaſts and games were perpetual, where wit, liberty, and the various paſſions of men, daily exhibited new objects: But the inequality of their conduct diſguſted their allies, and was ſtill more inſupportable to their own ſubjects. It was impoſſible for them not to experience the extravagance and caprice of a flattered people, that is to ſay, according to Plato, ſomething more dangerous than the ſame exceſſes in a prince vitiated by flattery.

Theſe two cities did not permit Greece to continue in repoſe. We have ſeen the Peloponneſian and other wars, which were always occaſioned, or fomented, by the jealouſy of Lacedæmon and Athens. But the ſame jealouſies which involved Greece in troubles, ſupported it in ſome meaſure, and prevented its falling

(*r*) Ariſtot. Polit. l. 1. p. 4. (*s*) Xenoph. de rep. Lacon.
(*t*) Plat. de rep. l. 8.

into

into the dependance of either the one or the other of thoſe republics.

The Perſians ſoon perceived this condition of Greece, and accordingly the whole myſtery of their politics conſiſted in keeping up thoſe jealouſies, and fomenting thoſe diviſions. Lacedæmon, which was the moſt ambitious, was the firſt that gave them occaſion to enter into the quarrels of the Greeks. They engaged in them from the ſole view of making themſelves maſters of the whole nation; and induſtrious to weaken the Greeks by their own arms, they waited only the opportunity to cruſh them all together. (*u*) The ſtates of Greece in their wars already regarded only the king of Perſia, whom they called the Great King, or *the king*, by way of eminence, as if they had already been of the number of his ſubjects. But it was impoſſible that the antient ſpirit of Greece ſhould not revive, when they were upon the point of falling into ſlavery, and the hands of the Barbarians.

The petty kings of Greece undertook to oppoſe this great king, and to ruin his empire. (*x*) With a ſmall army, but bred in the diſcipline we have related, Ageſilaus king of Sparta, made the Perſians tremble in Aſia Minor, and ſhewed it was not impoſſible to ſubvert their power. The diviſions of Greece alone put a ſtop to his conqueſts. The famous retreat of the ten thouſand, who after the death of young Cyrus, made their way in a hoſtile manner through the whole Perſian empire, and returned into their own country; that action, I ſay, demonſtrated to Greece more than ever, that their ſoldiery was invincible, and ſuperior to all oppoſers; and that only their domeſtic diviſions could ſubject them to an enemy too weak to reſiſt their united force.

We ſhall ſee in the ſeries of this hiſtory, by what methods Philip king of Macedon, taking advantage of theſe diviſions, came at length, between addreſs and force, to make himſelf little leſs than the ſovereign of

(*u*) Plat. l. 3. de leg. Iſocrat. Panegyr. (*x*) Polyb. l. 3.

Greece,

Greece, and to oblige the whole nation to march under his colours againſt the common enemy. What he had only planned, his ſon Alexander brought to perfection; and ſhewed the wondering world, how much ability and valour avail againſt the moſt numerous armies and the moſt formidable preparations.

After theſe reflections upon the government and principal people of Greece, as well in war as peace, and upon their different characters, it remains for me to ſpeak of their religion, with which head the next volume will begin.

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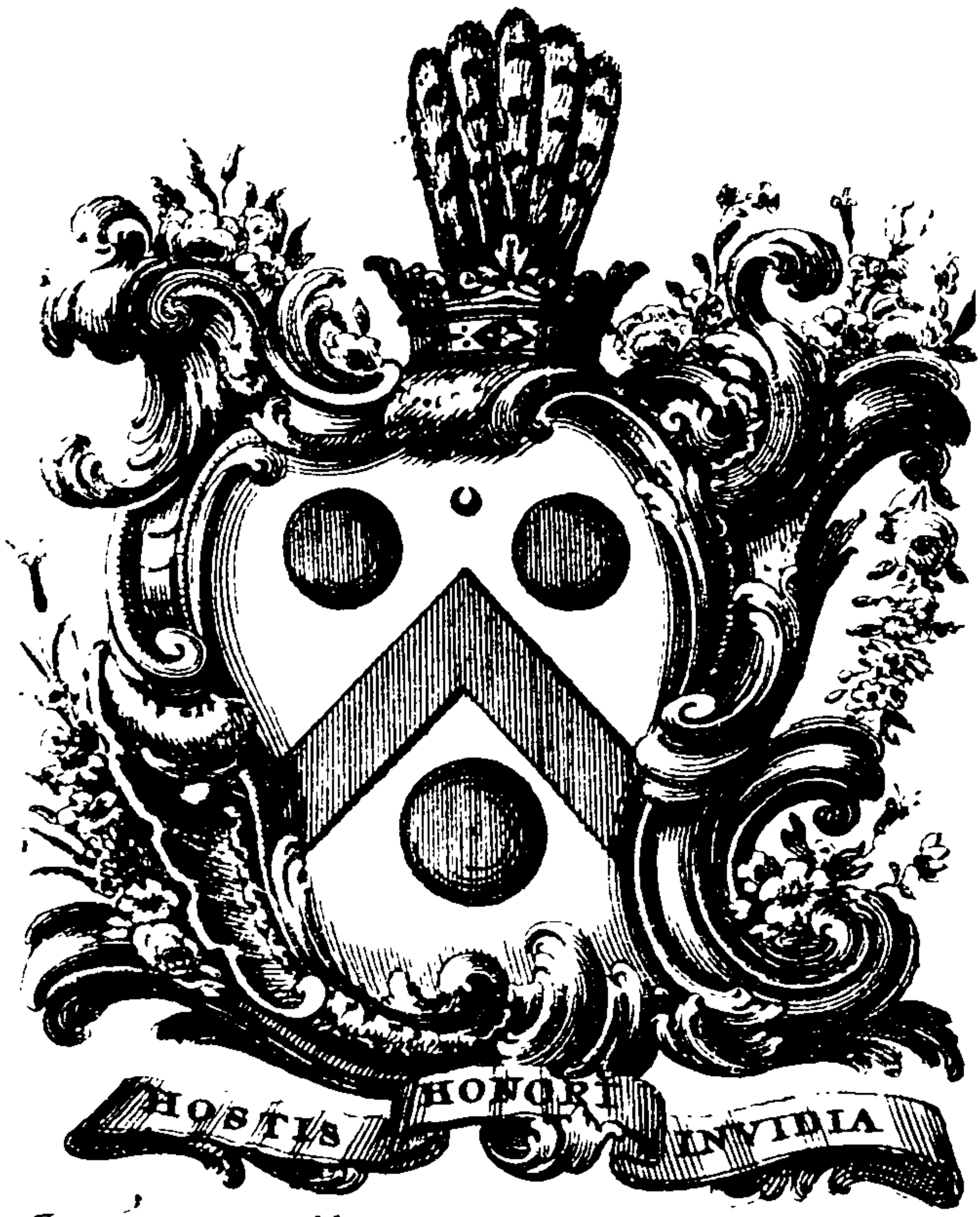
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THE ANTIENT
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CHAPTER III.
Of RELIGION.

IT may be obſerved hitherto, and will be further remarkable as we proceed, that in all ages and regions the ſeveral nations of the world, however various and oppoſite in their characters, inclinations, and manners, have always united in one eſſential point; the inherent opinion of an adoration due to a ſupreme being, and of external methods neceſſary to evidence ſuch a belief. Into whatever country we caſt our eyes, we find prieſts, altars, ſacrifices, feſtivals, religious ceremonies, temples or places conſecrated to religious worſhip. In every people we diſcover a reverence and awe of the divinity; an homage and honour paid to him, and an open profeſſion of an entire dependance upon him in all their undertakings and neceſſities, in all their adverſities and dangers. Incapable of themſelves to penetrate futurity,

and to aſcertain events in their own favour, we find them intent upon conſulting the Divinity by oracles, and by other methods of a like nature; and to merit his protection by prayers, vows, and offerings. It is by the ſame ſupreme authority they believe the moſt ſolemn treaties are rendered inviolable. It is that gives ſanction to their oaths; and to that by imprecations is referred the puniſhment of ſuch crimes and enormities, as eſcape the knowledge and power of men. On their private occaſions, voyages, journeys, marriages, diſeaſes, the Divinity is ſtill invoked. With him their every repaſt begins and ends. No war is declared, no battle fought, no enterprize formed, without his aid being firſt implored; to which the glory of the ſucceſs is conſtantly aſcribed by publick acts of thankſgiving, and by the oblation of the moſt precious of the ſpoils, which they never fail to ſet apart as the indiſpenſable right of the Divinity.

They never vary in regard to the foundation of this belief. If ſome few perſons, depraved by bad philoſophy, preſume from time to time to riſe up againſt this doctrine, they are immediately diſclaimed by the publick voice. They continue ſingular and alone, without making parties, or forming ſects: The whole weight of the publick authority falls upon them; a price is ſet upon their heads; whilſt they are univerſally regarded as execrable perſons, the bane of civil ſociety, with whom it is criminal to have any kind of commerce.

So general, ſo uniform, ſo perpetual a conſent of all the nations of the univerſe, which neither the prejudice of the paſſions, the falſe reaſoning of ſome philoſophers, nor the authority and example of certain princes, have ever been able to weaken or vary, can proceed only from a firſt principle, which ſhares in the nature of man; from an inherent ſenſe implanted in his heart by the author of his being, and from an original tradition as antient as the world itſelf.

Such were the ſource and origin of the religion of

the antients; truly worthy of man, had he been capable of perſiſting in the purity and ſimplicity of theſe firſt principles: but the errors of the mind, and the vices of the heart, thoſe ſad effects of the corruption of human nature, ſtrangely disfigured their original beauty. They are but feint rays, ſmall ſparks of light, that a general depravity does not utterly extinguiſh; but they are incapable of diſpelling the profound darkneſs of a night, which prevails almoſt univerſally, and preſents nothing to view, but abſurdities, follies, extravagancies, licentiouſneſs, and diſorder, in a word, an hideous chaos of frantick exceſſes and enormous vices.

Can any thing be more admirable than theſe maxims of Cicero*? That we ought above all things to be convinced that there is a ſupreme being, who preſides over all the events of the world, and diſpoſes every thing as ſovereign lord and arbiter: that it is to him mankind are indebted for all the good they enjoy: that he penetrates into, and is conſcious of, whatever paſſes in the moſt ſecret receſſes of our hearts: that he treats the juſt and the impious according to their reſpective merits: that the true means of acquiring his favour, and of being pleaſing in his ſight, is not by the uſe of riches and magnificence in his worſhip, but by preſenting him an heart pure and blameleſs, and by adoring him with an unfeigned and profound veneration.

Sentiments ſo ſublime and religious were the reſult of the reflections of the few, who employed themſelves in the ſtudy of the heart of man, and in tracing him to the firſt principles of his inſtitution, of which they ſtill retained ſome happy, though imperfect, ideas.

* Sit hoc jam à principio perſuaſum civibus: dominos eſſe omnium rerum ac moderatores deos, eaque quæ geruntur eorum geri judicio ac numine; eoſdemque optimè de genere hominum mereri; et, qualis quiſque ſit, quid agat, quid in ſe admittat, qua mente, qua pietate religiones colat, intueri; piorumque et impiorum habere rationem——Ad divos adeunto caſte. Pietatem adhibento, opes amovento. *Cic. de leg.* l. 2. n. 15 & 19.

But the whole ſyſtem of their religion, the tendency of their public feaſts and ceremonies, the ſoul of the Pagan Theology, of which the poets were the only teachers and profeſſors, the very example of the gods, whoſe violent paſſions, ſcandalous adventures, and abominable crimes were celebrated in their hymns or odes, and propoſed in ſome meaſure to the imitation, as well as adoration, of the people; theſe were certainly very unfit means to enlighten the minds of men, and to form them to virtue and morality.

It is remarkable, that in the greateſt ſolemnities of the Pagan religion, and in their moſt ſacred and reverend myſteries, far from perceiving any thing to recommend virtue, piety, or the practice of the moſt eſſential duties of ordinary life, we find the authority of laws, the imperious power of cuſtom, the preſence of magiſtrates, the aſſembly of all orders of the ſtate, the example of fathers and mothers, all conſpire to train up a whole nation from their infancy in an impure and ſacrilegious worſhip, under the name and in a manner under the ſanction of religion itſelf; as we ſhall ſoon ſee in the ſequel.

After theſe general reflections upon Paganiſm, it is time to proceed to a particular account of the religion of the Greeks. I ſhall reduce this ſubject, though infinite in itſelf, to four articles, which are, 1. The feaſts. 2. The oracles, augurs, and divinations. 3. The games and combats. 4. The publick ſhews and repreſentations of the theatre. In each of theſe articles, I ſhall treat only of what appears moſt worthy of the reader's curioſity, and has moſt relation to this hiſtory. I omit ſaying any thing of ſacrifices, having given a ſufficient idea of them * elſewhere.

* *Manner of teaching*, &c. Vol. I.

ARTI-

ARTICLE I.

Of the feaſts.

AN infinite number of feaſts were celebrated in the ſeveral cities of Greece, and eſpecially at Athens, of which I ſhall only deſcribe three of the moſt famous, the Panathenea, the feaſts of Bacchus, and thoſe of Eleuſis.

SECT. I. *The Panathenea.*

THIS feaſt was celebrated at Athens in honour of Minerva, the tutelary goddeſs of that city, to which ſhe gave her * name, as well as to the feaſt we ſpeak of. Its inſtitution was antient, and it was called at firſt Athenea; but after Theſeus had united the ſeveral towns of Attica into one city, it took the name of Panathenea. Theſe feaſts were of two kinds, the great and the leſs, which were ſolemnized with almoſt the ſame ceremonies; the leſs annually, and the great upon the expiration of every fourth year.

In theſe feaſts were exhibited racing, the Gymnic combats, and the contentions for the prizes of muſic and poetry. Ten commiſſaries elected from the ten tribes preſided on this occaſion to regulate the forms, and diſtribute the rewards to the victors. This feſtival continued ſeveral days.

The firſt day in the morning a race was run on foot, each of the runners carrying a lighted torch in his hand, which they exchanged continually with each other without interrupting their race. They ſtarted from Ceramicus, one of the ſuburbs of Athens, and croſſed the whole city. The firſt that came to the goal, without having put out his torch, carried the prize. In the afternoon they ran the ſame courſe on horſeback.

The Gymnic, or Athletic combats followed the races. The place for that exerciſe was upon the banks

* Ἀθήνη.

of the Iliſſus, a ſmall river, which runs through Athens, and empties itſelf into the ſea at the Piræus.

Pericles inſtituted the prize of muſic. In this diſpute were ſung the praiſes of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, who delivered Athens from the tyranny of the Piſiſtratides; to which was afterwards added the elogium of Thraſibulus, who expelled the thirty tyrants. 'Theſe diſputes were not only warm amongſt the muſicians, but much more ſo amongſt the poets, and it was highly glorious to be declared victor in them. Æſchylus is reported to have died with grief upon ſeeing the prize adjudged to Sophocles, who was much younger than himſelf.

Theſe exerciſes were followed by a general proceſſion, wherein a ſail was carried with great pomp and ceremony, on which were curiouſly delineated the warlike actions of Pallas againſt the Titans and giants. That ſail was affixed to a veſſel, which was called by the name of the goddeſs. The veſſel, equipped with ſails and with a thouſand oars, was conducted from Ceramicus to the temple of Eleuſis, not by horſes or beaſts of draught, but by machines concealed in the bottom of it, which put the oars in motion, and made the veſſel glide along.

The march was ſolemn and majeſtic. At the head of it were old men, who carried olive-branches in their hands, θαλλοφόροι; and theſe were choſen for the goodneſs of their ſhape and the vigour of their complexion. Athenian matrons, of great age alſo, accompanied them in the ſame equipage.

The grown and robuſt men formed the ſecond claſs. They were armed at all points, and had bucklers and lances. After them came the ſtrangers, that inhabited Athens, carrying mattocks, inſtruments proper for tillage. Next followed the Athenian women of the ſame age, attended by the foreigners of their own ſex, carrying veſſels in their hands for the drawing of water.

The third claſs was compoſed of the young perſons

of

of both ſexes, and of the beſt families in the city. The youth wore veſts, with crowns upon their heads, and ſang a peculiar hymn in honour of the goddeſs. The maids carried baſkets, in which were placed the ſacred utenſils proper to the ceremony, covered with veils to keep them from the ſight of the ſpectators. The perſon, to whoſe care thoſe ſacred things were entruſted, was to have obſerved an exact continence for ſeveral days before he touched them, or diſtributed them to the Athenian virgins; * or rather, as Demoſthenes ſays, his whole life and conduct ought to have been a perfect model of virtue and purity. It was an high honour to a young woman to be choſen for ſo noble and auguſt an office, and an inſupportable affront to be deemed unworthy of it. We have ſeen, that Hipparchus treated the ſiſter of Harmodius with this indignity, which extremely incenſed the conſpirators againſt the Piſiſtratides. Theſe Athenian virgins were followed by the foreign young women, who carried umbrella's and ſeats for them.

The children of both ſexes cloſed the pomp of the proceſſion.

In this auguſt ceremony, the ῥαψῳδοὶ were appointed to ſing certain verſes of Homer; a manifeſt proof of their eſtimation for the works of that poet, even with regard to religion. Hipparchus, ſon of Piſiſtratus, firſt introduced that cuſtom.

I have obſerved elſewhere, that in the Gymnic games of this feaſt an herald proclaimed, that the people of Athens had conferred a crown of gold upon the celebrated phyſician Hippocrates, in gratitude for the ſignal ſervices, which he had rendered the ſtate during the peſtilence.

In this feſtival the people of Athens put themſelves, and the whole republic under the protection of Minerva, the tutelary goddeſs of their city, and implored of her all kind of proſperity. From the battle

* Οὐχὶ προειρημένον ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν ἀγνεύειν μόνον, ἀλλὰ τὸν βίον ὅλον ἁγνευκέναι. Demoſt. in extrema Ariſtocratia.

of Marathon, in theſe public acts of worſhip, expreſs mention was made of the Platæans, and they were joined in all things with the people of Athens.

SECT. II. *Feaſts of Bacchus.*

THE worſhip of Bacchus had been brought out of Egypt to Athens, where ſeveral feaſts had been eſtabliſhed in honour of that god; two particularly more remarkable than all the reſt, called the great and the leſs feaſts of Bacchus. The latter were a kind of preparation for the former, and were celebrated in the open field about autumn. They were named Lenea, from a Greek word (*a*) that ſignifies a wine-preſs. The great feaſts were commonly called Dionyſia, from one of the names of that god (*b*), and were ſolemnized in the ſpring within the city.

In each of theſe feaſts the public were entertained with games, ſhews and dramatic repreſentations, which were attended with a vaſt concourſe of people, and exceeding magnificence; as will be ſeen hereafter. At the ſame time the poets diſputed the prize of poetry, ſubmitting to the judgment of arbitrators expreſsly choſen, their pieces, whether tragic or comic, which were then repreſented before the people.

Theſe feaſts continued many days. Thoſe, who were initiated, mimicked whatever the poets had thought fit to feign of the god Bacchus. They covered themſelves with the ſkins of wild beaſts, carried a Thyrſus in their hands, a kind of pike with ivy-leaves twiſted round it. They had drums, horns, pipes, and other inſtruments proper to make a great noiſe; and wore upon their heads wreaths of ivy and vine-branches, and of other trees ſacred to Bacchus. Some repreſented Silenus, ſome Pan, others the Satyrs, all dreſt in ſuitable maſquerade. Many of them were mounted on aſſes; others dragged * goats along for ſacrifices. Men and women ridiculouſly tranſ-

(*a*) Ληνὸς. (*b*) Dionyſus.

* *Goats were ſacrificed becauſe they ſpoiled the vines.*

formed

formed in this manner, appeared night and day in public; and imitating drunkenneſs, and dancing with the moſt indecent poſtures, ran in throngs about the mountains and foreſts, ſcreaming and howling furiouſly; the women eſpecially ſeemed more outragious than the men; and quite out of their ſenſes in their † furious tranſports, invoked the god, whoſe feaſt they celebrated, with loud cries: ἐυοῖ Βάκχε, or ὦ Ἴακχε, or Ἰόβακχε, or Ἰὼ Βάκχε.

This troop of Bacchanalians was followed by the virgins of the nobleſt families in the city, who were called κανηφόροι, from carrying baskets on their heads, covered with vine and ivy leaves.

To theſe ceremonies others were added, obſcene to the laſt exceſs, and worthy of the god, who could be honoured in ſuch a manner. The ſpectators were no ſchiſmatics: They gave into the prevailing humour, and were ſeized with the ſame frantic ſpirit. Nothing was ſeen but dancing, drunkenneſs, debauchery, and all that the moſt abandoned licentiouſneſs could conceive of groſs and abominable. And this an entire people, reputed the wiſeſt of all Greece, not only ſuffered, but admired and practiſed. I ſay an entire people; for ‖ Plato ſpeaking of the Bacchanals, ſays in direct terms, that he had ſeen the whole city of Athens drunk at once.

(c) Livy informs us, that this licentiouſneſs of the Bacchanalians having ſecretly crept into Rome, the moſt horrid diſorders were committed there under the cover of the night; beſides which, all perſons, who were initiated into theſe impure and abominable myſteries, were obliged, under the moſt horrid imprecations, to keep them inviolably ſecret. The ſenate, being apprized of the affair, put a ſtop to thoſe ſacrilegious feaſts by the moſt ſevere penalties; and firſt

(c) Liv. l. 39. n. 8, 18.

† *From this fury of the Bacchanalians theſe feaſts were called* Orgia. Ὀργὴ, *ira, furor.*

‖ Πᾶσαν ἐθεασάμην τὴν πόλιν περὶ τὰ Διονύσια μεθυουσαν. Lib. 1. de leg. p. 637.

baniſhed the practiſers of them from Rome, and afterwards from Italy. Theſe examples inform us, * how far a miſtaken ſenſe of religion, that covers the greateſt crimes with the ſacred name of the Divinity, is capable of miſleading the mind of man.

SECT. III. *The feaſt of Eleuſis.*

THERE is nothing in all the Pagan antiquity more celebrated than the feaſt of Ceres Eleuſina. The ceremonies of this feſtival were called by way of eminence, the myſteries; from being, according to Pauſanias, as much above all others, as the gods are above men. Their origin and inſtitution are attributed to Ceres herſelf; who, in the reign of Erechtheus, coming to Eleuſis, a ſmall town of Attica, in ſearch of her daughter Proſerpine, whom Pluto had carried away, and finding the country afflicted with a famine, ſhe invented corn as a remedy for that evil, with which ſhe rewarded the inhabitants. † She not only taught them the uſe of corn, but inſtructed them in the principles of probity, charity, civility, and humanity; from whence her myſteries were called θεσμοφόρια and *Initia*. To theſe firſt happy leſſons fabulous antiquity aſcribed the courteſy, politeneſs, and urbanity, ſo remarkable amongſt the Athenians.

Theſe myſteries were divided into the leſs and the greater; of which the former ſerved as a preparation for the latter. The leſs were ſolemnized in the month Antheſtérion, which anſwers to our November; the

* Nihil in ſpeciem fallaciùs eſt quam prava religio, ubi deorum numen prætenditur ſceleribus. *Liv.* ib'd. n. 16.

† Multa eximia divinaque videntur Athenæ tuæ peperiſſe, atque in vitam hominum attuliſſe; tum nihil melius illis myſteriis, quibus ex agreſti immanique vita exculti ad humanitatem et mitigati ſumus, initiaque ut appellantur, ita re vera principia vitæ cognovimus. *Cic.* l. 2. de leg. n. 36.

Neque Ceres, et Libera, quarum ſacra, ſicut opiniones hominum ac religiones ferunt, longè maximis atque occultiſſimis ceremoniis continentur: à quibus initia vitæ atque victus, legum, morum, manſuetudinis, humanitatis exempla hominibus et civitatibus data ac diſpertita eſſe dicuntur. *Id. Cic. in Verr. de ſupplic.* n. 186.

great

great in the month Boedromion, or Auguſt. Only Athenians were admitted to theſe myſteries; but of them each ſex, age, and condition had a right to be received. All ſtrangers were abſolutely excluded; ſo that Hercules, Caſtor and Pollux, were obliged to be adopted by Athenians in order to their admiſſion; which however extended only to the leſſer myſteries. I ſhall conſider principally the great, which were celebrated at Eleuſis.

Thoſe who demanded to be initiated into them, were obliged before their reception to purify themſelves in the leſſer myſteries, by bathing in the river Iliſſus, by ſaying certain prayers, offering ſacrifices, and above all by living in a ſtrict continence during an interval of time preſcribed them. That time was employed in inſtructing them in the principles and elements of the ſacred doctrine of the great myſteries.

When the time for their initiation arrived, they were brought into the temple; and to inſpire the greater reverence and terror, the ceremony was performed in the night. Wonderful things paſſed upon this occaſion. Viſions were ſeen, and voices heard of an extraordinary kind. A ſudden ſplendor diſpelled the darkneſs of the place, and diſappearing immediately, added new horrors to the gloom. Apparitions, claps of thunder, earthquakes improved the terror and amazement; whilſt the perſon admitted, ſtupid, ſweating through fear, heard trembling the myſterious volumes read to him, if in ſuch a condition he was capable of hearing at all. Theſe nocturnal rites were attended with many diſorders, which the ſevere law of ſilence, impoſed upon the perſons initiated, prevented from coming to light, * as St. Gregory Nazianzen obſerves. What cannot ſuperſtition effect upon the mind of man, when once his imagination is heated? The preſident in this ceremony was called

* Οἷόν ἐν Ἐλευσὶν ταῦτα, καὶ ἄντων ἀξίων ἐπόπται. Orat. de ὁι τῶν σιωπωμένων καὶ σιωπῆς ſacr. lumin.

Hiero-

Hierophantes. He wore a peculiar habit, and was not admitted to marry. The firſt who ſerved in this function, and whom Ceres herſelf inſtructed, was Eumolpus; from whom his ſucceſſors were called Eumolpides. He had three collegues; (*d*) one who carried a torch; another an herald, (*e*) whoſe office was to pronounce certain myſterious words, and a third to attend at the altar.

Beſides theſe officers, one of the principal magiſtrates of the city was appointed to take care that all the ceremonies of this feaſt were exactly obſerved. He was called the king (*f*), and was one of the nine Archons. His buſineſs was to offer prayers and ſacrifices. The people gave him four aſſiſtants (*g*), one choſen from the family of the Eumolpides, a ſecond from that of the Cerycians, and the two laſt from two other families. He had, beſides, ten other miniſters to aſſiſt him in the diſcharge of his duty, and particularly in offering ſacrifices, from whence they derived their name (*h*).

'The Athenians initiated their children of both ſexes very early into theſe myſteries, and would have thought it criminal to have let them die without ſuch an advantage. It was their general opinion, that this ceremony was an engagement to lead a more virtuous and regular life; that it recommended them to the peculiar protection of the goddeſſes, to whoſe ſervice they devoted themſelves; and was the means to a more perfect and certain happineſs in the other world: whilſt on the contrary, ſuch as had not been initiated, beſides the evils they had to apprehend in this life, were doomed after their deſcent to the ſhades below, to wallow eternally in dirt, filth and excrement. (*i*) Diogenes the Cynic believed nothing of the matter, and when his friends endeavoured to perſuade him to avoid ſuch a misfortune by being initiated before

(*d*) Δαδοῦχος. (*e*) Κῆρυξ. (*f*) Βασιλεὺς.
(*g*) Ἐπιμελητάι. (*h*) Ἱεροποιοί.
(*i*) Diogen. Laert. l. 6. p. 389.

his

his death; What, ſaid he, ſhall Ageſilaus and Epaminondas lie amongſt mud and dung, whilſt the vileſt Athenians, becauſe they have been initiated, poſſeſs the moſt diſtinguiſhed places in the regions of the bleſſed? Socrates was not more credulous. He would not be initiated into theſe myſteries; which was perhaps one reaſon, that rendered his religion ſuſpected.

(*k*) Without this qualification none were admitted to enter the temple of Ceres; and Livy informs us of two Acarnanians, who, having followed the crowd into it upon one of the feaſt-days, although out of miſtake and with no ill deſign, were both put to death without mercy. It was alſo a capital crime to divulge the ſecrets and myſteries of this feaſt. Upon this account Diagoras the Melian was proſcribed, and had a reward ſet upon his head. He intended to have made the ſecret coſt the poet Æſchylus his life, from ſpeaking too freely of it in ſome of his tragedies. The diſgrace of Alcibiades proceeded from the ſame cauſe. * Whoever had violated the ſecret was avoided as a wretch accurſed, and excommunicated. (*l*) Pauſanias in ſeveral paſſages, wherein he mentions the temple of Eleuſis, and the ceremonies practiſed there, ſtops ſhort, and declares he cannot proceed, becauſe he had been forbade by a dream or viſion.

This feaſt, the moſt celebrated of prophane antiquity, was of nine days continuance. It began the fifteenth of the month Boedromion. After ſome previous ceremonies and ſacrifices on the firſt three days,

(*k*) Liv. l. 31. n. 14. (*l*) Lib. 1. p. 26 & 71.

* Eſt et fideli tuta ſilentio
Merces. Vetabo qui Cereris ſacrum
Vulgarit arcanæ, ſub iiſdem
Sit trabibus, fragilemque mecum
Solvat phaſelum. *Hor. Od. 2. l. 3.*

Safe is the ſilent tongue, which none can blame,
The faithful Secret merit fame:
Beneath one roof ne'er let him reſt with me,
Who Ceres myſteries *reveals,*
In one frail bark ne'er let us put to ſea,
Nor tempt the jarring winds with ſpreading ſails.

upon

upon the fourth in the evening began the proceſſion of *the Basket*; which was laid upon an open chariot ſlowly drawn by oxen *, and followed by great numbers of the Athenian women. They all carried myſterious baſkets in their hands, filled with ſeveral things, which they took great care to conceal, and covered with a veil of purple. This ceremony repreſented the baſket, into which Proſerpine put the flowers ſhe was gathering, when Pluto ſeized and carried her off.

The fifth day was called the day of *the Torches*; becauſe at night the men and women ran about with them in imitation of Ceres, who having lighted a torch at the fire of mount Ætna, wandered about from place to place in ſearch of her daughter.

The ſixth was the moſt famous day of all. It was called Iacchus, the name of Bacchus, ſon of Jupiter and Ceres, whoſe ſtatue was then brought out with great ceremony, crowned with myrtle, and holding a torch in its hand. The proceſſion began at Ceramicus, and paſſing through the principal places of the city, continued to Eleuſis. The way leading to it was called *the ſacred way*, and lay croſs a bridge over the river Cephiſus. This proceſſion was very numerous and generally conſiſted of thirty thouſand perſons. (*m*) The temple of Eleuſis, where it ended, was large enough to contain the whole multitude; and Strabo ſays, its extent was equal to that of theatres, which every body knows were capable of holding a much greater number of people. The whole way reſounded with the ſound of trumpets, clarions, and other muſical inſtruments. Hymns were ſung in honour of the goddeſſes, accompanied with dancing, and other extraordinary marks of rejoicing. The rout before-mentioned, through the ſacred way and over the Cephiſus, was the uſual way: but after the Lacedæmo-

(*m*) Her. l. 8. c. 65. l. 9. p. 395.

* Tardaque Eleuſinæ matris volventia plauſtra.

Virg. Geor. lib. 1. *ver.* 163.

The Eleuſinian mother's myſtic car
Slow-rolling———

nians

nians in the Peloponneſian war had fortified Decelia, the Athenians were obliged to make their proceſſion by ſea, till Alcibiades re-eſtabliſhed the antient cuſtom.

The ſeventh day was ſolemnized by games, and the Gymnic combats, in which the victor was rewarded with a meaſure of barley, without doubt becauſe it was at Eleuſis the goddeſs firſt taught the method of raiſing that grain, and the uſe of it. The two following days were employed in ſome particular ceremonies, neither important nor remarkable.

During this feſtival it was prohibited under very great penalties to arreſt any perſon whatſoever, in order to their being impriſoned, or to preſent any bill of complaint to the judges. It was regularly celebrated every fifth year, that is, after a revolution of four years; and no hiſtory obſerves that it was ever interrupted, except upon the taking of Thebes by Alexander the Great (*n*). The Athenians, who were then upon the point of celebrating the great myſteries, were ſo much affected with the ruin of that city, that they could not reſolve in ſo general an affliction to ſolemnize a feſtival, which breathed nothing but merriment and rejoicing. (*o*) It was continued down to the time of the chriſtian emperors; and Valentinian would have aboliſhed it, if Prætextatus, the proconſul of Greece, had not repreſented, in the moſt lively and affecting terms, the univerſal ſorrow, which the abrogation of that feaſt would occaſion among the people; upon which it was ſuffered to ſubſiſt. It is ſuppoſed to have been finally ſuppreſſed by Theodoſius the Great; as were all the reſt of the Pagan ſolemnities.

ARTICLE II.

Of Augurs, Oracles, &c.

NOTHING is more frequently mentioned in antient hiſtory, than oracles, augurs, and divi-

(*n*) Plut. in vit. Alex. p. 671.

(*o*) Zoſim. hiſt. l. 4.

nations.

nations. No war was made, or colony ſettled; nothing of conſequence was undertaken, either public or private, without the gods being firſt conſulted. This was a cuſtom univerſally eſtabliſhed amongſt the Egyptian, Aſſyrian, Grecian, and Roman nations; which is no doubt a proof, as has been already obſerved, of its being derived from antient tradition, and that it had its origin in the religion and worſhip of the true God. It is not indeed to be queſtioned but that God before the deluge did manifeſt his will to mankind in different methods, as he has ſince done to his people, ſometimes in his own perſon and *vivâ voce*, ſometimes by the miniſtry of angels or of prophets inſpired by himſelf, and at other times by apparitions or in dreams. When the deſcendants of Noah diſperſed themſelves into different regions, they carried this tradition along with them, which was every where retained, though altered and corrupted by the darkneſs and ignorance of idolatry. None of the antients have inſiſted more upon the neceſſity of conſulting the gods on all occaſions by augurs and oracles than Xenophon; and he founds that neceſſity, as I have more than once obſerved elſewhere, upon a principle deduced from the moſt refined reaſon and diſcernment. He repreſents, in ſeveral places, that man of himſelf is very frequently ignorant of what is advantagious or pernicious to him; that far from being capable of penetrating the future, the preſent itſelf eſcapes him, ſo narrow and ſhort-ſighted is he in all his views; that the ſlighteſt obſtacles can fruſtrate his greateſt deſigns; that only the divinity, to whom all ages are preſent, can impart a certain knowledge of the future to him; that no other being has power to facilitate the ſucceſs of his enterprizes, and that it is reaſonable to believe he will guide and protect thoſe, who adore him with the pureſt affection, who invoke him at all times with greateſt conſtancy and fidelity, and conſult him with moſt ſincerity and reſignation.

SECT.

SECT. I. *Of Augurs.*

WHAT a reproach is it to human reaſon, that ſo bright and luminous a principle ſhould have given birth to the abſurd reaſonings, and wretched notions in favour of the ſcience of augurs and ſoothſayers, and been the occaſion of eſpouſing with blind devotion the moſt ridiculous puerilities: To make the moſt important affairs of ſtate depend upon a bird's happening to ſing upon the right or left hand; upon the greedineſs of chickens in pecking their grain; the inſpection of the entrails of beaſts; the liver's being intire and in good condition, which, according to them, did ſometimes entirely diſappear, without leaving any trace or mark of its having ever ſubſiſted! To theſe ſuperſtitious obſervances may be added, accidental rencounters, words ſpoken by chance, and afterwards turned into good or bad preſages, forebodings, prodigies, monſters, eclipſes, comets, every extraordinary phænomenon, every unforeſeen accident, with an infinity of chimæras of the like nature.

Whence could it happen, that ſo many great men, illuſtrious generals, able politicians, and even learned philoſophers, have actually given into ſuch abſurd imaginations? Plutarch, in particular, ſo eſtimable in other reſpects, is to be pitied for his ſervile obſervance of the ſenſeleſs cuſtoms of the Pagan idolatry, and his ridiculous credulity in dreams, ſigns, and prodigies. He tells us ſomewhere, that he abſtained a great while from eating eggs upon account of a dream, with which he has not thought fit to make us further acquainted.

The wiſeſt of the Pagans did not want a juſt ſenſe of the art of divination, and often ſpoke of it to each other, and even in public, with the utmoſt contempt, and in a manner ſufficiently expreſſive of its ridicule. The grave cenſor Cato was of opinion, that one ſoothſayer could not look at another without laughing. Hannibal was amazed at the ſimplicity of Pruſias, whom

whom he had adviſed to give battle, upon his being diverted from it by the inſpection of the entrails of a victim. What, ſaid he, have you more confidence in the liver of a beaſt, than in ſo old and experienced a captain, as I am? Marcellus, who had been five times conſul, and was augur, ſaid, that he had diſcovered a method of not being put to a ſtand by the ſiniſter flight of birds, which was to keep himſelf cloſe ſhut up in his litter.

Cicero explains himſelf upon augury without ambiguity or reſerve. No body was more capable of ſpeaking pertinently upon it than himſelf; (as Mr. Morin obſerves in his diſſertation upon the ſame ſubject.) As he was adopted into the college of augurs, he had made himſelf acquainted with the moſt concealed of their ſecrets, and had all poſſible opportunity of informing himſelf fully in their ſcience. That he did ſo, ſufficiently appears from the two books he has left us upon divination, in which it may be ſaid, he has exhauſted the ſubject. In his ſecond, wherein he refutes his brother Quintus, who had eſpouſed the cauſe of the augurs, he diſputes and defeats his falſe reaſonings with a force, and at the ſame time with ſo refined and delicate a raillery, as leaves us nothing to wiſh; and he demonſtrates by proofs, that riſe upon each other in their force, the falſity, contrariety, and impoſſibility of that art. * But what is very ſurprizing, in the midſt of all his arguments, he takes occaſion to blame the generals, and magiſtrates, who on important conjunctures had contemned the prognoſtics; and maintains, that the uſe of them, as great an abuſe as it was in his own ſenſe, ought nevertheleſs to be reſpect-

* Errabat multis in rebus antiquitas: quam vel uſu jam, vel doctrina, vel vetuſtate immutatam videmus. Retinetur autem et ad opinionem vulgi, et ad magnas utilitates reip. mos, religio, diſciplina, jus augurum, collegii auctoritas. Nec vero non omni ſupplicio digni P. Claudius, L. Junius conſules, qui contra auſpicia navigârunt. Parendum enim fuit religioni, nec patrius mos tam contumaciter repudiandus. *Divin.* l. 2. n. 70, 71.

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ed out of regard to religion, and the prejudice of the people.

All that I have hitherto ſaid tends to prove, that Paganiſm was divided into two ſects, almoſt equally enemies of religion; the one by their ſuperſtitious and blind regard for the augurs, the other by their irreligious contempt, and deriſion of them.

The principle of the firſt, founded on one ſide upon the ignorance and weakneſs of man in the affairs of life, and on the other upon the preſcience of the divinity, and his almighty providence, was true; but the conſequence deduced from it, in regard to the augurs, falſe and abſurd. They ought to have proved that it was certain, the divinity himſelf had eſtabliſhed theſe external ſigns to denote his intentions, and that he had obliged himſelf to a punctual conformity to them upon all occaſions: But they had nothing of this kind in their ſyſtem. The augurs and ſoothſayers therefore were the effect and invention of the ignorance, raſhneſs, curioſity, and blind paſſions of man, who preſumed to interrogate God, and would oblige him to give anſwers upon his every idle imagination and unjuſt enterprize.

The others, who gave no real credit to any thing advanced by the ſcience of the augurs, did not fail however to obſerve their trivial ceremonies out of policy, for the better ſubjecting the minds of the people to themſelves, and to reconcile them to their own purpoſes by the aſſiſtance of ſuperſtition: but by their contempt for the augurs, and the entire conviction of their falſity, they were led into a diſbelief of the divine providence, and to deſpiſe religion itſelf; conceiving it inſeparable from the numerous abſurdities of this kind, which rendered it ridiculous, and conſequently unworthy of a man of ſenſe.

Both the one and the other behaved in this manner, becauſe having miſtaken the creator, and abuſed the light of nature which might have taught them to know and to adore him, they were deſervedly abandoned to

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their own darkneſs and abſurd opinions; and if we had not been enlightned by the true religion, even at this day we might have given ourſelves up to the ſame ſuperſtitions.

SECT. II. *Of Oracles.*

NO country was ever richer in, or more productive of oracles than Greece. I ſhall confine myſelf to thoſe which were the moſt noted.

The oracle of Dodona, a city of the Moloſſians, was much celebrated; where Jupiter gave anſwers either by vocal * oaks, or doves, which had alſo their language, or by reſounding baſons of braſs, or by the mouths of prieſts and prieſteſſes.

(*p*) The oracles of Trophonius in Bœotia, though he was only a ſimple hero, was in great reputation. After many preliminary ceremonies, as waſhing in the river, offering ſacrifices, drinking a water, called Lethe from its quality of making people forget every thing, the votaries went down into his cave by ſmall ladders through a very narrow paſſage. At the bottom was another little cavern, of which the entrance was alſo exceeding ſmall. There they lay down upon the ground, with a certain compoſition of honey in each hand, which they were indiſpenſably obliged to carry with them. Their feet were placed within the opening of the little cave; which was no ſooner done, than they perceived themſelves borne into it with great force and velocity. Futurity was there revealed to them; but not to all in the ſame manner. Some ſaw, others heard, wonders. From thence they returned quite ſtupified, and out of their

(*p*) Pauſan. l. 9. p. 602, 604.

* *Certain inſtruments were faſtened to the tops of oaks, which, being ſhaken by the wind, or by ſome other means, rendered a confuſed ſound. Servius obſerves, that the ſame word in the Theſſalian language, ſignifies* Dove *and* prophetes, *which had given room for the fabulous tradition of doves that ſpoke. It was eaſy to make thoſe brazen baſons ſound by ſome ſecret means, and to give what ſignification they pleaſed to a confuſed and inarticulate noiſe.*

ſenſes,

ſenſes, and were placed in the chair of Mnemoſyne, goddeſs of memory; not without great need of her aſſiſtance to recover their remembrance, after their great fatigue, of what they had ſeen and heard; admitting they had ſeen or heard any thing at all. Pauſanias, who had conſulted that oracle himſelf, and gone through all theſe ceremonies, has left a moſt ample deſcription of it; to which (q) Plutarch adds ſome particular circumſtances, which I omit to avoid a tedious prolixity.

(r) The temple and oracle of the Branchidæ in the neighbourhood of Miletus, ſo called from Branchus the ſon of Apollo, was very antient and in great eſteem with all the Ionians and Dorians of Aſia. Xerxes in his return from Greece burnt this temple, after the prieſts had delivered its treaſures to him. That prince in return granted them an eſtabliſhment in the remoteſt parts of Aſia, to ſecure them againſt the vengeance of the Greeks. After the war was over, the Mileſians re-eſtabliſhed that temple with a magnificence, which, according to Strabo, ſurpaſſed that of all the other temples of Greece. When Alexander the Great had overthrown Darius, he utterly deſtroyed the city, where the prieſts Branchidæ had ſettled, of which their deſcendants were at that time in actual poſſeſſion, puniſhing in the children the ſacrilegious perfidy of their fathers.

(s) Tacitus relates ſomething very ſingular, though not very probable, of the oracle of Claros, a town of Ionia in Aſia Minor near Colophon. "Germanicus," ſays he, "went to conſult Apollo at Claros. It is not a woman that gives the anſwers "there as at Delphos, but a man, choſe out of certain families, and almoſt always of Miletus. It "ſuffices to let him know the number and names of "thoſe, who come to conſult him. After which he "retires into a cave, and having drunk of the wa-

(q) Plut. de gen. Socr. p. 590. (r) Her. l. 1. c. 157. Strab. l. 14. p. 634. (s) Tacit. Annal. l. 2. c. 54.

" ters of a ſpring within it, he delivers anſwers in " verſe upon what the perſons have in their thoughts, " though he is often ignorant, and knows nothing " of compoſing in meaſure. It is ſaid that he foretold " to Germanicus his ſudden death, but in dark and " ambiguous terms, according to the cuſtom of ora- " cles."

I omit a great number of other oracles, to proceed to the moſt famous of them all. It is very obvious, that I mean the oracle of Apollo at Delphos. He was worſhipped there under the name of the Pythian, derived from the ſerpent Python, which he had killed, or from a Greek word, that ſignifies to enquire, πυθέω, becauſe people came thither to conſult him. From thence the Delphic prieſteſs was called Pythia, and the games there celebrated the Pythian games.

Delphos was an antient city of Phocis in Achaia. It ſtood upon the declivity and about the middle of the mountain Parnaſſus, built upon a ſmall extent of even ground, and ſurrounded with precipices, that fortified it without the help of art. (*t*) Diodorus ſays, that there was a cavity upon Parnaſſus, from whence an exhalation roſe, which made the goats dance and ſkip about, and intoxicated the brain. A ſhepherd having approached it, out of a deſire to know the cauſes of ſo extraordinary an effect, was immediately ſeized with violent agitations of body, and pronounced words, which, without doubt, he did not underſtand himſelf; however they foretold futurity. Others made the ſame experiment, and it was ſoon rumoured throughout the neighbouring countries. The cavity was no longer approached without reverence. The exhalation was concluded to have ſomething divine in it. A prieſteſs was appointed for the reception of its effects, and a tripod placed upon the vent, called by the Latins Cortina, perhaps, from the skin (*u*) that covered it. From thence ſhe gave her oracles. The city of Delphos roſe inſenſibly round about this cave; where a

(*t*) Lib. 14. p. 427, 428. (*u*) Corium.

temple

temple was erected, which at length became very magnificent. The reputation of this oracle almoſt effaced, or at leaſt very much exceeded that of all others.

At firſt a ſingle Pythia ſufficed to anſwer thoſe who came to conſult the oracle, not yet amounting to any great number: but in proceſs of time, when it grew into univerſal repute, a ſecond was appointed to mount the tripod alternately with the firſt. and a third choſen to ſucceed in caſe of death, or diſeaſe. There were other aſſiſtants beſides theſe to attend the Pythia in the ſanctuary, of whom the moſt conſiderable were called prophets (*x*); it was their buſineſs to take care of the ſacrifices, and to make the inſpection into them. To theſe the demands of the enquirers were delivered either by word of mouth, or in writing, and they returned the anſwers, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

We muſt not confound the Pythia with the Sibyl of Delphos. The antients repreſent the latter as a woman, that roved from country to country, venting her predictions. She was at the ſame time the Sibyl of Delphos, Erythræ, Babylon, Cuma, and many other places, from her having reſided in them all.

The Pythia could not propheſy till ſhe was intoxicated by the exhalation from the ſanctuary. This miraculous vapour had not the effect at all times and upon all occaſions. The god was not always in the inſpiring humour. At firſt he imparted himſelf only once a year, but at length he was prevailed upon to viſit the Pythia every month. All days were not proper, and upon ſome it was not permitted to conſult the oracle. Theſe unfortunate days occaſioned an oracle's being given to Alexander the Great worthy of remark. He was at Delphos to conſult the god, at a time when the prieſteſs pretended it was forbid to ask him any queſtions, and would not enter the temple. Alexander, who was always warm and tenacious, took hold of her by the arm to force her into

(*x*) προφήται.

it, when ſhe cried out, *Ah, my ſon, you are not to be reſiſted!* or, *my ſon, you are invincible!* upon which words he declared he would have no other oracle, and was contented with that he had received.

The Pythia, before ſhe aſcended the tripod, was a long time preparing for it by ſacrifices, purifications, a faſt of three days, and many other ceremonies. The god denoted his approach by the moving of a laurel, that ſtood before the gate of the temple; which ſhook alſo to its very foundations.

Aſſoon * as the divine vapour, like a penetrating fire, had diffuſed itſelf through the entrails of the prieſteſs, her hair ſtood upright upon her head, her looks grew wild and furious, ſhe foamed at the mouth, a ſudden and violent trembling ſeized her whole body, with all the † ſymptoms of diſtraction and frenzy. She uttered at intervals ſome words almoſt inarticulate, which the prophets carefully collected. After ſhe had been a certain time upon the tripod, ſhe was re-conducted to her cell, where ſhe generally continued many days, to recover herſelf of her fatigue, and as Lucan ſays (*y*), a ſudden death was often ei-

(*y*) Lib. 5.

* Cui talia fanti
Ante fores, ſubito non vultus, non color unus,
Non comptæ manſere comæ: ſed pectus anhelum
Et rabie fera corda tument; majorque videri,
Nec mortale ſonans, afflata eſt numine quando
Jam propiore dei. *Virg. Æn.* l. 6. v. 46—51.

† *Among the various marks which God has given us in the ſcriptures to diſtinguiſh his oracles from thoſe of the devil, the fury or madneſs, attributed by Virgil to the Pythia,* et rabie fera corda tument, *is one. It is I, ſays God, that ſhew the falſhood of the diviner's predictions, and give to ſuch as divine, the motions of fury and madneſs; or according to Iſa.* xliv. 25. That fruſtrateth the tokens of the liar, and maketh diviners mad. *Inſtead of which the prophets of the true God conſtantly gave the divine anſwers in an equal and calm tone of voice, and with a noble tranquillity of behaviour. Another diſtinguiſhing mark is, the dæmons giving their oracles in ſecret places, by-ways, and in the obſcurity of caves; whereas God give his in open day and before all the world.* I have not ſpoken in ſecret, in a dark place of the earth, *Iſa.* xlv. 19. I have not ſpoken in ſecret from the beginning, *Iſa.* xlviii. 16. *So that God did not permit the devil to imitate his oracles, without impoſing ſuch conditions upon him, as might diſtinguiſh between the true and falſe inſpiration.*

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ther the reward or punishment of her enthusiasm:

Numinis aut pœna est mors immatura recepti,
Aut pretium.

The prophets had poets under them, who made the oracles into verses, which were often bad enough, and gave occasion to say, it was very surprizing, that Apollo, who presided in the choir of the muses, should inspire his prophetess no better. But Plutarch informs us, that the god did not compose the verses of the oracle. He inflamed the Pythia's imagination, and kindled in her soul that living light, which unveiled all futurity to her. The words she uttered in the heat of her enthusiasm, having neither method nor connection, and coming only by starts, to use that expression, (z) from the bottom of her stomach, or rather from her belly, were collected with care by the prophets, who gave them afterwards to the poets to be turned into verse. These Apollo left to their own genius, and natural talents; as we may suppose he did the Pythia, when she composed verses, which though not often, happened sometimes. The substance of the oracle was inspired by Apollo, the manner of expressing it was the priestess's own: the oracles were however often given in prose.

The general characteristics of oracles were * ambiguity, obscurity, and convertibility, (to use that expression,) so that one answer would agree with several various, and sometimes directly opposite events. By the help of this artifice, the dæmons, who of themselves are not capable of knowing futurity, concealed their ignorance, and amused the credulity of the Pagan world. When Crœsus was upon the point of invading the Medes, he consulted the oracle of Delphos upon the success of that war, and was answered, that

(z) Ἐγγαστρίμυθος.

* Quod si aliquis dixerit multa ab idolis esse prædicta; hoc sciendum, quod semper mendacium junxerint veritati, et sic sententias temperârint, ut, seu boni seu mali quid accidisset, utrumque possit intelligi. *Hieronym. in c. 42. Isaiæ. He cites the two examples of Crœsus and Pyrrhus.*

by paſſing the river Halys, he would ruin a great empire. What empire, his own, or that of his enemies? He was to gueſs that; but whatever the event might be, the oracle could not fail of being in the right. As much may be ſaid upon the ſame god's anſwer to Pyrrhus,

Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere poſſe.

I repeat it in Latin, becauſe the equivocality, which equally implies, that Pyrrhus could conquer the Romans, and the Romans Pyrrhus, will not ſubſiſt in a tranſlation. Under the cover of ſuch ambiguities, the god eluded all difficulties, and was never in the wrong.

It muſt however be confeſſed, that ſometimes the anſwer of the oracle was clear and circumſtantial. I have repeated, in the hiſtory of Crœſus, the ſtratagem he made uſe of to aſſure himſelf of the veracity of the oracle, which was to demand of it by his ambaſſador, what he was doing at a certain time prefixed. The oracle of Delphos replied, that he was cauſing a tortoiſe and a lamb to be dreſt in a veſſel of braſs; which was really ſo. (*a*) The emperor Trajan made a like proof upon the god at Heliopolis, by ſending him a letter * ſealed up, to which he demanded an anſwer. The oracle made no other return than to command a blank paper, well folded and ſealed, to be delivered to him. Trajan, upon the receipt of it, was ſtruck with amazement to ſee an anſwer ſo correſpondent with his own letter, in which he knew he had wrote nothing. The wonderful † facility, with which dæmons can transfer themſelves almoſt in an inſtant from place to place, made it not impoſſible for them to give the two related an-

(*a*) Macrob. l. 1. Saturnal. c. 23.

* *It was cuſtomary to conſult the oracle by ſealed letters, which were laid upon the altar of the god unopened.*

† Omnis ſpiritus ales. Hoc et angeli et dæmones. Igitur momento ubique ſunt: totus orbis illis locus unus eſt: quid ubi geratur tam facile ſciunt, quam enuntiant. Velocitas divinitas creditur, quia ſubſtantia ignoratur.——Ceterùm teſtudinem decoqui cum carnibus pecudis Pythius eo modo renunciavit, quo ſupra diximus. Momento apud Lydiam fuerat. *Tertul. in Apolog.*

ſwers,

ſwers, and ſeem to foretel in one country what they had ſeen in another; which is Tertullian's opinion.

Admitting it to be true, that ſome oracles have been followed preciſely by the events foretold, we may believe, that God, to puniſh the blind and ſacrilegious credulity of the Pagans, has ſometimes permitted the dæmons to have a knowledge of things to come, and to foretel them diſtinctly enough. Which conduct of God, though very much above human comprehenſion, is frequently atteſted in the holy ſcriptures.

It has been queſtioned, whether the oracles, mentioned in prophane hiſtory, ſhould be aſcribed to the operations of dæmons, or only to the malignity and impoſture of men. Wandale, a Dutch phyſician, has maintained the latter; and Monſieur Fontenelle, when a young man, adopted that opinion, in the perſuaſion (to uſe his own words) that it was indifferent as to the truth of chriſtianity, whether the oracles were the effect of the agency of ſpirits, or a ſeries of impoſtures. Father Baltus the Jeſuit, profeſſor of the holy ſcriptures in the univerſity of Strasburgh, has refuted them both in a very ſolid piece, wherein he demonſtrates invincibly, with the unanimous authority of the fathers, that the devils were the real agents in the oracles. He attacks, with equal force and ſucceſs, the raſhneſs and preſumption of the Anabaptiſt phyſician, who, calling in queſtion the capacity and diſcernment of the holy doctors, abſurdly endeavours to efface the high idea all true believers have of thoſe great leaders of the church, and to depreciate their venerable authority, which is ſo great a difficulty to all who deviate from the principles of antient tradition. And if that was ever certain and conſentaneous in any thing, it is ſo in this point; for all the fathers of the church and eccleſiaſtical writers of all ages, maintain, and atteſt, that the devil was the author of idolatry in general, and of oracles in particular.

This opinion does not oppoſe the belief, that the

prieſts and prieſteſſes were frequently guilty of fraud and impoſture in the anſwers of the oracles. For is not the devil the father and prince of lies? In the Grecian hiſtory we have ſeen more than once the Delphic prieſteſs ſuffer herſelf to be corrupted by preſents. It was from that motive, ſhe perſuaded the Lacedæmonians to aſſiſt the people of Athens in the expulſion of the thirty tyrants; that ſhe cauſed Demaratus to be diveſted of the royal dignity to make way for Cleomenes; and dreſt up an oracle to ſupport the impoſture of Lyſander, when he endeavoured to change the ſucceſſion to the throne of Sparta. And I am apt to believe, that Themiſtocles, who well knew the importance of acting againſt the Perſians by ſea, inſpired the god with the anſwer he gave, *to defend themſelves with walls of wood.* (*b*) Demoſthenes, convinced that the oracles were frequently ſuggeſted by paſſion or intereſt, and ſuſpecting with reaſon, that Philip had inſtructed them to ſpeak in his favour, boldly declared, that the Pythia *philippized*, and bad the Athenians and Thebans remember, that Pericles and Epaminondas, inſtead of liſtening to, and amuſing themſelves with, the frivolous anſwers of the oracle, thoſe idle bugbears of the baſe and cowardly, conſulted only reaſon in the choice and execution of their meaſures.

The ſame Father Baltus examines with equal ſucceſs the ceſſation of oracles, a ſecond point in the diſpute. Mr. Wandale to oppoſe with ſome advantage a truth ſo glorious to Jeſus Chriſt, the ſubverter of idolatry, had falſified the ſenſe of the fathers, by making them ſay, *that oracles ceaſed preciſely at the moment of Chriſt's birth.* The learned apologiſt for the fathers ſhews, that they all alledge oracles did not ceaſe till after our Saviour's birth, and the preaching of his goſpel; not on a ſudden, but in proportion to his ſalutary doctrine's being known to mankind, and gaining ground in the world. This unanimous opi-

(*b*) Plut. in Demoſth. p. 354.

nion of the fathers is confirmed by the unexceptionable evidence of great numbers of the Pagans, who agree with them as to the time when the oracles ceaſed.

What an honour to the chriſtian religion was this ſilence, impoſed upon the oracles by the victory of Jeſus Chriſt! Every chriſtian had this power. (*c*) Tertullian, in one of his apologies, challenges the Pagans to make the experiment, and conſents, that a chriſtian ſhould be put to death, if he did not oblige theſe givers of oracles to confeſs themſelves devils. (*d*) Lactantius informs us, that every chriſtian could ſilence them by only the ſign of the croſs. And all the world knows, that when Julian the apoſtate was at Daphne, a ſuburb of Antioch, to conſult Apollo, the god, notwithſtanding all the ſacrifices offered to him, continued mute, and only recovered his ſpeech to anſwer thoſe who enquired the cauſe of his ſilence, that they muſt aſcribe it to the interment of certain bodies in the neighbourhood. Thoſe were the bodies of chriſtian martyrs, amongſt which was that of Saint Babylas.

This triumph of the chriſtian religion ought to give us a due ſenſe of our obligations to Jeſus Chriſt, and at the ſame time of the darkneſs, to which all mankind were abandoned before his coming. We have ſeen amongſt the Carthaginians, * fathers and mothers, more cruel than wild beaſts, inhumanly giving up their children, and annually depopulating their cities, by deſtroying the moſt florid of their youth, in obedience to the bloody dictates of their oracles, and falſe

(*c*) Tertull. in Apolog. (*d*) Lib. de vera ſapient. c. 27.

* Tam barbaros, tam immanes fuiſſe homines, ut parricidium ſuum, id eſt tetrum atque execrabile humano generi facinus, ſacrificium vocarent. Cum teneras atque innocentes animas, quæ maximè eſt ætas parentibus dulcior, ſine ullo reſpectu pietatis extinguerent, immanitatemque omnium beſtiarum, quæ tamen fœtus ſuos amant, feritate ſuperarent. O dementiam inſanabilem! Quid illis iſti dii amplius facere poſſent ſi eſſent iratiſſimi quam faciunt propitii? cum ſuos cultores parricidiis inquinant, orbitatibus mactant, humanis ſenſibus ſpoliant. *Lactant.* l. 1. c. 21.

gods. The victims were chosen without any regard to rank, sex, age, or condition. Such bloody executions were honoured with the name of sacrifices, and designed to make the gods propitious. What greater evil, cries Lactantius, could they inflict in their most violent displeasure, than to deprive their adorers of all sense of humanity, to make them cut the throats of their own children, and pollute their sacrilegious hands with such execrable parricides?

A thousand frauds and impostures, openly detected at Delphos, and every where else, had not opened men's eyes, nor in the least diminished the credit of the oracles, which subsisted upwards of two thousand years, and was carried to an inconceivable height, even in the sense of the greatest men, the most profound philosophers, the most powerful princes, and generally amongst the most civilized nations, and such as valued themselves most upon their wisdom and policy. The estimation, they were in, may be judged from the magnificence of the temple of Delphos, and the immense riches amassed in it through the superstitious credulity of nations and monarchs.

(*e*) The temple of Delphos having been burnt about the fifty eighth olympiad, the Amphyctyons, those celebrated judges of Greece, took upon themselves the care of rebuilding it. They agreed with an architect for three hundred talents, which amounts to nine hundred thousand livres. The cities of Greece were to furnish that sum. The inhabitants of Delphos were taxed a fourth part of it, and made gatherings in all parts, even in foreign nations, for that service. Amasis, at that time king of Egypt, and the Grecian inhabitants of his country, contributed considerable sums towards it. The Alcmeonides, a potent family of Athens, were charged with the conduct of the building, and made it more magnificent by considerable additions of their own, than had been proposed in the model.

(*e*) Her. l. 2. c. 180, & l. 5. c. 62.

Gyges

Gyges king of Lydia, and Crœsus one of his succeſſors, enriched the temple of Delphos with an incredible number of preſents. Many other princes, cities, and private perſons by their example, in a kind of emulation of each other, had heaped up in it tripods, veſſels, tables, ſhields, crowns, chariots, and ſtatues of gold and ſilver of all ſizes, equally infinite in number and value. The preſents of gold, which Crœſus only made to this temple, amounted, according to Herodotus (*f*), to upwards of 254 talents; that is, about 762000 French livres *; and perhaps thoſe of ſilver to as much. Moſt of thoſe preſents were in being in the time of Herodotus. (*g*) Diodorus Siculus, adding thoſe of other princes to them, makes their amount ten thouſand talents, or thirty millions of livres †.

(*h*) Amongſt the ſtatues of gold, conſecrated by Crœſus in the temple of Delphos, was placed that of a female baker, of which this was the occaſion. Alyattus, Crœſus's father, having married a ſecond wife, by whom he had children, ſhe contrived to get rid of her ſon-in-law, that the crown might deſcend to her own iſſue. For this purpoſe ſhe engaged the female baker to put poiſon into a loaf, that was to be ſerved at the young prince's table. The woman, who was ſtruck with horror at the crime, (in which ſhe ought to have had no part at all) gave Crœſus notice of it. The poiſoned loaf was ſerved to the queen's own children, and their death ſecured the crown to the lawful ſucceſſor. When he aſcended the throne, in gratitude to his benefactreſs, he erected a ſtatue to her in the temple of Delphos. But may we conclude, that a perſon of ſo mean a condition could deſerve ſo great an honour? Plutarch anſwers in the affirmative, and with a much better title, he ſays, than many of the ſo much vaunted conquerors and heroes,

(*f*) Her. l. 1. c. 50, 51.
(*g*) Diod. l. 16. p. 453.
(*h*) Plut. de Pyth. orac. p. 401.

* *About* 33500 *l. Sterling.*
† *About* 1300000 *l.*

who have acquired their fame only by murder and devaſtation.

It is not to be wondered, that ſuch immenſe riches ſhould tempt the avarice of mankind, and expoſe Delphos to being frequently pillaged. Without mentioning more antient times, Xerxes, who invaded Greece with a million of men, endeavorued to ſeize upon the ſpoils of this temple. Above an hundred years after, the Phoceans, near neighbours of Delphos, plundered it at ſeveral times. The ſame rich booty was the ſole motive of the irruption of the Gauls into Greece under Brennus. The guardian god of Delphos, if we may believe hiſtorians, ſometimes defended this temple by ſurprizing prodigies, and at others, either incapacity or confuſion, ſuffered himſelf to be plundered. When Nero made this temple, ſo famous throughout the univerſe, a viſit, and found in it five hundred fine braſs ſtatues of illuſtrious men and gods to his liking, which had been conſecrated to Apollo, (thoſe of gold and ſilver having undoubtedly diſappeared upon his approach) he ordered them to be taken down, and ſhipping them on board his veſſels, carried them with him to Rome.

Thoſe, who would be more particularly informed concerning the oracles and riches of the temple of Delphos, may conſult ſome diſſertations upon them, printed in the memoirs of the academy of *Belles Lettres* (*i*); of which I have made good uſe, according to my cuſtom.

ARTICLE III.

Of the Games and Combats.

GAMES and combats made a part of the religion, and had a ſhare in almoſt all the feſtivals of the antients; and for that reaſon it is proper to treat of them in this place. Whether we conſider their origin, or the deſign of their inſtitution, we

(*i*) Vol. III.

ſhall not be ſurprized at their being ſo much practiſed in the beſt governed ſtates.

Hercules, Theſeus, Caſtor, and Pollux, and the greateſt heroes of antiquity, were not only the inſtitutors, or reſtorers of them, but thought it glorious to ſhare in the exerciſe of them, and meritorious to ſucceed therein. The ſubduers of monſters, and of the common enemies of mankind, thought it no diſgrace to them, to aſpire at the victories in theſe combats; nor that the new wreaths, with which their brows were encircled in the ſolemnization of theſe games, took any luſtre from thoſe, they had before acquired. Hence the moſt famous poets made theſe combats the ſubject of their verſes; the beauty of whoſe poetry, whilſt it immortalized themſelves, ſeemed to promiſe an eternity of fame to thoſe, whoſe victories it ſo divinely celebrated. Hence aroſe that uncommon ardor, which animated all Greece to imitate the antient heroes, and like them, to ſignalize themſelves in the public combats.

A reaſon more ſolid, which reſults from the nature of theſe combats, and of the people who uſed them, may be given for their prevalence. The Greeks, by nature warlike, and equally intent upon forming the bodies and minds of their youth, introduced theſe exerciſes, and annexed honours to them, in order to prepare the younger ſort for the profeſſion of arms, to confirm their health, to render them ſtronger and more robuſt, to inure them to fatigues, and to make them intrepid in cloſe-fight, in which, the uſe of firearms being then unknown, the ſtrength of body generally decided the victory. Theſe athletic exerciſes ſupplied the place of thoſe in uſe amongſt our nobility, as dancing, fencing, riding the great horſe, &c. but they did not confine themſelves to a graceful mien, nor to the beauties of a ſhape and face; they were for joining ſtrength to the charms of perſon.

It is true, theſe exerciſes, ſo illuſtrious by their founders, and ſo uſeful in the ends at firſt propoſed

from them, introduced public maſters, who taught them to young perſons, and practiſing them with ſucceſs, made public ſhew and oſtentation of their ſkill. This ſort of men applied themſelves ſolely to the practice of this art, and carrying it to an exceſs, they formed it into a kind of ſcience, by the addition of rules and refinements; often challenging each other out of a vain emulation, till at length they degenerated into a profeſſion of people, who, without any other employment, or merit, exhibited themſelves as a ſight for the diverſion of the public. Our dancing-maſters are not unlike them in this reſpect, whoſe natural and original deſignation was to teach youth a graceful manner of walking, and a good addreſs; but now we ſee them mount the ſtage, and perform ballets in the garb of comedians, capering, jumping, ſkipping. and making variety of ſtrange and unnatural motions. We ſhall ſee, in the ſequel, what opinion the antients had of their profeſſed combatants and wreſtling-maſters.

There were four kinds of games ſolemnized in Greece. The *Olympic*, ſo called from Olympia, otherwiſe Piſa, a town of Elis in Peloponneſus, near which they were celebrated after the expiration of every four years in honour of Jupiter Olympicus. The *Pythic*, ſacred to Apollo * Pythius, ſo called from the ſerpent Python, killed by him; they were alſo celebrated every four years. The *Nemæan*, which took their name from Nemæa, a city and foreſt of Peloponneſus, and were either inſtituted or reſtored by Hercules, after he had ſlain the lion of the Nemæan foreſt. They were ſolemnized every two years. And laſtly, the *Iſthmian*, celebrated upon the Iſthmus of Corinth, from four years to four years, in honour of Neptune. (*k*) Theſeus was the reſtorer of them, and they continued even after the ruin of Corinth. That perſons might be preſent at theſe public ſports with

(*k*) Pauſ. l. 2. p. 88.

* *Several reaſons are given for this name.*

greater

greater quiet and ſecurity, there was a general ſuſpenſion of arms, and ceſſation of hoſtilities throughout all Greece, during the time of their celebration.

In theſe games, which were ſolemnized with incredible magnificence, and drew together a prodigious concourſe of ſpectators from all parts, a ſimple wreath was all the reward of the victors. In the Olympic games it was compoſed of wild olive. In the Pythic of laurel. In the Nemæan of green parſley (*l*): and in the Iſthmian of the ſame herb. The inſtitutors of theſe games implied from thence, that only honour, and not mean and ſordid intereſt, ought to be the motive of great actions. Of what were men not capable, accuſtomed to act ſolely from ſo glorious a principle! (*m*) We have ſeen in the Perſian war, that Tigranes, one of the moſt conſiderable captains in the army of Xerxes, having heard the prizes in the Grecian games deſcribed, cried out with aſtoniſhment, addreſſing himſelf to Mardonius, who commanded in chief; * *Heavens! againſt what men are you leading us? Inſenſible to intereſt, they combat only for glory!* Which exclamation, though looked upon by Xerxes as an affect of abject fear, abounds with ſenſe and judgment.

(*n*) It was from the ſame principle the Romans, whilſt they beſtowed upon other occaſions crowns of gold of great value, perſiſted always in giving only a wreath of oaken leaves to him who ſaved the life of a citizen. "Oh manners, worthy of eternal re-
"membrance! cries Pliny, in relating this laudable
"cuſtom. Oh grandeur, truly Roman, that would
"aſſign no other reward but honour, for the preſer-
"vation of a citizen! a ſervice indeed above all re-
"ward; thereby ſufficiently arguing it their opinion,
"that it was criminal to ſave man's life from the

(*l*) Apium. (*m*) Her. l. 8. c. 88. (*n*) Plin. l. 16. c. 4.

* Παπαὶ, Μαρδόνιε, κόινους ἀγῶνα ποιεῦνται, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἀρετῆς. ἐπ' ἀνδρας ἤγαγες μαχησομένους ἡμᾶς, οἱ δὲ περὶ χρημάτων τὸν

"motive

"motive of lucre and intereſt!" *O mores æternos, qui tanta opera honore ſolo donaverint; & cum reliquas coronas auro commendarent, ſalutem civis in pretio eſſe noluerint, clara profeſſione ſervari quidem hominem nefas eſſe lucri cauſa!*

Amongſt all the Grecian games, the Olympic held undeniably the firſt rank, and that for three reaſons. They were ſacred to Jupiter, the greateſt of the gods; inſtituted by Hercules, the firſt of the heroes; and celebrated with more pomp and magnificence, amidſt a greater concourſe of ſpectators from all parts, than any of the reſt.

(o) If Pauſanias may be believed, women were prohibited to be preſent at them upon pain of death; and during their continuance, it was ordained, that no woman ſhould approach the place where the games were celebrated, or paſs on that ſide of the river Alpheus. One only was ſo bold as to violate this law, and ſlipt in diſguiſe amongſt the combatants. She was tried for the offence, and would have ſuffered for it according to the law, if the judges, in regard to her father, her brother, and her ſon, who had all been victors in the Olympic games, had not pardoned her offence, and ſaved her life.

This law was very conformable with the Grecian manners, amongſt whom the ladies were very reſerved, ſeldom appeared in public, had ſeparate apartments called *Gynæcea*, and never eat at table with the men when ſtrangers were preſent. It was certainly inconſiſtent with decency to admit them at ſome of the games, as thoſe of wreſtling, and the Pancratium, in which the combatants fought naked.

(p) The ſame Pauſanias tells us in another place, that the prieſteſs of Ceres had an honourable ſeat in theſe games, and that virgins were not denied the liberty of being preſent at them. For my part I cannot conceive the reaſon of ſuch inconſiſtency, which indeed ſeems incredible.

(o) Pauſ. l. 5. p. 297. (p) Lib. 6. p. 382.

The

The Greeks thought nothing comparable to the victory in these games. They looked upon it as the perfection of glory, and did not believe it permitted to mortals to desire any thing beyond it. * Cicero assures us, that with them it was no less honourable, than the consular dignity in its original splendor with the antient Romans. And in another place he says, that † to conquer at Olympia, was almost, in the sense of the Grecians, more great and glorious, than to receive the honour of a triumph at Rome. Horace speaks in still stronger terms upon this kind of victory. ‖ He is not afraid to say, that *it exalts the victor above human nature; they were no longer men but gods.*

We shall see hereafter what extraordinary honours were paid to the victor, of which one of the most affecting was, to date the year with his name. Nothing could more effectually enliven their endeavours, and make them regardless of expences, than the assurance of immortalizing their names, which, for the future, would be annexed to the calendar, and in the front of all laws made in the same year with the victory. To this motive may be added the joy of knowing, that their praises would be celebrated by the most famous poets, and share in the entertaiment of the most illustrious assemblies; for these odes were sung in every house, and had a part in every entertainment. What could be a more powerful incentive to a people, who had no other object and aim than that of human glory!

I shall confine myself upon this head to the Olympic games, which continued five days; and shall describe, in as brief a manner as possible, the several kinds of combats of which they were com-

* Olympiorum victoria Græcis consulatus ille antiquus videbatur. *Tuscul. Quæst. lib.* 2. *n.* 41.

† Olympionicam esse, apud Græcos prope majus fuit et glorioſius, quam Romæ triumphasse. *Pro Flacco, num.* 31.

‖ ——————Palmaque nobilis
Terrarum dominos evehit ad deos. *Od.* 1. *lib.* 1.
Sive quos Elea domum reducit
Palma cœlestes. *Od.* 2. *lib.* 4.

pe sed-

poſed. Mr. Burette has treated this ſubject in ſeveral diſſertations, printed in the memoirs of the academy of *Belles Lettres*; wherein purity, perſpicuity, and elegance of ſtile are united with profound erudition. I make no ſcruple in appropriating to my uſe the riches of my brethren, and upon this ſubject of the Olympic games have made very free with the late Abbé Maſſieu's remarks upon the odes of Pindar.

The combats, which had the greateſt ſhare in the ſolemnity of the public games, were boxing, wreſtling, the pancratium, the diſcus or quoit, and racing. To theſe may be added the exerciſes of leaping, throwing the dart, and that of the trochus or wheel; but as theſe were neither important, nor of any great reputation, I ſhall content myſelf with having only mentioned them in this place. For the better methodizing the particulars of theſe games and exerciſes, it will be neceſſary to begin with an account of the Athletæ or combatants.

SECT. I. *Of the Athletæ or combatants.*

THE term Athletæ is derived from the Greek word ἆθλος, which ſignifies labour, combat. This name was given to thoſe who exerciſed themſelves with deſign to diſpute the prizes in the public games. The art by which they formed themſelves for theſe encounters, was called Gymnaſtic, from the Athletæ's practiſing naked.

Thoſe who were deſigned for this profeſſion frequented, from their moſt tender age, the Gymnaſia or Palæſtræ, which were a kind of academies, maintained for that purpoſe at the public expence. In theſe places ſuch young people were under the direction of different maſters, who employed the moſt effectual methods to inure their bodies for the fatigues of the public games, and to form them for the combats. The regimen they were under was very hard and ſevere. At firſt they had no other nouriſhment but dried figs, nuts, ſoft cheeſe, and a groſs heavy ſort of bread,

bread, called μάζα. They were abſolutely forbid the uſe of wine, and enjoined continence; which Horace expreſſes thus, (q)

Qui ſtudet optatam curſu contingere metam
Multa tulit fecitque puer, ſudavit et alſit,
Abſtinuit venere et vino.
Who, in th'Olympic race, the prize would gain,
Has born from early youth fatigue and pain,
Exceſs of heat and cold has often try'd,
Love's ſoftneſs baniſh'd, and the glaſs deny'd.

St. Paul, by an alluſion to the Athletæ, exhorts the Corinthians, near whoſe city the Iſthmian games were celebrated, to a ſober and penitent life. *Thoſe who ſtrive*, ſays he, *for the maſtery, are temperate in all things: now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible.* * Tertullian uſes the ſame thought to encourage the martyrs. He makes a compariſon from what the hopes of victory made the Athletæ endure. He repeats the ſevere and painful exerciſes they were obliged to undergo; the continual anguiſh and conſtraint in which they paſſed the beſt years of their lives, and the voluntary privation, which they impoſed upon themſelves, of all that was moſt affecting and grateful to their paſſions. It is true, the Athletæ did not always obſerve ſo ſevere a regimen, but at length ſubſtituted in its ſtead a voracity and indolence extremely remote from it.

The Athletæ, before their exerciſes, were rubbed with oils and ointments, to make their bodies more ſupple and vigorous. At firſt they made uſe of a belt, with an apron or ſcarf faſtened to it, for their more decent appearance in the combats; but one of the combatants happening to loſe the victory by this covering's falling off, that accident was the occaſion of

(q) Art. Poet. v. 412.

* Nempe enim & Athletæ ſegregantur ad ſtrictiorem diſciplinam, ut robori ædificando vacent; continentur à luxuria, à cibis lætioribus, à potu jucundiore; coguntur, cruciantur, fatigantur. *Tertul. ad Martyr.*

ſacrifi-

ſacrificing modeſty to convenience, and retrenching the apron for the future. The Athletæ were only naked in ſome exerciſes, as wreſtling, boxing, the pancratium, and the foot-race. They practiſed a kind of noviciate in the Gymnaſia for ten months, to accompliſh themſelves in the ſeveral exerciſes by aſſiduous application; and this they did in the preſence of ſuch, as curioſity or idleneſs conducted to look on. But when the celebration of the Olympic games drew nigh, the Athletæ, who were to appear in them, were kept to double exerciſe.

Before they were admitted to combat, other proofs were required; as to birth, none but Greeks were to be received. It was alſo neceſſary, that their manners ſhould be unexceptionable, and their condition free. No ſtranger was admitted to combat in the Olympic games; and when Alexander, the ſon of Amyntas king of Macedon, preſented himſelf to diſpute the prize, his competitors, without any regard to the royal dignity, oppoſed his reception as a Macedonian, and conſequently a Barbarian and a ſtranger; nor could the judges be prevailed upon to admit him, till he had proved in due form his family originally deſcended from the Argives.

The perſons who preſided in the games, called *Agonothetæ*, *Athlothetæ*, and *Hellanodicæ*, regiſtered the name and country of each champion; and upon the opening of the games an herald proclaimed the names of the combatants. They were then made to take an oath, that they would religiouſly obſerve the ſeveral laws preſcribed in each kind of combat, and to do nothing contrary to the eſtabliſhed orders, and regulations of the games. Fraud, artifice, and exceſſive violence, were abſolutely prohibited; and the maxim ſo generally received elſewhere, that it is indifferent whether an enemy is conquered by deceit or valour, was baniſhed from theſe combats. The addreſs of a combatant, expert in all the turns of his art, who knew how to ſhift and fence dexterouſly, to put the change

change upon his adverſary with art and ſubtlety, and to improve the leaſt advantages, muſt not be confounded here with the cowardly and knaviſh cunning of one, who, without regard to the laws preſcribed, employs the moſt unfair means to vanquiſh his competitor. Thoſe, who diſputed the prize in the ſeveral kinds of combats, drew lots for their precedency in them.

It is time to bring our champions to blows, and to run over the different kinds of combats, in which they exerciſed themſelves.

SECT. II. *Of wreſtling.*

WRESTLING is one of the moſt antient exerciſes of which we have any knowledge, having been practiſed in the time of the patriarchs, as the wreſtling of the angel with Jacob proves (*r*). Jacob ſupported the angel's attack ſo vigorouſly, that, perceiving he could not throw ſo rough a wreſtler, he was reduced to make him lame by touching the ſinew of his thigh, which immediately ſhrunk up.

Wreſtling among the Greeks, as well as other nations, was practiſed at firſt with ſimplicity, little art, and in a natural manner; the weight of the body, and the ſtrength of the muſcles having more ſhare in it, than addreſs and ſkill. Theſeus was the firſt, that reduced it to method, and refined it with rules of art. He was alſo the firſt who eſtabliſhed the public ſchools, called *Palæſtræ*, where the young people had maſters to inſtruct them in it.

The wreſtlers, before they began their combats, were rubbed all over in a rough manner, and afterwards anointed with oils, which added to the ſtrength, and flexibility of their limbs. But as this unction, in making the ſkin too ſlippery, rendered it difficult for them to take good hold of each other, they remedied that inconvenience, ſometimes by rolling themſelves in the duſt of the Palæſtræ, ſometimes by throwing a

(*r*) Gen. xxxii. 24.

fine

fine ſand upon each other, kept for that purpoſe in the Xyſtæ, or portico's of the Gymnaſia.

Thus prepared, the wreſtlers began their combat. They were matched two againſt two, and ſometimes ſeveral couples contended at the ſame time. In this combat, the whole aim and deſign of the wreſtlers was to throw their adverſary upon the ground. Both ſtrength and art were employed to this purpoſe: they ſeized each other by the arms, drew forwards, puſhed backwards, uſed many diſtortions and twiſtings of the body; locking their limbs into each other's, ſeizing by the neck, throttling, preſſing in their arms, ſtruggling, plying on all ſides, lifting from the ground, daſhing their heads together like rams, and twiſting one another's necks. The moſt conſiderable advantage in the wreſtler's art was to make himſelf maſter of his adverſary's legs, of which a fall was the immediate conſequence. From whence Plautus ſays in his Pſeudolus, ſpeaking of wine, * *He is a dangerous wreſtler, he preſently takes one by the heels.* The Greek terms ὑποσκελίζειν, and σφηνίζειν, and the Latin word *ſupplantare*, ſeem to imply, that one of theſe arts conſiſted in ſtooping down to ſeize the antagoniſt under the ſoles of his feet, and in raiſing them up to give him the fall.

In this manner the Athletæ wreſtled ſtanding, the combat ending with the fall of one of the competitors. But when it happened that the wreſtler, who was down, drew his adverſary along with him, either by art or accident, the combat continued upon the ſand, the antagoniſts tumbling and twining with each other in a thouſand different ways, till one of them got uppermoſt, and compelled the other to aſk quarter, and confeſs himſelf vanquiſhed. There was a third ſort of wreſtling, called Ἀκροχειρισμὸς, from the Athletæ's uſing only their hands in it, without taking hold of the body as in the other kinds; and this exerciſe ſerved as a prelude to the greater combat. It

* Captat pedes primùm, luctator doloſus eſt.

conſiſted

conſiſted in intermingling their fingers, and in ſqueezing them with all their force; in puſhing one another by joining the palms of their hands together; in twiſting their fingers, wriſts, and other joints of the arm, without the aſſiſtance of any other member; and the victory was his, who obliged his opponent to aſk quarter.

The combatants were to fight three times ſucceſſively, and to throw their antagoniſts at leaſt twice, before the prize could be adjudged to them.

(s) Homer deſcribes the wreſtling of Ajax and Ulyſſes; Ovid, that of Hercules and Achelous; Lucan, of Hercules and Antæus; and the Thebaid of Statius, of Tydeus and Agylleus.

The wreſtlers of greateſt reputation amongſt the Greeks were Milo of Croton, whoſe hiſtory I have related elſewhere at large, and Polydamas. The latter, alone and without arms, killed a furious lion upon mount Olympus, in imitation of Hercules, whom he propoſed to himſelf as a model in this action. Another time having ſeized a bull by one of his hind-legs, the beaſt could not get looſe without leaving his hoof in his hands. He could hold a chariot behind, whilſt the coachman whipt his horſes in vain to make them go forwards. Darius Nothus, king of Perſia, hearing of his prodigious ſtrength, was deſirous of ſeeing him, and invited him to Suſa. Three ſoldiers of that prince's guard, and of that band, which the Perſians called *immortal*, eſteemed the moſt warlike of their troops, were ordered to fall upon him. Our champion fought and killed them all three.

SECT. III. *Of Boxing or the Ceſtus.*

BOXING is a combat at handy blows, from whence it derives its name. The combatants covered their fiſts with a kind of offenſive arms, called *Ceſtus*, and their heads with a ſort of leather cap,

(s) Iliad. l. 23. v. 708, &c. Ovid. Metam. l. 9. v. 31, &c. Pharſ. l. 4. v. 612. Stat. l. 6. v. 147.

to

to defend their temples and ears, which were moſt expoſed to blows, and to deaden their violence. The Ceſtus was a kind of gauntlet or glove, made of ſtraps of leather, and plated with braſs, lead, or iron within-inſide. Their uſe was to ſtrengthen the hands of the combatants, and to add violence to their blows.

Sometimes the Athletæ came immediately to the moſt violent blows, and began with charging in the moſt furious manner. Sometimes whole hours paſſed in haraſſing and fatiguing each other, by a continual extenſion of their arms; rendering each other's blows ineffectual, and endeavouring in that manner of defence to keep off their adverſary. But when they fought with the utmoſt fury, they aimed chiefly at the head and face, which parts they were moſt careful to defend, by either avoiding or catching the blows made at them. When a combatant came on to throw himſelf with all his force and vigour upon another, they had a ſurprizing addreſs in avoiding the attack, by a nimble turn of the body, which threw the imprudent adverſary down, and deprived him of the victory.

However fierce the combatants were againſt each other, their being exhauſted by the length of the combat, would frequently reduce them to the neceſſity of making a truce. Upon which the battle was ſuſpended for ſome minutes, that were employed in recovering their fatigue and rubbing off the ſweat in which they were bathed. After which they renewed the fight, till one of them, by letting fall his arms through weakneſs, or by ſwooning away, explained, that he could no longer ſupport the pain or fatigue, and deſired quarter; which was confeſſing himſelf vanquiſhed.

Boxing was one of the rudeſt and moſt dangerous of the Gymnic combats; becauſe, beſides the danger of being crippled, the combatants ran the hazard of their lives. They ſometimes fell down dead, or dying, upon the ſand; though that ſeldom happened, except

except the vanquiſhed perſon perſiſted too long in not acknowledging his defeat: yet it was common for them to quit the fight with a countenance ſo disfigured, that it was not eaſy to know them afterwards; carrying away with them the ſad marks of their vigorous reſiſtance, ſuch as bruiſes and contuſions in the face, the loſs of an eye, their teeth knocked out, their jaws broken, or ſome more conſiderable fracture.

We find in the poets, both Latin and Greek, ſeveral deſcriptions of this kind of combat. In Homer, that of Epeus and Euryalus; (*t*) in Theocritus, of Pollux and Amycus; in Apollonius Rhodius, the ſame battle of Pollux and Amycus; in Virgil, that of Dares and Entellus; and in Statius, and Valerius Flaccus, of ſeveral other combatants.

SECT. IV. *Of the Pancratium.*

THE Pancratium (*u*) was ſo called from two Greek words, which ſignify that the whole force of the body was neceſſary for ſucceeding in it. It united boxing and wreſtling in the ſame fight, borrowing from one its manner of ſtruggling and flinging, and from the other, the art of dealing blows, and of avoiding them with ſucceſs. In wreſtling it was not permitted to ſtrike with the hand, nor in boxing to ſeize each other in the manner of the wreſtlers: but in the Pancratium, it was not only allowed to make uſe of all the gripes and artifices of wreſtling, but the hands and feet, and even the teeth and nails, might be employed to conquer an antagoniſt.

This combat was the moſt rude and dangerous. A Pancratiaſt in the Olympic games, (called Arrichion, or Arrachion) perceiving himſelf almoſt ſuffocated by his adverſary, who had got faſt hold of him by the throat, at the ſame time that he held him by the foot, broke one of his enemy's toes, the extreme anguiſh of which obliged him to aſk quarter at the very in-

(*t*) Dioſcor. Idyl. 22. Argonautic. lib. 2. Æneid. l. 1. Thebaid. l. 6. Argonaut. l. 4.

(*u*) πᾶν κράτος.

ſtant

ſtant Arrichion himſelf expired. The Agonothetæ crowned Arrichion though dead, and proclaimed him victor. Philoſtratus has left us a very lively deſcription of a painting, which repreſented this combat.

SECT. V. *Of the Diſcus, or Quoit.*

THE Diſcus was a kind of quoit of a round form, made ſometimes of wood, but more frequently of ſtone, lead, or other metal; as iron, or braſs. Thoſe who uſed this exerciſe were called Diſcoboli, that is, ſlingers of the Diſcus. The epithet *καταμάδιος*, which ſignifies *borne upon the ſhoulders*, given this inſtrument by Homer, ſufficiently ſhews, that it was of too great a weight to be carried from place to place in the hands only, and that the ſhoulders were neceſſary for the ſupport of ſuch a burden any ſpace of time.

The intent of this exerciſe, as of almoſt all the others, was to invigorate the body, and to make it more capable of ſupporting the weight, and uſe of arms. In war they were often obliged to carry ſuch loads, as appear exceſſive in theſe days, either of proviſions, faſcines, paliſades; or in ſcaling of walls, when, to equal the height of them, ſeveral of the beſiegers mounted upon the ſhoulders of each other.

The Athletæ, in hurling the Diſcus, put themſelves into the beſt poſture they could, to add force to their caſt. They advanced one foot, upon which leaning the whole weight of their bodies, they poiſed the Diſcus in their hands, and then whirling it round ſeveral times almoſt horizontally, to add force to its motion, they threw it off with the joint ſtrength of hands, arms, and body, which had all a ſhare in the vigour of the diſcharge. He that flung the Diſcus fartheſt was the victor.

The moſt famous painters and ſculptors of antiquity, in their endeavours to repreſent naturally the attitudes of the Diſcoboli, have left poſterity many maſter-pieces in their ſeveral arts. Quintilian exceedingly extols a ſtatue of that kind, which had been finiſhed

ed with infinite care and application by the celebrated Myron: * *What can be more finiſhed, or expreſs more happily the muſcular diſtortions of the body in the exerciſe of the Diſcus, than the Diſcobolus of Myron?*

SECT. VI. *Of the Pentathlum.*

THE Greeks gave this name to an exerciſe compoſed of five others. It was the common opinion, that thoſe five exerciſes were wreſtling, running, leaping, throwing the dart, and the Diſcus. It was believed that this ſort of combat was decided in one day, and ſometimes the ſame morning; and that the prize, which was ſingle, could not be given but to the victor in all thoſe exerciſes.

The exerciſe of leaping, and throwing the javelin, of which the firſt conſiſted in leaping a certain length, and the other in hitting a mark with a javelin at a certain diſtance, contributed to the forming of a ſoldier, by making him nimble and active in battle, and expert in flinging the ſpear and dart.

SECT. VII. *Of Races.*

OF all the exerciſes, which the Athletæ cultivated with ſo much pains and induſtry for their appearance in the public games, running was in the higheſt eſtimation, and held the foremoſt rank. The Olympic Games generally opened with races, and were ſolemnized at firſt with no other exerciſe.

The place where the Athletæ exerciſed themſelves in running, was generally called the *Stadium* by the Greeks; as was that wherein they diſputed in earneſt for the prize. As the liſts or courſe for theſe games was at at firſt but one † Stadium in length, it took

* Quid tam diſtortum et elaboratum, quam eſt ille Diſcobolus Myronis? *Quintil. lib. 2. cap. 13.*

† *The Stadium was a land-meaſure amongſt the Greeks, and was, according to Herodotus* l. 2. c. 149. *ſix hundred feet in extent.* Pliny *ſays,* lib. 2. c. 23. *that it was ſix hundred and twenty five. Thoſe two authors may agree, conſidering the difference between the Greek and Roman foot; beſides which, the meaſure of the Stadium varies, according to the difference of times and places.*

its

its name from its meaſure, and was called the Stadium, whether preciſely of that extent, or of a much greater. Under that denomination was included not only the ſpace, in which the Athletæ ran, but alſo that which contained the ſpectators of the Gymnic games. The place, where the Athletæ contended, was called Scamma, from its lying lower than the reſt of the Stadium, on each ſide of which, and its extremity, ran an aſcent or kind of terraſs, covered with ſeats and benches, upon which the ſpectators were ſeated. The moſt remarkable parts of the Stadium were its entrance, middle, and extremity.

The entrance of the courſe was marked at firſt only by a line drawn on the ſand, from ſide to ſide of the Stadium. To that at length was ſubſtituted a kind of barrier, which was only a cord ſtrained tight in the front of the horſes or men, that were to run. It was ſometimes a rail of wood. The opening of this barrier was the ſignal for the racers to ſtart.

The middle of the Stadium was remarkable only by the circumſtance of having the prizes, allotted to the victors, ſet up there. St Chryſoſtom draws a fine compariſon from this cuſtom. *As the judges*, ſays he, *in the races and other games, expoſe, in the midſt of the Stadium, to the view of the champions, the crowns, which they are to receive; in like manner the Lord, by the mouth of his prophets, has placed the prizes in the midſt of the courſe, which he deſigns for thoſe, who have the courage to contend for them.*

At the extremity of the Stadium was a goal, where the foot races ended, but in thoſe of chariots and horſes they were to run ſeveral times round it, without ſtopping, and afterwards conclude the race by regaining the other extremity of the liſts, from whence they ſtarted.

There were three kinds of races, the chariot, the horſe, and the foot race. I ſhall begin with the laſt, as the moſt ſimple, natural, and antient.

1. *Of*

1. *Of the Foot-race.*

The runners, of whatever number they were, ranged themſelves in a line, after having drawn lots for their places. * Whilſt they waited the ſignal to ſtart, they practiſed, by way of prelude, various motions to awaken their activity, and to keep their limbs pliable and in a right temper. They kept themſelves breathing by ſmall leaps, and making little excurſions, that were a kind of trial of their ſpeed and agility. Upon the ſignal's being given, they flew towards the goal with a rapidity, ſcarce to be followed by the eye, which was ſolely to decide the victory: for the Agoniſtic laws prohibited, upon the moſt infamous penalties, the attaining it by any foul method

In the ſimple race the extent of the Stadium was run but once, at the end of which the prize attended the victor, that is, he who came in firſt. In the race called Δίαυλος, the competitors ran twice that length, that is, after having arrived at the goal, they returned to the barrier. To theſe may be added a third ſort called Δολιχὸς, which was the longeſt of all, as its name implies, and was compoſed of ſeveral Diauli. Sometimes it conſiſted of twenty four Stadia backwards and forwards, tuning twelve times round the goal.

There were runners in antient times, as well amongſt the Greeks as Romans, who were much celebrated

* Tunc rite citatos
Explorant acuuntque gradus, variaſque per artes
Inſtimulant docto languentia membra tumultu.
Poplite nunc flexo ſidunt, nunc lubrica forti
Pectora collidunt plauſu; nunc ignea tollunt
Crura, brevemque fugam nec-opino fine reponunt.
Stat. Theb. lib. 6. *v.* 587. *&c.*

They try, they rouſe their ſpeed, with various arts
Their languid limbs they prompt to act their parts.
Now with bent hams, amidſt the practis'd crowd,
They ſit; now ſtrain their lungs, and ſhout aloud;
Now a ſhort flight with fiery ſteps they trace,
And with a ſudden ſtop abridge the mimic race.

for their ſwiftneſs. (*x*) Pliny tells us, that it was thought prodigious in Phidippides to run eleven hundred and forty Stadia (*y*) between Athens and Lacedæmon in the ſpace of two days, till Anyſtis of the latter place, and Philonides, the runner of Alexander the Great, made twelve hundred Stadia (*z*) in one day, from Sicyone to Elis. Theſe runners were denominated ἡμεροδρόμους, as we find in that paſſage of Herodotus (*a*), which mentions Phidippides. In the conſulate of Fonteius and Vipſanus, in the reign of Nero, a boy of nine years old, ran ſeventy-five thouſand paces (*b*) between noon and night. Pliny adds, that in his time there were runners, who ran one hundred and ſixty thouſand paces (*c*) in the circus. Our wonder at ſuch a prodigious ſpeed will increaſe, (continues he) (*d*) if we reflect, that when Tiberius went to Germany to his brother Druſus, then at the point of death, he could not arrive there in leſs than four and twenty hours, though the diſtance was but two hundred thouſand paces, (*e*) and he ran with three poſt chaiſes † with the utmoſt diligence.

2. *Of the Horſe-races.*

The race of a ſingle horſe with a rider was leſs celebrated by the antients, yet it had its favourers amongſt the moſt conſiderable perſons, and even kings themſelves, and was attended with uncommon glory to the victor. Pindar, in his firſt ode, celebrates a victory of this kind, obtained by Hiero, king of Syracuſe, to whom he gives the title of Κέλης, that is, *Victor in the horſe-race*; which name was given to the horſes carrying only a ſingle rider, Κέλητες. Sometimes the rider led another horſe by the bridle, and then the horſes were called Deſultorii, and their riders Deſultores; becauſe, after a number of turns in the

(*x*) Plin. l. 7. c. 20. (*y*) 57 *leagues.* (*z*) 60 *leagues.* (*a*) Her. l. 6. c. 106. (*b*) 30 *leagues.* (*c*) *More than* 53 *leagues.* (*d*) Val. Max. l. 5. c. 5. (*e*) 67 *leagues.*

† *He had only a guide, and one officer with him.*

Stadium, they changed horſes by dexterouſly vaulting from one to the other. A ſurprizing addreſs was neceſſary upon this occaſion, eſpecially in an age unacquainted with the uſe of ſtirrops, and when the horſes had no ſaddles, which ſtill made the leap more difficult. In the armies there were alſo cavalry * called *Deſultores*, who vaulted from one horſe to another, as occaſion required, and were generally Numidians.

3. *Of the Chariot-races.*

This kind of race was the moſt renowned of all the exerciſes uſed in the games of the antients, and that from whence moſt honour redounded to the victors; which is not to be wondered at, if we conſider their origin. It is plain, they were derived from the conſtant cuſtom of princes, heroes, and great men, of fighting in battle upon chariots. Homer has an infinity of examples of this kind. This being admitted as a cuſtom, it is natural to ſuppoſe it very agreeable to theſe heroes, to have their charioteers as expert as poſſible in driving, as their ſucceſs depended, in a very great meaſure, upon the addreſs of their drivers. It was antiently, therefore, only to perſons of the firſt conſideration, that this office was confided. Hence aroſe a laudable emulation to excel others in the art of guiding a chariot, and a kind of neceſſity to practiſe it very much, for the attainment of it. The high rank of the perſons, who made uſe of chariots, enobled, as it always happens, an exerciſe peculiar to them. The other exerciſes were adapted to private ſoldiers and horſemen, as wreſtling, running, and the ſingle horſe-race; but the uſe of chariots in the field was always reſerved to princes, and generals of armies.

Hence it was, that all thoſe, who preſented them-

* Nec omnes Numidæ in dextro locati cornu, ſed quibus deſultorum in modum binos trahentibus equos, inter acerrimam ſæpe pugnam, in recentem equum ex feſſo armatis tranſultare mos erat: tanta velocitas ipſis, tamque docile equorum genus erat. *Liv. lib.* 23.

ſelves in the Olympic games to diſpute the prize in the chariot-races, were perſons conſiderable either for their riches, their birth, their employments, or great actions. Kings themſelves aſpired paſſionately to this glory, from the belief that the title of victor in theſe games, was ſcarce inferior to that of conqueror, and that the Olympic palm added new dignity to the ſplendors of a throne. Pindar's odes inform us, that Gelon and Hiero, kings of Syracuſe, were of that opinion. Dionyſius, who reigned there long after them, carried the ſame ambition much higher. Philip of Macedon had theſe victories ſtampt upon his coins, and ſeemed as much affected with them, as with thoſe obtained againſt the enemies of his ſtate. (*e*) All the world knows the anſwer of Alexander the Great on this ſubject. When his friends aſked him, whether he would diſpute the prize of the races in theſe games? *Yes*, ſaid he, *if kings were to be my antagoniſts*. Which ſhews, that he would not have diſdained theſe exerciſes, if there had been competitors in them worthy of him.

The chariots were generally drawn by two or four horſes, placed in a row: *bigæ*, *quadrigæ*. Sometimes mules ſupplied the place of horſes, and then the chariot was called ἀπήνη. Pindar, in the fifth ode of his firſt book, celebrates one Pſaumis, who had obtained a triple victory; one by a chariot drawn by four horſes, τετρίππῳ; another by one drawn by mules, ἀπήνῃ; and the third by a ſingle horſe, κέλητι, which the title of the ode expreſſes.

Theſe chariots, upon a ſignal given, ſtarted together from a place called *Carceres*. Their places were regulated by lot, which was not an indifferent circumſtance as to the victory; for being to turn round a boundary, the chariot on the left was nearer than thoſe on the right, which in conſequence had a greater compaſs to take. It appears from ſeveral paſſages in Pindar, and eſpecially from one in Sophocles, which

(*e*) Plut. in Alex. p. 666.

I ſhall cite very ſoon, that they ran twelve times round the Stadium. He that came in firſt the twelfth round was victor. The chief art conſiſted in taking the beſt ground at the turning of the boundary: for if the charioteer drove too near it, he was in danger of daſhing the chariot to pieces; and if he kept too wide of it, his neareſt antagoniſt might cut the way upon him, and get foremoſt.

It is obvious that theſe chariot-races could not be run without ſome danger; for as the * motion of the wheels was very rapid, and grazed againſt the boundary in turning, the leaſt error in driving would have broke the chariot in pieces, and might have dangerouſly wounded the charioteer. An example of which we find in the Electra of Sophocles, who gives an admirable deſcription of this kind of race, run by ten competitors. The falſe Oreſtes, at the twelfth and laſt round, having only one antagoniſt, the reſt having been thrown out, was ſo unfortunate to break one of his wheels againſt the boundary, and falling out of his ſeat entangled in the reins, the horſes dragged him violently forwards along with them, and tore him to pieces: but this very ſeldom happened. (*f*) To avoid ſuch danger, Neſtor gives the following directions to his ſon Antilochus, who was going to diſpute the prize in the chariot-races. "My ſon," ſays he, "drive your horſes as near as poſſible to "the turning; for which reaſon always inclining "your body over your chariot, get the left of your "competitors, and encouraging the horſe on the right, "give him the rein, whilſt the near horſe, hard held, "turns the boundary ſo cloſe to it, that the nave of "the wheel ſeems to graze upon it; but have a care "of running againſt the ſtone, leſt you wound your "horſes, and daſh the chariot in pieces."

Father Montfaucon mentions a difficulty, in his

(*f*) Hom. Il. l. 23. v. 334, &c.

* Metaque fervidis Evitata rotis. *Horat. Od.* 1.
The goal ſhun'd by the burning wheels.

opinion very conſiderable, in regard to the places of thoſe, who contended for the prize in the chariot-race. They all ſtarted indeed from the ſame line, and at the ſame time, and ſo far had no advantage of each other; but he, whoſe lot gave him the firſt place, being neareſt the boundary at the end of the career, and having but a ſmall compaſs to deſcribe in turning about it, had leſs way to make than the ſecond, third, fourth, &c; eſpecially when the chariots were drawn by four horſes, which took up a greater ſpace between the firſt and the others, and obliged them to make a larger circle in coming round. This advantage twelve times together, as it muſt happen, admitting the Stadium was to be run round twelve times, gave ſuch a ſuperiority to the firſt, as ſeemed to aſſure him infallibly of the victory againſt all his competitors. To me it ſeems, that the fleetneſs of the horſes, joined with the addreſs of the driver, might countervail this odds; either by getting before the firſt, or by taking his place, if not in the firſt, in ſome of the ſubſequent rounds: for it is not to be ſuppoſed, that in the progreſs of the race, the antagoniſts always continued in the ſame order they ſtarted. They often changed places in a ſhort interval of time, and in that variety and viciſſitude conſiſted all the diverſion of the ſpectators.

It was not required, that thoſe who diſputed the victory ſhould enter the liſts, and drive their chariots in perſon. Their being ſpectators of the games, or ſending their horſes thither was ſufficient; but in either caſe, it was previouſly neceſſary to regiſter the names of the perſons, for whom the horſes were to run, either in the chariot or ſingle horſe-races.

(g) At the time, that the city of Potidæa ſurrendered to Philip, three couriers brought him advices; the firſt, that the Illyrians had been defeated in a great battle by his general Parmenio; the ſecond, that he had carried the prize of the horſe-race in the Olym-

(g) Plut. in Alex. p. 666.

pic

pic games; and the third, that the queen was delivered of a ſon. Plutarch ſeems to inſinuate, that Philip was equally delighted with each of theſe circumſtances.

(*b*) Hiero ſent horſes to Olympia to run for the prize, and cauſed a magnificent pavilion to be erected for them. Upon this occaſion Themiſtocles haranegued the Greeks, to perſuade them to pull down the tyrant's pavilion, who had refuſed his aid againſt the common enemy, and to hinder his horſes from running with the reſt. It does not appear that any regard was had to this remonſtrance; for we find by one of Pindar's odes, compoſed in honour of Hiero, that he won the prize in the equeſtrian races.

(*i*) No one ever carried the ambition of making a great figure in the public games of Greece ſo far as Alcibiades, in which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the moſt ſplendid manner, by the great number of horſes and chariots, which he kept only for the races. 'There never was either private perſon or king, that ſent, as he did, ſeven chariots at once to the Olympic games, wherein he carried the firſt, ſecond, and third prizes; an honour no one ever had before him. 'The famous poet Euripides celebrated theſe victories in an ode, of which Plutarch has preſerved a fragment, *in vit. Alcib.* The victor, after having made a ſumptuous ſacrifice to Jupiter, gave a magnificent feaſt to the innumerable multitude of the ſpectators at the games. It is not eaſy to comprehend, how the wealth of a private perſon ſhould ſuffice to ſo enormous an expence: but Antiſthenes, the ſcholar of Socrates, who relates what he ſaw, informs us, that many cities of the allies, in a kind of emulation with each other, ſupplied Alcibiades with all things neceſſary for the ſupport of ſuch incredible magnificence. Equipages, horſes, tents, ſacrifices, the moſt exquiſite proviſions, the moſt delicate wines, in a word, all that was neceſſary to the ſupport of his table or train.

(*b*) Plut. in Themiſt. p. 124. (*i*) Plut. in Alcibiad. p. 196.

The paſſage is remarkable; for the ſame author aſſures us, that this was not only done when Alcibiades went to the Olympic games, but in all his military expeditions and journeys by land or ſea. "Where-"ever," ſays he, "Alcibiades travelled, he made "uſe of four of the allied cities as his ſervants. Ephe-"ſus furniſhed him with tents, as magnificent as "thoſe of the Perſians. Chios took care to provide "for his horſes; Cyzicum ſupplied him with ſacri-"fices, and proviſions for his table; and Leſbos gave "him wine, with all the other neceſſaries of his "houſe."

I muſt not omit, in ſpeaking of the Olympic games, that the ladies were admitted to diſpute the prize in them as well as the men; which many of them obtained. (*k*) Cyniſca, ſiſter of Ageſilaus king of Sparta, firſt opened this new path of glory to her ſex, and was proclaimed victrix in the race of chariots with four horſes. (*l*) This victory, which till then had no example, did not fail of being celebrated with all poſſible ſplendor. (*m*) A magnificent monument was erected in Sparta in honour of Cyniſca; and the Lacedæmonians, though otherwiſe very little ſenſible to the charms of poetry, appointed a poet to tranſmit this new triumph to poſterity, and to immortalize its memory by an inſcription in verſe. (*n*) She herſelf dedicated a chariot of braſs, drawn by four horſes, in the temple of Delphos; in which the charioteer was alſo repreſented; a certain proof that ſhe did not drive it herſelf. (*o*) In proceſs of time the picture of Cyniſca, drawn by the famous Apelles, was annexed to it, and the whole adorned with many inſcriptions in honour of that Spartan heroine.

(*k*) Pauſan. l. 3. p. 172. (*l*) p. 288. (*m*) p. 272.
(*n*) Id. l. 5. p. 309. (*o*) Pauſan. l. 6. p. 344.

SECT.

SECT. VIII. *Of the honours and rewards, granted to the victors.*

THESE honours and rewards were of several kinds. The spectators acclamations in honour of the victors were only a prelude to the rewards designed them. These rewards were different wreaths of wild olive, pine, parsley, or laurel, according to the different places where the games were celebrated. Those crowns were always attended with branches of palm, that the victors carried in their right hands; which custom, according to Plutarch (*p*), arose, (perhaps) from the nature of the palm-tree, which displays new vigour the more endeavours are used to crush or bend it, and is a symbol of the champion's courage and resistance in the attainment of the prize. As he might be victor more than once in the same games, and sometimes on the same day, he might also receive several crowns and palms.

When the victor had received the crown and palm, an herald, preceded by a trumpet, conducted him through the Stadium; and proclaimed aloud his name and country, who passed in that kind of review before the people, whilst they redoubled their acclamations and applauses at the sight of him.

When he returned to his own country, the people came out in a body to meet him, and conducted him into the city, adorned with all the marks of his victory, and riding upon a chariot drawn by four horses. He made his entry not through the gates, but through a breach purposely made in the walls. Lighted torches were carried before him, and a numerous train followed to do honour to the procession.

The Athletic triumph almost always concluded with feasts, made for the victors, their relations and friends, either at the expence of the public, or by particulars, who regaled not only their families and friends, but often a great part of the spectators. (*q*) Alcibiades

(*p*) Sympos. l. 8. quæs. 4. (*q*) Plut. in Alcib. p. 196.

after having ſacrificed to Jupiter, which was always the firſt care of the victor, treated the whole aſſembly. Leophron did the ſame, as Athenæus reports (*r*); who adds, that Empedocles of Agrigentum, having conquered in the ſame games, and not having it in his power, being a Pythagorean, to regale the people with fleſh or fiſh, he cauſed an ox to be made of a paſte, compoſed of myrrh, incenſe, and all ſorts of ſpices, of which pieces were given to all who were preſent.

One of the moſt honourable privileges, granted to the Athletic victors, was the right of taking place at the public games. At Sparta it was a cuſtom for the king to take them with him in military expeditions to fight near his perſon, and to be his guard; which with reaſon was judged very honourable. Another privilege, in which the uſeful united with the honourable, was that of being maintained for the reſt of their lives at the expence of their country. (*s*) That this expence might not become too chargeable to the ſtate, Solon reduced the penſion of a victor in the Olympic games to five hundred drachma's (*t*); in the Iſthmian to an hundred (*u*), and in the reſt in proportion. The victor, and his country conſidered this penſion leſs as a relief of the champion's indigence, than as a mark of honour and diſtinction. They were alſo exempted from all civil offices and employments.

The celebration of the games being over, one of the firſt applications of the magiſtrates, who preſided in them, was to inſcribe in the public regiſter, the name and country of the Athletæ, who had carried the prizes, and to annex the ſpecies of combat, in which they had been victorious. The chariot-race had the preference to all other games. From whence the hiſtorians, who date their facts by the Olympiads, as Thucydides, Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, Diodorus Si-

(*r*) Lib. 1. p. 3.
(*s*) Diog. Laert. in Solon. p. 37.
(*t*) 250 *livres*.
(*u*) 50 *livres*.

culus,

culus, and Pauſanias, almoſt always expreſs the Olympiad by the name and country of the victors in that race.

The praiſes of the victorious Athletæ were amongſt the Greeks one of the principal ſubjects of their lyric poetry. We find, that all the odes of the four books of Pindar turn upon it, each of which takes its title from the games, in which the combatants ſignalized themſelves, whoſe victories thoſe poems celebrate. The poet indeed frequently enriches his matter, by calling in to the champion's aſſiſtance, incapable alone of inſpiring all the enthuſiaſm neceſſary, the aid of the gods, heroes, and princes, who have any relation to his ſubject; and to ſupport the flights of imagination, to which he abandons himſelf. Before Pindar, the poet Simonides practiſed the ſame manner of writing, intermingling the praiſes of the gods and heroes with thoſe of the champions, whoſe victories he ſang. (x) It is related upon this head, that one of the victors in boxing, called Scopas, having agreed with Simonides for a poem upon his victory, the poet, according to cuſtom, after having given the higheſt praiſes to the champion, expatiates in a long digreſſion to the honour of Caſtor and Pollux. Scopas ſatisfied in appearance with the performance of Simonides, paid him however only the third part of the ſum agreed on, referring him for the remainder to the Tyndarides, whom he had celebrated ſo well. And he was well paid their part in effect, if we may believe the ſequel. For at the feaſt given by the champion, whilſt the gueſts were at table, a ſervant came to Simonides, and told him, that two men, covered with duſt and ſweat, were at the door, and deſired to ſpeak with him in all haſte. He had ſcarce ſet his foot out of the chamber, in order to go to them, when the roof fell in, and cruſhed the champion with all his gueſts to death.

(x) Cic. de orat. l. 2. n. 352. 353. Phæd. l. 2. fab. 24. Quintil. l. 11. c. 2.

Sculpture

Sculpture united with poetry to perpetuate the fame of the champions. Statues were erected to the victors, especially in the Olympic games, in the very place where they had been crowned, and sometimes in that of their birth also; which was commonly done at the expence of their country. Amongst the statues, which adorned Olympia, were those of several children of ten or twelve years old, who had obtained the prize at that age in the Olympic games. They did not only raise such monuments to the champions, but to the very horses, to whose swiftness they were indebted for the Agonistic crown; and (*y*) Pausanias mentions one, which was erected in honour of a mare, called Aura, whose history is worth repeating. Phidolas, her rider, having fallen off in the beginning of the race, the mare continued to run in the same manner as if he had been upon her back. She outstript all the rest, and upon the sound of the trumpets, which was usual toward the end of the race to animate the competitors, she redoubled her vigour and courage, turned round the goal; and, as if she had been sensible of the victory, presented herself before the judges of the games. The Elæans declared Phidolas victor, with permission to erect a monument to himself and the mare, that had served him so well.

SECT. IX. *The different taste of the Greeks and Romans, in regard to public shews.*

BEFORE I make an end of observing upon the combats and games so much in estimation amongst the Greeks, I beg the reader's permission to make a reflection, that may serve to explain the different characters of the Greeks and Romans, with regard to this subject.

The most common entertainment of the latter, at which the fair sex, by nature tender and compassionate, were present in throngs, was the combats of the gladiators, and of men with bears and lions; in which

(*y*) Lib. 6. p. 368.

the

the cries of the wounded and dying, and the abundant effuſion of human blood, ſupplied a grateful ſpectacle for a whole people, who feaſted their cruel eyes with the ſavage pleaſure of ſeeing men murder one another in cool blood, and in the times of the perſecutions, with the tearing in pieces of old men and infants, of women and tender virgins, whoſe age and weakneſs are apt to excite compaſſion in the hardeſt hearts.

In Greece theſe combats were abſolutely unknown, and were only introduced into ſome cities, after their ſubjection to the Roman people. (z) The Athenians, however, whoſe diſtinguiſhing characteriſticks were benevolence and humanity, never admitted them into their city; and when it was propoſed to introduce the combats of the gladiators, that they might not be outdone by the Corinthians in that point, *Firſt throw down*, cried out an * Athenian from the midſt of the aſſembly, *throw down the altar, erected above a thouſand years ago by our anceſtors to Mercy.*

It muſt be allowed in this reſpect, that the conduct and wiſdom of the Greeks was infinitely ſuperior to that of the Romans. I ſpeak of the wiſdom of Pagans. Convinced that the multitude, too much governed by the objects of ſenſe to be ſufficiently amuſed and entertained with the pleaſures of the underſtanding, could be delighted only with ſenſible objects, both nations were ſtudious to divert them with games and ſhews, and ſuch external contrivances, as were proper to affect the ſenſes. In the inſtitution of which, each follows its peculiar genius and diſpoſition.

The Romans, educated in war, and accuſtomed to battles, retained, notwithſtanding the politeneſs upon which they piqued themſelves, ſomething of their antient ferocity; and hence it was, that the effuſion of blood, and the murders exhibited in their public ſhews,

(z) Lucian in vit. Demonact. p. 1014.

* *It was Demonax a celebrated philoſopher, whoſe diſciple Lucian had been. He flouriſhed in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.*

far

far from inſpiring them with horror, was a grateful entertainment to them.

The inſolent pomp of triumphs flows from the ſame ſource, and argues no leſs inhumanity. To obtain this honour, it was neceſſary to prove, that eight or ten thouſand men at leaſt had been killed in battle. The ſpoils, which were carried with ſo much oſtentation, proclaimed, that an infinity of honeſt families had been reduced to the utmoſt miſery. The innumerable troop of captives had been free perſons a few days before, and were often diſtinguiſhable for honour, merit, and virtue. The repreſentation of the towns that had been taken in the war, explained, that they had ſacked, plundered, and burnt the moſt opulent cities; and either deſtroyed, or enſlaved their inhabitants. In fine, nothing was more inhuman, than to drag kings and princes in chains before the chariot of a Roman citizen, and to inſult their misfortunes and humiliation in that public manner.

(*a*) The triumphal arches, erected under the emperors, where the enemies appeared with chains upon their hands and legs, could proceed only from an haughty fierceneſs of diſpoſition, and an inhuman pride, that took delight in immortalizing the ſhame and ſorrow of ſubjected nations.

The joy of the Greeks after a victory was far more modeſt. They erected trophies indeed, but of wood, a matter little durable, which would ſoon conſume; and thoſe it was prohibited to renew. Plutarch's reaſon for this is admirable*. After time had deſtroyed and obliterated the marks of diſſenſion and enmity, that had divided the people, it would have been the exceſs of odious and barbarous animoſity, to have thought of re-eſtabliſhing them, and to have perpetuated the remembrance of antient quarrels, which

(*a*) Plut. in Quaſt. Rom. p. 273.

* "Ὅτι τῷ χρόνῳ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους διαφορᾶς ἀμαυροῦται, αὐτὸς ἀναλαμβάνειν καὶ καινοποιεῖν ἐπιφθονόν ἐστι καὶ φιλαπεχθήμον.

could

could not be buried too soon in silence and oblivion. He adds, that the trophies of stone and brass, since substituted to those of wood, reflect no honour upon those who introduced the custom.

(*b*) I am pleased with the grief of Agesilaus's countenance after a considerable victory, wherein a great number of his enemies, that is to say of Greeks, were left upon the field, and to hear him utter, with sighs and groans, these words, so full of moderation and humanity: "Oh unhappy Greece, to deprive thy "self of so many brave citizens, and to destroy those "who had been sufficient to have conquered all the "Barbarians!"

The same spirit of moderation and humanity prevailed in the public shews of the Greeks. Their festivals had nothing mournful or afflictive in them. Every thing in those feasts tended to delight, friendship, and harmony: and in that consisted one of the greatest advantages which resulted to Greece, from the solemnization of these games. The republics, separated by distance of country, and diversity of interests, having the opportunity of meeting from time to time in the same place, and in the midst of rejoicing and festivity, allied themselves more strictly with one another, apprized each other of their strength, animated each other against the Barbarians and the common enemies of their liberty, and made up their differences by the mediation of some neutral state in alliance with them. The same language, manners, sacrifices, exercises, and worship, all conspired to unite the several little states of Greece into one great and formidable nation; and to preserve amongst them the same disposition, the same principles, the same zeal for their liberty, and the same passion for the arts and sciences.

(*b*) Plut. in Lacon. Apophthegm. p. 211.

ARTICLE IV.

Of the prizes of wit, and the ſhews and repreſentations of the theatre.

I HAVE reſerved for the concluſion of this head another kind of competition, which does not at all depend upon the ſtrength, activity, and addreſs of the body, and may be called with reaſon the combat of the mind; wherein the orators, hiſtorians, and poets, made trial of their capacities, and ſubmitted their productions to the cenſure and judgment of the public. The emulation in this ſort of diſpute was moſt lively and ardent, as the victory in queſtion might juſtly be deemed to be infinitely ſuperior to all the others, becauſe it affects the man more nearly, is founded in his perſonal and internal qualities, and decides the merit of his wit and capacity; which are advantages we are apt to aſpire at with the utmoſt vivacity and paſſion, and of which we are leaſt of all inclined to renounce the glory to others.

It was a great honour, and at the ſame time a moſt ſenſible pleaſure, for writers, who are generally fond of fame and applauſe, to have known how to reconcile the voices in their favour of ſo numerous and ſelect an aſſembly, as that of the Olympic games; in which were preſent all the fineſt geniuſſes of Greece, and all the beſt judges of the excellency of a work, This theatre was equally open to hiſtory, eloquence, and poetry.

Herodotus read his hiſtory in the Olympic games to all Greece, aſſembled at them, and was heard with ſuch applauſe, that the names of the nine Muſes were given to the nine books, which compoſe his work, and the people cried out wherever he paſſed, *That's he, who has wrote our hiſtory, and celebrated our glorious ſucceſſes againſt the barbarians ſo excellently.*

All who had been preſent at the games did after-

(c) Lucian. in Herod. p. 622.

wards

wards make every part of Greece resound with the name and glory of this illustrious historian.

Lucian, who writes the fact I have repeated, adds, that after the example of Herodotus, many of the sophists and rhetoricians went to Olympia to read the harangues of their composing; finding that the shortest and most certain method of acquiring a great reputation in a little time.

(*d*) Plutarch observes, that Lysias the famous Athenian orator, cotemporary with Herodotus, pronounced a speech in the Olympic games, wherein he congratulated the Greeks upon their reconciliation with each other, and their having united to reduce the power of Dionysius the tyrant, as upon the greatest action they had ever done.

(*e*) We may judge of the passion of the poets to signalize themselves in these solemn games, from that of Dionysius himself. That prince, who had the foolish vanity to believe himself the most excellent poet of his time, appointed readers, called in the Greek ῥαψῳδοὶ, (*Rhapsodists*,) to read several pieces of his composing at Olympia. When they began to pronounce the verses of the royal poet, the strong and harmonious voices of the readers occasioned a profound silence, and they were heard at first with the greatest attention, which continually decreased as they went on, and turned at last into downright horse-laughs and hooting; so miserable did the verses appear. (*f*) He comforted himself for this disgrace by a victory he gained sometime after in the feast of Bacchus at Athens, in which he caused a tragedy of his composition to be represented.

The disputes of the poets in the Olympic games were nothing, in comparison with the ardor and emulation, expressed by them at Athens: which is what remains to be said upon this subject, and therefore I shall conclude with it; taking occasion to give my

(*d*) Plut. de vit. Orat. p. 836. (*e*) Diod. l. 14. p. 318.
(*f*) Diod. l. 15. p. 384.

readers

readers at the ſame time, a ſhort view of the ſhew and repreſentations of the theatre of the antients Thoſe, who would be more fully informed in thi ſubject, will find it treated at large in a work lately made public by the reverend father Brumoi, the Je- ſuit; a work, which abounds with profound know- ledge and erudition, and with reflections entirely new, deduced from the nature of the poems, of which it treats. I ſhall make conſiderable uſe of that piece, and often without citing it; which is not uncommon with me.

SECT. I. *Extraordinary paſſion of the Athenians for the entertainments of the ſtage. Emulation of the poets in diſputing the prizes in thoſe repreſentations. A ſhort idea of dramatic poetry.*

NO people ever expreſſed ſo much ardor and paſ- ſion for the entertainments of the theatre as the Greeks, and eſpecially the Athenians. The reaſon of which is obvious: no people ever demonſtrated ſuch extent of genius, nor carried ſo far the love of elo- quence and poeſy, taſte for the ſciences, juſtneſs of ſentiments, elegance of ear, and delicacy in all the refinements of language. * A poor woman, who ſold herbs at Athens, diſtinguiſhed Theophraſtus to be a ſtranger by a ſingle word, which he made uſe of in expreſſing himſelf. The common people got the tragedies of Euripides by heart. The genius of eve- ry nation expreſſes itſelf in the people's manner of paſ- ſing their time, and in their pleaſures. The great employment and delight of the Athenians were to amuſe themſelves with works of wit, and to judge of the dramatic pieces, that were acted by the public authority ſeveral times a year, eſpecially at the feaſts of Bacchus, when the tragic and comic poets diſpu- ted for the prize. The former uſed to preſent four of their pieces at a time; except Sophocles, who did not

* Attica anus Theophraſtum, hominem alioqui diſertiſſimum, annotata unius affectatione verbi hoſpitem dixit. *Quint.* l. 8. c. 1.

think

think fit to continue ſo laborious an exerciſe, and confined himſelf to one performance, when he diſputed the prize.

The ſtate appointed judges, to determine upon the merit of the tragic or comic pieces, before they were repreſented in the feſtivals. They were acted before them in the preſence of the people; but undoubtedly with no great preparation. The judges gave their ſuffrages, and that performance, which had the moſt voices, was declared victorious, received the crown as ſuch, and was received with all poſſible pomp at the expence of the republic. This did not, however, exclude ſuch pieces, as were only in the ſecond or third claſs. The beſt had not always the preference; for what times were exempt from party, caprice, ignorance, and prejudice? (g) Ælian is very angry with the judges, who, in one of theſe diſputes, gave only the ſecond place to Euripides. He accuſes them of judging either without capacity, or of giving their voices for hire. It is eaſy to conceive the warmth and emulation, which theſe diſputes and public rewards excited amongſt the poets, and how much they contributed to the perfection, to which Greece carried dramatic performances.

The dramatic poem introduces the perſons themſelves, ſpeaking and acting upon the ſtage: in the epic, on the contrary, only the poet relates the different adventures of his characters. It is natural to be delighted with fine deſcriptions of events, in which illuſtrious perſons and whole nations are intereſted; and hence the epic poem had its origin. But we are quite differently affected with hearing thoſe perſons themſelves, with being confidents of their moſt ſecret ſentiments, and auditors and ſpectators of their reſolutions, enterprizes, and the happy, or unhappy events attending them. To read, and ſee an action, are quite different things. We are infinitely more moved with what is acted, than with what we read. The

(g) Ælian. l. 2. c. 8.

ſpectator,

ſpectator, agreeably deceived by an imitation ſo nearly approaching life, miſtakes the picture for the original, and thinks the object real. This gave birth to dramatic poetry, which includes tragedy and comedy.

To theſe may be added the ſatyric poem, which derives its name from the Satyrs, rural gods, who were the chief characters in it; and not from the *Satire*, a kind of abuſive poetry, which has no reſemblance to this, and is of a much later date. The ſatyric poem was neither tragedy nor comedy, but ſomething between both, participating of the character of each. The poets, who diſputed the prize, generally added one of theſe pieces to their tragedies, to allay the grave and ſolemn of the one, with the mirth and pleaſantry of the other. There is but one example of this antient poem come down to us, which is the Cyclops of Euripides.

I ſhall confine myſelf upon this head to tragedy and comedy; which had both their origin amongſt the Greeks, who looked upon them as fruits of their own growth, of which they could never have enough. Athens was remarkable for an extraordinary appetite of this kind. Theſe two poems, which were a long time comprized under the general name of tragedy, received there by degrees ſuch improvements, as at length raiſed them to their laſt perfection.

SECT. II. *The origin and progreſs of Tragedy. Poets who excelled in it at Athens; Æſchylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.*

THERE had been many tragic and comic poets before Theſpis; but as they had altered nothing in the original rude form of this poem, and Theſpis was the firſt that made any improvement in it, he was generally eſteemed its inventor. Before him, tragedy was no more than a jumble of buffoon tales in the comic ſtyle, intermixed with the ſinging of a chorus in praiſe of Bacchus; for it is to the feaſts of that god,

god, celebrated at the time of the vintage, that tragedy owes its birth.

(*b*) La Tragedie, informe & groſſiere en naiſſant,
N'etoit qu'un ſimple Chœur, où chacun en danſant,
Et du dieu des railins entonnant les louanges,
S'efforçoit d' attirer de fertiles vendanges.
Là, le vin & la joie eveillant les eſprits,
Du plus habile chantre un bouc etoit le prix.
Formleſs and groſs did tragedy ariſe.
A ſimple chorus, rather mad than wiſe;
For fruitful vintages the dancing throng
Roar'd to the god of grapes a drunken ſong:
Wild mirth, and wine, ſuſtain'd the frantic note,
And the beſt ſinger had the prize, a goat.

Theſpis made ſeveral alterations in it, which Horace deſcribes after Ariſtotle, in his art of poetry. The * firſt was to carry his actors about in a cart, whereas before they uſed to ſing in the ſtreets, whereever chance led them. Another was to have their faces ſmeared over with wine-lees inſtead of acting without diſguiſe as at firſt. He alſo introduced a character amongſt the chorus, who, to give the actors time to reſt themſelves, and to take breath, repeated the adventures of ſome illuſtrious perſon; which recital, at length, gave place to the ſubjects of tragedy.

(*i*) Theſpis fut le premier, qui barbouillé de lie,
Promena par les bourgs cette heureuſe folie,
Et d'Acteurs mal ornés chargeant un tombereau,
Amuſa les paſſans d'un ſpectacle nouveau.
Firſt Theſpis, ſmear'd with lees, and void of art,
The grateful folly vented from a cart;

(*b*) Boileau Art. Poet. Cant. 3. (*i*) Ibid.

* Ignotum tragicæ genus inveniſſe Camœnæ
Dicitur, et plauſtris vexiſſe poemata Theſpis,
Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti fæcibus ora. *Hor. de Art. Poet.*
When Theſpis firſt expoſed the tragic muſe,
Rude were the actors, and a cart the ſcene,
Where ghaſtly faces, ſmeared with lees of wine,
Frighted the children, and amus'd the crowd.

Roſcom. Art of Poet.

And

And as his tawdry actors drove about,
The ſight was new, and charm'd the gaping rout.

(*k*) Theſpis lived in the time of Solon. That wiſe legiſlator, upon ſeeing his pieces performed, expreſſed his diſlike, by ſtriking his ſtaff againſt the ground; apprehending, that theſe poetical fictions, and idle ſtories, from mere theatrical repreſentations would ſoon become matters of importance, and have too great a ſhare in all public and private affairs.

It is not ſo eaſy to invent, as to improve the inventions of others. The alterations Theſpis made in tragedy gave room for Æſchylus to make new and more conſiderable of his own. (*l*) He was born at Athens, in the firſt year of the ſixtieth Olympiad. He took upon him the profeſſion of arms, at a time when the Athenians reckoned almoſt as many heroes as citizens. He was at the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa, where he did his duty. (*m*) But his diſpoſition called him elſewhere, and put him upon entering into another courſe, where no leſs glory was to be acquired; and where he was ſoon without any competitors. As a ſuperior genius, he took upon him to reform, or rather to create tragedy anew; of which he has, in conſequence, been always acknowledged the inventor, and father. F. Brumoi, in a diſſertation which abounds with wit and good ſenſe, explains the manner in which Æſchylus conceived the true idea of tragedy from Homer's epic poems. That poet himſelf uſed to ſay, that his works were only copies in relievo of Homer's draughts in the Iliad and Odyſſey.

Tragedy therefore took a new form under him. He gave * maſks to his actors, adorned them with robes

(*k*) A. M. 3440. Ant. J. C. 564. Plut. in Solon. p. 95.
(*l*) A. M. 3464. Ant. J. C. 540. (*m*) A. M. 3514. Ant. J. C. 490.

* Poſt hunc perſonæ pallæque repertor honeſtæ
Æſchylus, et modicis inſtravit pulpita tignis,
Et docuit magnumque loqui, nitique cothurno. *Hor. ibid.*

This

robes and trains, and made them wear buſkins. Inſtead of a cart he erected a theatre of a moderate extent, and entirely changed their ſtyle; which from being merry and burleſque as at firſt, became majeſtic and ſerious.

(*n*) Eſchyle dans le Chœur jetta les perſonages:
D'un maſque plus honnête habilla les viſages:
Sur les ais d'un theatre en public exhauſsé
Fit paroitre l'Acteur d'un brodequin chauſsé.
From Æſchylus the chorus learnt new grace;
He veil'd with decent masks the actor's face,
Taught him in buskins firſt to tread the ſtage,
And rais'd a theatre to pleaſe the age.

But that was only the external part or body of tragedy. Its ſoul, which was the moſt important and eſſential addition of Æſchylus, conſiſted in the vivacity and ſpirit of the action, ſuſtained by the dialogue of the perſons of the drama introduced by him; in the artful working up of the greater paſſions, eſpecially of terror and pity, that, by alternately afflicting and agitating the ſoul with mournful or terrible objects, produce a grateful pleaſure and delight from that very trouble and emotion; in the choice of a ſubject great, noble, affecting, and contained within the due bounds of time, place, and action. In fine, it is the conduct and diſpoſition of the whole piece, which, by the order and harmony of its parts, and the happy connection of its incidents and intrigues, holds the mind of the ſpectator in ſuſpenſe till the cataſtrophe, and then reſtores him his tranquillity, and diſmiſſes him with ſatisfaction.

The chorus had been eſtabliſhed before Æſchylus, as it compoſed alone, or next to alone, what was

(*n*) Boilçau Art. Poet.

This Æſchylus (with indignation) ſaw,
And built a ſtage, found out a decent dreſs,
Brought vizards in (a civiler diſguiſe)
And taught men how to ſpeak, and how to act.

Roſcom. Art. Poet.

then

then called tragedy. He did not therefore exclude it, but on the contrary thought fit to incorporate it, to ſing as chorus between the acts. Thus it ſupplied the interval of reſting, and was a kind of perſon of the drama, employed * either in giving uſeful counſels and ſalutary inſtructions, in eſpouſing the party of innocence and virtue, in being the depoſitary of ſecrets, and the avenger of violated religion, or to ſuſtain all thoſe characters at the ſame time according to Horace. The Coryphæus, or principal perſon of the chorus, ſpoke for the reſt.

In one of Æſchylus's pieces, called the Eumenides, the poet repreſents Oreſtes at the bottom of the ſtage, ſurrounded by the furies laid aſleep by Apollo. Their figure muſt have been extremely horrible, as it is related, that upon their waking and appearing tumultuouſly on the theatre, where they were to act as a chorus, ſome women miſcarried with the ſurprize, and ſeveral children died of the fright. The chorus at that time conſiſted of fifty actors. After this accident, it was reduced to fifteen by an expreſs law, and at length to twelve.

I have obſerved, that one of the alterations made by Æſchylus in tragedy was the maſk, worn by his

* Actoris partes chorus officiumque virile
Defendat, neu quid medios intercinat actus
Quod non propoſito conducat, et hæreat aptè.
Ille bonis faveatque, et concilietur amicis,
Et regat iratos, et amet peccare timentes.
Ille dapes laudet menſæ brevis; ille ſalubrem
Juſtitiam, legeſque, et apertis otia portis.
Ille tegat commiſſa, deoſque precetur et oret,
Ut redeat miſeris, abeat fortuna ſuperbis. *Hor. de Art. Poet.*

The chorus ſhould ſupply what action wants,
And hath a generous and manly part;
Bridles wild rage, loves rigid honeſty,
And ſtrict obſervance of impartial laws,
Sobriety, ſecurity, and peace,
And begs the gods to turn blind fortune's wheel,
To raiſe the wretched, and pull down the proud:
But nothing muſt be ſung between the acts,
But what ſome way conduces to the plot.

Roſcom. Art of Poetry tranſlat.

actors.

actors. These dramatic masks had no resemblance to ours which only cover the face, but were a kind of case for the whole head, and which besides the features, represented the beard, the hair, the ears, and even the ornaments, used by women in their headdresses. These masks varied according to the different pieces that were acted. They are treated at large in a dissertation of Mr. Boindin's, inserted in the memoirs of the academy of *Belles Lettres* (*o*).

I could never comprehend, as I have observed elsewhere (*p*) in speaking of pronunciation, how masks came to continue so long upon the stage of the antients; for certainly they could not be used, without considerably flattening the spirit of the action; which is principally expressed in the countenance, the seat and mirror of what passes in the soul. Does it not often happen, that the blood, according to its being put in motion by different passions, sometimes covers the face with a sudden and modest blush, sometimes enflames it with the heats of rage and fury, sometimes retires, leaving it pale with fear, and at others diffuses a calm and amiable serenity over it? All these affections are strongly imaged and distinguished in the lineaments of the face. The mask deprives the features of this energy of language, and of that life and soul, by which it is the faithful interpreter of all the sentiments of the heart. I do not wonder therefore at Cicero's remark upon the action of Roscius. * Our ancestors, says he, were better judges than we are. They could not wholly approve even Roscius himself, whilst he performed in a mask.

Æschylus was in the sole possession of the glory of the stage, with almost every voice in his favour, when a young rival made his appearance to dispute the palm with him. This was Sophocles. He was born at Colonos, a town in Attica, in the second year of the

(*o*) Vol. IV. (*p*) *Manner of teaching* &c. Vol. IV.

* Quo melius nostri illi senes, qui personatum, ne Roscium quidem, magnopere laudabant. *Lib.* 3, *de orat. n.* 221.

ſeventy firſt Olympiad. His father was a blackſmith, or one who kept people of that trade to work for him. His firſt eſſay was a maſter-piece. When upon the occaſion of Cymon's having found the bones of Theſeus, and their being brought to Athens, a diſpute between the tragic poets was appointed, Sophocles entered the liſts with Æſchylus, and carried the prize againſt him. The antient victor, laden till then with the wreaths he had acquired, believed them all loſt by failing of the laſt, and withdrew in diſguſt into Sicily to king Hiero, the protector and patron of all the learned in diſgrace at Athens. He died there ſoon after in a very ſingular manner, if we may believe Suidas. As he lay aſleep in the fields with his head bare, an eagle taking his bald crown for a ſtone, let a tortoiſe fall upon it, which killed him. Of ninety, or at leaſt ſeventy tragedies, compoſed by him, only ſeven are now extant.

Nor have thoſe of Sophocles eſcaped the injury of time better, though one hundred and ſeventeen in number, and according to ſome, one hundred and thirty. He retained to extreme old age all the force and vigour of his genius, as appears from a circumſtance in his hiſtory. His children, unworthy of ſo great a father, upon pretence that he had loſt his ſenſes, ſummoned him before the judges, in order to obtain a decree, that his eſtate might be taken from him, and put into their hands. He made no other defence, than to read a tragedy he was at that time compoſing, called Œdipus at Colonos, with which the judges were ſo charmed, that he carried his cauſe unanimouſly, and his children, deteſted by the whole aſſembly, got nothing by their ſuit, but the ſhame and infamy of ſo flagrant an ingratitude. He was twenty times crowned victor. Some ſay he expired in repeating his Antigone, for want of power to recover his breath after a violent endeavour to pronounce a long period to the end. Others, that he died of joy upon his being declared victor contrary to his expectation.

pectation. The figure of an hive was placed upon his tomb, to perpetuate the name of bee, which had been given him from the fweetnefs of his verfes: whence it is probable the notion was derived of the bees having fettled upon his lips, when in his cradle. He died in his ninetieth year (*q*), the fourth of the ninety third Olympiad, after having furvived Euripides fix years, who was not fo old as himfelf.

The latter was born in the firft year of the feventy fifth Olympiad (*r*), at Salamin, whither his father Menefarchus and mother Clito had retired, when Xerxes was preparing his great expedition againft Greece. He applied himfelf at firft to philofophy, and amongft others had the celebrated Anaxagoras for his maiter. But the danger incurred by that great man, who was very near being made the victim of his philofophical tenets, inclined him to the ftudy of poetry. He difcovered in himfelf a genius for the drama unknown to him at firft, and employed it with fuch fuccefs, that he entered the lifts with the greateft maiters, of whom we have been fpeaking. * His works fufficiently denote his profound application to philofophy. They abound with excellent maxims of morality, and it is in that view Socrates in his time, and † Cicero long after him, fet fo high a value upon Euripides.

One cannot fufficiently admire the extreme delicacy, expreffed by the Athenian audience on certain occafions, and their folicitude to preferve the reverence due to morality, virtue, decency, and juftice. It is furprizing to obferve the warmth, with which they unanimoufly reproved whatever feemed inconfiftent with them, and called the poet to an account for it, notwithftanding his having the beft founded excufe,

(*q*) A. M. 3599. Ant. J. C. 405. (*r*) A. M. 3524. Ant. J. C. 480.

* Sententiis denfus, et in iis quæ dicuntur magnificus, et verbis quidem ornatis, et iis quæ a doctis fapientibus funt pene ipfis eft par. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

† Cui (Euripidi) quantum credas nefcio; ego certe fingulos ejus verfus fingula teftimonia puto. *Epift.* 8. l. 14. *ad famil.*

in giving ſuch ſentiments only to perſons notoriouſly vicious, and actuated by the moſt unjuſt paſſions.

Euripides had put into the mouth of Bellerophon a pompous panegyric upon riches, which concluded with this thought; *Riches are the ſupreme good of human race, and with reaſon excite the admiration of the gods and men.* The whole theatre cried out againſt theſe expreſſions, and he would have been baniſhed directly, if he had not deſired the ſentence to be reſpited, till the concluſion of the piece, in which the advocate for riches periſhed miſerably.

He was in danger of incurring no common inconveniences from an anſwer he makes Hippolitus give his mother, upon her repreſenting to him, that he had engaged himſelf under an inviolable oath to keep her ſecret. *My tongue it is true pronounced that oath,* replied he, *but my heart gave no conſent to it.* This frivolous diſtinction appeared to the whole people, as an expreſs contempt of the religion and ſanctity of an oath, that tended to baniſh all ſincerity and faith from ſociety, and the commerce of life.

Another maxim * advanced by Eteocles in the tragedy called the Phœnicians, and which Cæſar had always in his mouth, is no leſs pernicious. *If juſtice may be violated at all, it is when a throne is in queſtion; in other reſpects let it be duly revered.* It is highly criminal in Eteocles, or rather in Euripides, ſays Cicero, to make an exception in that very point, wherein ſuch violation is the higheſt crime that can be committed. Eteocles is a tyrant, and ſpeaks like a tyrant, who vindicates his unjuſt conduct by a falſe maxim; and it is not ſtrange, that Cæſar, who was a tyrant by nature, and equally unjuſt, ſhould apply the ſentiments of a prince, whom he ſo much reſembled.

* Ipſe autem ſocer (Cæſar) in ore ſemper Græcos verſus Euripidis de Phœniſſis habebat, quos dicam ut potero, inconditè fortaſſe, ſed tamen ut res poſſit intelligi.

Nam, ſi violandum eſt jus, regnandi gratiâ violandum eſt; aliis rebus pietatem colas.

Capitalis Eteocles, vel potiùs Euripides, qui id unum quod omnium ſceleratiſſimum fuerat, exceperit. *Offic. l.* 3. *n.* 82.

But

But what is remarkable in Cicero, is his falling upon the poet himſelf, and imputing to him as a crime, the having advanced ſo pernicious a principle upon the ſtage.

(s) Lycurgus, the orator, who lived in the time of Philip and Alexander the Great, to re-animate the ſpirit of the tragic poets, cauſed three ſtatues of braſs to be erected in the name of the people to Æſchylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; and having ordered their works to be tranſcribed, he appointed them to be carefully preſerved amongſt the public archives, from whence they were taken from time to time to be read; the players not being permitted to repreſent them on the ſtage.

The reader expects no doubt, after what has been ſaid upon the three poets, who invented, improved, and carried tragedy to its perfection, that I ſhould obſerve upon the peculiar excellencies of their ſtyle and character. For that I muſt refer to father Brumoi, who will do it much better than is in my power. After having laid down, as an undoubted principle, that the epic poem, that is to ſay Homer, pointed out the way for the tragic poets, and having demonſtrated, by reflections drawn from human nature, upon what principles and by what degrees this happy imitation was conducted to its end, he goes on to deſcribe the three poets, upon whom he treats in the moſt lively and ſhining colours.

Tragedy took at firſt from Æſchylus, its inventor, a much more lofty ſtyle than the Iliad; that is, the *magnum loqui* mentioned by Horace. Perhaps Æſchylus, who was its author, was too pompous, and carried the tragic ſtyle too high. It is not Homer's trumpet, but ſomething more. His ſounding, ſwelling, gigantic diction, reſembles rather the beating of drums and the ſhouts of battle, than the nobler harmony and ſilver ſound of the trumpet. The elevation and grandeur of his genius, would not admit

(s) Plut. in vit. 10. orat. p. 841.

him to ſpeak the language of other men; ſo that his muſe ſeemed rather to walk in ſtilts, than in the buſkins of his own invention.

Sophocles underſtood much better the true excellence of the dramatic ſtyle: he therefore copies Homer more cloſely, and blends in his diction that honeyed ſweetneſs, from whence he was denominated *the Bee*, with a gravity, that gives his tragedy the modeſt air of a matron, compelled to appear in public with dignity, as Horace expreſſes it.

The ſtyle of Euripides, though noble, is leſs removed from the familiar; and he ſeems to have affected rather the pathetic and the elegant, than the nervous and the lofty.

As Corneille, ſays Mr. Brumoi in another place, after having opened to himſelf a path entirely new and unknown to the antients, ſeems like an eagle towering in the clouds, from the ſublimity, force, unbroken progreſs and rapidity of his flight; and as Racine, in copying the antients in a manner entirely his own, imitates the ſwan, that ſometimes floats upon the air, ſometimes riſes, then falls again with an excellence of motion, and a grace peculiar to herſelf; ſo Æſchylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, have each of them a particular tour and method. The firſt, as the inventor and father of tragedy, is like a torrent rolling impetuouſly over rocks, foreſts, and precipices. The ſecond reſembles a * canal, which flows gently through delicious gardens; and the third a river, that does not follow its courſe in a continued line, but loves to turn and wind his ſilver wave through flowery meads, and rural ſcenes.

Mr. Brumoi gives this character of the three poets, to whom the Athenian ſtage was indebted for its

* *I cannot tell whether the idea of* a canal, that flows gently through delicious gardens, *may properly enough ſuit the character of Sophocles, which is peculiarly diſtinguiſhed by nobleneſs, grandeur, and elevation. That of an impetuous and rapid ſtream, whoſe waters, from the violence of their motion, are loud, and to be heard afar off, ſeems to me a more ſuitable image of that poet.*

perfection

perfection in tragedy. * Æſchylus drew it out of its original chaos and confuſion, and made it appear in ſome degree of luſtre; but it ſtill retained the rude unfiniſhed air of things in their beginning, which are generally defective in point of art and method. Sophocles and Euripides added infinitely to the dignity of tragedy. The ſtyle of the firſt, as has been obſerved, is more noble and majeſtic; of the latter, more tender and pathetic; each perfect in their way. In this diverſity of character, it is difficult to reſolve which is moſt excellent. The learned have always been divided upon this head; as we are at this day, in regard to the two poets of our own nation, whoſe tragedies have made our ſtage illuſtrious, and not inferior to that of Athens.

I have obſerved, that the tender and pathetic diſtinguiſhes the compoſitions of Euripides, of which Alexander of Pheræ, the moſt cruel of tyrants, was a proof. That barbarous man, upon ſeeing the Troades of Euripides acted, found himſelf ſo moved with it, that he quitted the theatre before the concluſion of the play; profeſſing, that he was aſhamed to be ſeen in tears for the diſtreſs of Hercules and Andromache, who had never ſhewn the leaſt compaſſion for his own citizens, of whom he had butchered ſuch numbers.

When I ſpeak of the tender and pathetic, I would not be underſtood to mean a paſſion, that ſoftens the heart into effeminacy, and which, to our reproach, is almoſt only received upon our ſtage, though rejected by the antients, and condemned by the nations around us of greateſt reputation for their genius, and taſte of the ſciences and polite learning. The two great principles for moving the paſſions amongſt the antients, were terror and pity (*t*). And indeed, as we naturally determine every thing from its relation to our-

(*t*) Φόβος καὶ ἔλεος.

* Tragœdias primus in lucem Æſchylus protulit: ſublimis, et gravis, et grandiloquus ſæpe uſque ad vitium; ſed rudis in pleriſque et incompoſitus. *Quintil. l.* 10. *c.* 1.

ſelves, or our particular intereſt, when we ſee perſon of exalted rank or virtue ſinking under great evils the fear of the like misfortunes, with which we know that human life is on all ſides inveſted, ſeizes upon us and from a ſecret impulſe of ſelf-love, we find ourſelves ſenſibly affected with the diſtreſſes of others beſides which, the ſharing a * common nature with the reſt of our ſpecies, makes us ſenſible to whatever befals them. Upon a cloſe and attentive enquiry into thoſe two paſſions, they will be found the moſt important, active, extenſive, and general affections of the ſoul; including all orders of men, great and ſmall, rich and poor, of whatever age or condition. Hence the antients, accuſtomed to conſult nature, and to take her for their guide in all things, conceived terror and compaſſion to be the ſoul of tragedy. And for that reaſon that thoſe affections ought to prevail in it. The paſſion of love was in no eſtimation amongſt them, and had ſeldom any ſhare in their dramatic pieces; though with us it is a received opinion, that they cannot be ſupported without it.

It is worth our trouble to examine briefly in what manner this paſſion, which has always been deemed a weakneſs and a blemiſh in the greateſt characters, got ſuch footing upon our ſtage. Corneille, who was the firſt, who brought the French tragedy to any perfection, and whom all the reſt have followed, found the whole nation enamoured to madneſs of romances, and little diſpoſed to admire any thing not reſembling them. From the deſire of pleaſing his audience, who were at the ſame time his judges, he endeavoured to move them in the manner they had been accuſtomed to be affected; and by introducing love in his ſcenes, to bring them the nearer to the predominant taſte of the age for romance. From the ſame ſource aroſe that multiplicity of incidents, epiſodes, and adventures, with which our tragic pieces are crouded and obſcured, ſo contrary to probability, which will not

* Homo ſum: humani nihil à me alienum puto. *Ter.*

admit

admit ſuch a number of extraordinary and ſurprizing events in the ſhort ſpace of four and twenty hours, ſo contrary to the ſimplicity of antient tragedy, and ſo adapted to conceal, in the aſſemblage of ſo many different objects, the ſterility of the genius of a poet, more intent upon the marvelous, than upon the probable and natural.

Both the Greeks and Romans have preferred the Iambic to the Heroic verſe in their tragedies, not only as the firſt has a kind of dignity better adapted to the ſtage, but whilſt it approaches nearer to proſe, retains ſufficiently the air of poetry to pleaſe the ear, and yet has too little of it to put the audience in mind of the poet, who ought not to appear at all in repreſentations, where other perſons are ſuppoſed to ſpeak and act. Monſieur Dacier makes a very juſt reflection in this reſpect. He ſays, that it is the misfortune of our tragedy, to have almoſt no other verſe than what it has in common with epic poetry, elegy, paſtoral, ſatyr, and comedy; whereas the learned languages have a great variety of verſification.

This inconvenience is highly obvious in our tragedy; which cannot avoid being removed by it from the natural and probable, as it obliges heroes, princes, kings, and queens, to expreſs themſelves in a pompous ſtrain in their familiar converſation, which it would be ridiculous to attempt in real life. The giving utterance to the moſt impetuous paſſions in an uniform cadence, and by hemiſtichs and rhimes, would undoubtedly be tedious and offenſive to the ear, if the charms of poetry, the elegance of expreſſion, and the ſpirit of the ſentiments, and perhaps, more than all of them, the reſiſtleſs force of cuſtom, had not in a manner ſubjected our reaſon, and illuded our judgment.

It was not chance therefore, which ſuggeſted to the Greeks the uſe of Iambics in their tragedy. Nature itſelf ſeems to have dictated that kind of verſe to them. Inſtructed by the ſame unerring guide,

they made choice of a different verſification for the chorus, more capable of affecting, and of being ſung; becauſe it was neceſſary for the poetry to ſhine out in all its luſtre, whilſt the free converſation between the real actors was ſuſpended. The chorus was an embelliſhment of the repreſentation, and a relaxation of the audience, and therefore required more exalted poetry and numbers to ſupport it, when united with muſic and dancing.

SECT. III. *Of the antient, middle, and new comedy.*

WHILST tragedy roſe in this manner at Athens, comedy, the ſecond ſpecies of dramatic poetry, and which, till then, had been much neglected, began to be cultivated with more attention. Nature was the common parent of both. We are ſenſibly affected with the dangers, diſtreſſes, misfortunes, and in a word, with whatever relates to the lives and conduct of illuſtrious perſons, and this gave birth to tragedy. And we are as curious to know the adventures, conduct, and defects of our equals; which ſupply us with occaſions of laughing, and being merry at the expence of others. Hence comedy derives itſelf; which is properly an image of private life. Its deſign is to expoſe defects and vices upon the ſtage, and by affixing ridicule to them, to make them contemptible; and conſequently to inſtruct by diverting. Ridicule therefore, (or to expreſs the ſame word by another, Pleaſantry) ought to prevail in comedy.

This poem took at different times three different forms at Athens, as well from the genius of the poets, as from the influence of the government; which occaſioned various alterations in it.

The antient comedy, ſo called * by Horace, and which he dates after the time of Æſchylus, retained ſomething of its original rudeneſs, and the liberty it

* Succeſſit vetus his comœdia non ſine multa
Laude. *Hor. in Art. Poet.*

had

had been uſed to take of buffooning and reviling the ſpectators from the cart of Theſpis. Though it was become regular in its plan, and worthy of a great theatre, it had not learnt to be more reſerved. It repreſented real tranſactions, with the names, habits, geſtures, and likeneſs in maſks, of whomſoever it thought fit to ſacrifice to the public deriſion. In a ſtate where it was held good policy to unmaſk whatever carried the air of ambition, ſingularity, or knavery, comedy aſſumed the privilege to harangue, reform, and adviſe the people upon the moſt important occaſions, and intereſts. Nothing was ſpared in a city of ſo much liberty, or rather licence, as Athens was at that time. Generals, magiſtrates, government, the very gods were abandoned to the poet's ſatyrical vein; and all was well received, provided the comedy was diverting, and the Attic ſalt not wanting.

(*u*) In one of theſe comedies, not only the prieſt of Jupiter determines to quit his ſervice, becauſe more ſacrifices are not offered to the god; but Mercury himſelf comes in a ſtarving condition to ſeek his fortune amongſt mankind, and offers to ſerve as a porter, ſuttler, bailiff, guide, door-keeper, in ſhort, in any capacity, rather than return to heaven. In another (*x*), the ſame gods in extreme want and neceſſity, from the birds having built a city in the air, whereby their proviſions are cut off, and the ſmoke of incenſe and ſacrifices prevented from aſcending to heaven, depute three ambaſſadors in the name of Jupiter to conclude a treaty of accommodation with the birds upon ſuch conditions as they ſhall approve. The chamber of audience, where the three famiſhed gods are received, is a kitchen well-ſtored with excellent game of all ſorts. Here Hercules, deeply ſmitten with the ſmell of roaſt-meat, which he apprehends to be more exquiſite and nutritious than that of incenſe, begs leave to make his abode, and to turn the ſpit, and aſſiſt the cook upon occaſion. The other

(*u*) Plutus. (*x*) *The Birds.*

pieces

pieces of Ariſtophanes abound with ſtrokes ſtill more ſatyrical and ſevere upon the principal divinities.

I am not much ſurprized at the poet's inſulting the gods, and treating them with the utmoſt contempt, from whom he had nothing to fear: but I cannot help wondering at his having brought the moſt illuſtrious and powerful perſons of Athens upon the ſtage, and that he preſumed to attack the government itſelf without any manner of reſpect or reſerve.

Cleon, having returned triumphant, contrary to the general expectation, from the expedition againſt Sphacteria, was looked upon by the people as the greateſt captain of that age. Ariſtophanes, to ſet that bad man in a true light, who was the ſon of a currier, and a currier himſelf, and whoſe riſe was owing ſolely to his temerity and impudence, was ſo bold as to make him the ſubject of a comedy (*y*), without being awed by his power and reputation: but he was obliged to play the part of Cleon himſelf, and appeared for the firſt time upon the ſtage in that character, not one of the comedians daring to repreſent him, nor to expoſe himſelf to the reſentment of ſo formidable an enemy. His face was ſmeared over with wine-lees; becauſe no workman could be found, that would venture to make a maſk reſembling Cleon, as was uſual, when perſons were brought upon the ſtage. In this piece he reproaches him with embezzling the pubiic treaſures, with a violent paſſion for bribes and preſents, with craft in ſeducing the people, and denies him the glory of the action at Sphacteria, which he attributes chiefly to the ſhare his collegue had in it.

In the *Acharnians*, he accuſes Lamachus of having been made general, rather by bribery than merit. He imputes to him his youth, inexperience, and idleneſs; at the ſame time, that he, and many others, convert to their own uſe the rewards due only to valour and real ſervices. He reproaches the republic with their preference of the younger citizens to the elder in the

(*y*) *The Knights*,

government

government of the ſtate, and the command of armies. He tells them plainly, that when the peace ſhall be concluded, neither Cleonymus, Hyperbolus, nor many other ſuch knaves, all mentioned by name, ſhall have any ſhare in the public affairs; they being always ready to accuſe their fellow-citizens of crimes, and to enrich themſelves, by ſuch informations.

In his comedy called the *Waſps*, imitated by Racine in his *Plaideurs*, he expoſes the mad paſſion of the people for proſecutions and tryals at law, and the enormous injuſtice frequently committed in paſſing ſentence and giving judgment.

The poet (z), concerned to ſee the republic obſtinately bent upon the unhappy expedition of Sicily, endeavours to excite in the people a final diſguſt for ſo ruinous a war, and to inſpire them with the deſire of a peace, as much the intereſt of the victors as the vanquiſhed, after a war of ſeveral years duration, equally pernicious to each party, and capable of involving all Greece in ruin.

None of Ariſtophanes's pieces explains better his boldneſs, in ſpeaking upon the moſt delicate affairs of the ſtate in the crowded theatre, than his comedy called *Lyſiſtrata*. One of the principal magiſtrates of Athens had a wife of that name, who is ſuppoſed to have taken it into her head to compel Greece to conclude a peace. She relates, how during the war, the women enquiring of their huſbands the reſult of their counſels, and whether they had not reſolved to make peace with Sparta, received no anſwers but imperious looks, and orders to meddle with their own affairs: That however they perceived plainly to what a low condition the government was declined: that they took the liberty to remonſtrate mildly to their huſbands upon the raſhneſs of their counſels: but that their humble repreſentations had no other effect than to offend and enrage them: that in fine, being confirmed by the general opinion of all Attica, that there were

(z) *The Peace.*

no

no longer any men in the ſtate, nor heads for the adminiſtration of affairs, their patience being quite exhauſted, the women had thought it proper and adviſeable to take the government upon themſelves, and to preſerve Greece, whether it would or no, from the folly and madneſs of its reſolves. "For her part, "ſhe declares, that ſhe has taken poſſeſſion of the ci-"ty and treaſury, in order, ſays ſhe, to prevent Pi-"ſander and his confederates, the four hundred ad-"miniſtrators, from exciting troubles according to "their cuſtom, and from robbing the public as uſual." (Was ever any thing ſo bold?) She goes on with proving, that the women only are capable of retrieving affairs, by this burleſque argument; that admitting things to be in ſuch a ſtate of perplexity and confuſion, the ſex, accuſtomed to untangling their threads, were the only perſons to ſet them right again, as being beſt qualified with the neceſſary addreſs, temper, and moderation. The Athenian politics are thus made inferior to the abilities of the women, which are only repreſented in a ridiculous light, to turn the deriſion upon their huſbands in the adminiſtration of the government.

Theſe extracts from Ariſtophanes, taken almoſt word for word from father Brumoi, ſeemed to me very proper for a right underſtanding at once of that poet's character, and the genius of the antient comedy, which was, as we ſee, a true ſatyr of the moſt poignant and ſevere kind, that had aſſumed to itſelf an independency from reſpect to perſons, and to which nothing was ſacred. It is no wonder that Cicero condemns ſo licentious and exceſſive a liberty. * It might, he ſays, have been tolerable had it only attacked bad citizens, and ſeditious orators, who endea-

* Quem illa non attigit, vel potius quem non vexavit? Eſto, populares homines, improbos, in remp. ſeditioſos, Cleonem, Cleophontem, Hyperbolum læſit: patiamur—— Sed Periclem, cum jam ſuæ civitati maxima auctoritate plurimos annos domi et belli præfuiſſet, violari verſibus, et eos agi in ſcena, non plus decuit, quam ſi Plautus noſter voluiſſet, aut Nævius P. et Cn. Scipioni, aut Cæcilius M. Catoni maledicere. *Ex fragm. Cic. de Rep. lib.* 4.

voured

voured to raiſe commotions in the ſtate, ſuch as Cleon, Cleophon, and Hyperbolus: but when a Pericles, who for many years had governed the commonwealth both in war and peace with equal wiſdom and authority, (he might have added, and a Socrates declared by Apollo the wiſeſt of mankind,) is brought upon the ſtage to be laughed at by the public, it is as if our Plautus or Nævius had fallen upon the Scipios, or Cæcilius reviled Marcus Cato in his writings.

That liberty is ſtill more offenſive to us, who are born in, and live under, a monarchical government, which is far from being favourable to licence. But without intending to juſtify the conduct of Ariſtophanes, which, to judge properly of it, is inexcuſable, I think it would be neceſſary to lay aſide the prejudices of nature, nations, and times, and to imagine we live in thoſe remote ages in a ſtate purely democratical. We muſt not fancy Ariſtophanes to have been a perſon of little conſequence in his republic, as the comic writers generally are in our days. The king of Perſia had a very different idea of him. (*c*) It is a known ſtory, that in an audience of the Greek ambaſſadors, his firſt enquiry was after a certain comic poet, (meaning Ariſtophanes,) that put all Greece in motion, and gave ſuch effectual counſels againſt him. Ariſtophanes did that upon the ſtage, which Demoſthenes did afterwards in the public aſſemblies. The poet's reproaches were no leſs animated than the orator's. His comedies ſpoke a language, that became the councils of the republic. It was addreſſed to the ſame people, upon the ſame occaſions of the ſtate, the ſame means to ſucceſs, and the ſame obſtacles to their meaſures. In Athens the whole people were the ſovereign, and each of them had an equal ſhare in the ſupreme authority. Upon this they were continually intent, were fond of diſcourſing themſelves, and of hearing the ſentiments of others. The public affairs were the buſineſs of every individual; in

(*c*) Ariſtoph. in Acharn.

which

which they were desirous of being fully informed, that they might know how to conduct themselves on every occasion of war or peace, which frequently offered, and to distinguish upon their own, as well as upon the destiny of their allies, or enemies. Hence rose the liberty, taken by the comic poets, of introducing the affairs of the state into their performances. The people were so far from being offended at it, or at the manner in which those writers treated the principal persons of the state, that they conceived their liberty in some measure to consist in it.

Three * persons particularly excelled in the antient comedy; Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes. The last is the only one of them, whose pieces have come entire down to us, and, out of the great number of those, eleven are all that remain. He flourished in an age when Greece abounded with great men, and was cotemporary with Socrates and Euripides, whom he survived. During the Peloponnesian war he made his greatest figure; less as a writer to amuse the people with his comedies, than as a censor of the government, retained to reform the state, and to be almost the arbiter of his country.

He is admired for an elegance, poignancy, and happiness of expression, or in a word, that Attic salt and spirit, to which the Roman language could never attain,

* Eupolis, atque Cratinus, Aristophanesque poetæ,
Atque alii, quorum comœdia prisca virorum est,
Si quis erat dignus describi, quòd malus, aut fur,
Quòd mœchus foret, aut sicarius, aut alioqui
Famosus; multa cum libertate notabant. *Hor. Sat. 4. l. 1.*
With Aristophanes' satyric rage,
When antient comedy amus'd the age,
Or Eupolis's, or Cratinus' wit;
And others that all-licens'd poem writ;
None, worthy to be shewn, escap'd the scene,
No public knave, or thief of lofty mein;
The loose adult'rer was drawn forth to fight;
The secret murth'rer trembling lurk'd the night;
Vice play'd itself, and each ambitious spark;
All boldly branded with the poet's mark.

tain, and for * which Ariſtophanes is more remarkable than any other of the Greek authors. His particular excellence was raillery. None ever touched the ridicule in characters with ſuch ſucceſs, or knew better how to convey it in all its force to others. But it were neceſſary to have lived in his times for a right taſte of his works, The ſubtle ſalt and ſpirit of the antient raillery, according to Mr. Brumoi, is evaporated through length of time, and what remains of it is become flat and inſipid to us; though the ſharpeſt part will retain its vigour throughout all ages.

Two conſiderable defects are juſtly imputed to this poet, which very much obſcure, if not entirely efface, his glory. Theſe are low buffoonery, and groſs obſcenity; which objections have been oppoſed to no purpoſe from the character of his audience; the bulk of which generally conſiſted of the poor, the ignorant, and dregs of the people, whom however it was as neceſſary to pleaſe as the learned and the rich. The depravity of the inferior people's taſte, which once baniſhed Cratinus and his company, becauſe his ſcenes were not groſsly comic enough for them, is no excuſe for Ariſtophanes, as Menander could find out the art of changing that groveling taſte, by introducing a ſpecies of comedy, not altogether ſo modeſt as Plutarch ſeems to inſinuate, yet much chaſter than any before his time.

The groſs obſcenities, with which all Ariſtophanes's comedies abound, have no excuſe; They only denote an exceſſive libertiniſm in the ſpectators, and depravity in the poet. The utmoſt ſalt, that could have been beſtowed upon them, which however is not the caſe, would not have atoned for laughing himſelf, or for making others laugh at the expence of decency and good manners †. And in this caſe it may well be ſaid, that it were better to have no wit at all than to

* Antiqua comœdia ſinceram illam ſermonis Attici gratiam prope ſola retinet. *Quintil.*

† Nimium risûs pretium eſt, ſi probitatis impendio conſtat. *Quintil. lib.* 6. *c.* 3.

make

make ſo ill an uſe of it *. Mr. Brumoi is very much to be commended for his having taken care, in giving a general idea of Ariſtophanes's writings, to throw a veil over thoſe parts of them, that might have given offence to modeſty. Though ſuch behaviour be the indiſpenſable rule of religion, it is not always obſerved by thoſe who pique themſelves moſt on their erudition, and ſometimes prefer the title of ſcholar to that of chriſtian.

The antient comedy ſubſiſted till Lyſander's time, who, upon having made himſelf maſter of Athens, changed the form of the government, and put it into the hands of thirty of the principal citizens. The ſatyrical liberty of the theatre was offenſive to them, and therefore they thought fit to put a ſtop to it. The reaſon of this alteration is evident, and makes good the reflection made before upon the privilege of the poets, to criticize with impunity upon the perſons at the head of the ſtate. The whole authority of Athens was then veſted in tyrants. The democracy was aboliſhed. The people had no longer any ſhare in the government. They were no more the prince; their ſovereignty had expired. The right of giving their opinions and ſuffrages upon affairs of ſtate was at an end, nor dared they, either in their own perſons or by the poets, preſume to cenſure the ſentiments and conduct of their maſters. The calling perſons by their names upon the ſtage was prohibited: but the poetical ſpirit ſoon found the ſecret to elude the intention of the law, and to make itſelf amends for the reſtraint it ſuffered in the neceſſity of uſing feigned names. It then applied to the diſcovery of the ridicule in known characters, which it copied to the life, and from thence acquired the double advantage of gratifying the vanity of the poets, and the malice of the audience in a more refined manner. The one had the delicate pleaſure of putting the ſpectators upon

* Non pejus duxerim tardi ingenii eſſe quam mali. *Quintil. lib.* 1. *c.* 3.

gueſſing

gueſſing their meaning, and the other, of not being miſtaken in their ſuppoſitions, and of affixing the right name to the characters repreſented. Such was the comedy, ſince called the *Middle Comedy*, of which there are ſome inſtances in Ariſtophanes.

It continued till the time of Alexander the Great, who, having entirely aſſured himſelf of the empire of Greece by the defeat of the Thebans, occaſioned the putting a check upon the licence of the poets, which increaſed daily. From thence the *New Comedy* took its birth, which was only an imitation of private life, and brought nothing upon the ſtage with feigned names, and ſuppoſititious adventures.

(*d*) Chacun peint avec art dans ce nouveau miroir
S'y vit avec plaiſir, ou crut ne s'y pas voir.
L'avare des premiers rit du tableau fidele
D'un avare ſouvent tracé ſur ſon modele;
Et mille fois un fat, finement exprimé,
Meconnut le portrait ſur lui-meme formé.

In this new glaſs, whilſt each himſelf ſurvey'd,
He ſat with pleaſure, tho' himſelf was play'd:
The miſer grinn'd whilſt avarice was drawn,
Nor thought the faithful likeneſs was his own;
His own dear ſelf no imag'd fool could find,
But ſaw a thouſand other fops deſign'd.

This may properly be called fine comedy, and is that of Menander. Of one hundred and eighty, or rather eighty, according to Suidas, compoſed by him, all of which Terence is ſaid to have tranſlated, there remains only a few fragments. The merit of the originals may be judged from the excellence of their copy. Quintilian, in ſpeaking of Menander, is not afraid to ſay, that with the beauty of his works, and the height of his reputation, he obſcured, or rather obliterated, the fame of all the writers in the ſame way. He obſerves in another paſſage, that his own

(*d*) Boileau Art. Poet. Cant. 3.

times

times were not ſo * juſt to his merit as they ought to have been, which has been the fate of many others; but that he was ſufficiently made amends by the favourable opinion of poſterity. And indeed Philemon, a comic poet of the ſame age, though prior to him, was preferred before him.

SECT. IV. *The theatre of the antients deſcribed.*

I HAVE already obſerved, that Æſchylus was the firſt founder of a fixed and durable theatre adorned with ſuitable decorations. It was at firſt, as well as the amphitheatres, compoſed of wooden planks; but thoſe breaking down by having too great a weight upon them, the Athenians, exceſſively enamoured of dramatic repreſentations, were induced by that accident to erect thoſe ſuperb ſtructures, which were imitated afterwards with ſo much ſplendor by the Roman magnificence. What I ſhall ſay of them, has almoſt as much relation to the Roman, as the Athenian theatres; and is extracted entirely from Mr. Boindin's learned diſſertation upon the theatre of the antients (*e*), who has treated the ſubject in all its extent.

The theatre of the antients was divided into three principal parts; each of which had its peculiar appellation. The diviſion for the actors was called in general the ſcene, or ſtage; that for the ſpectators was particularly termed the theatre, which muſt have been of vaſt extent (*f*), as at Athens it was capable of containing above thirty thouſand perſons; and the Orcheſtra, which amongſt the Greeks was the place aſſigned for the pantomimes and dancers, though at Rome it was appropriated to the ſenators and Veſtal virgins.

The theatre was of a ſemicircular form on one ſide, and ſquare on the other. The ſpace contained with-

(*e*) *Memoirs of the Acad. of Inſcript.* &c. Vol. I. p. 136, &c.
(*f*) Strab. l. 9. p. 393. Herod. l. 8. c. 65.

* Quidam, ſicut Menander, ætatis, judicia ſunt conſecuti, juſtiora poſterorum, quam ſuæ *Quintil. lib. 3. c. 6.*

in

in the ſemicircle, was allotted to the ſpectators, and had ſeats placed one above another to the top of the building. The ſquare part, in the front of it, was the actor's diviſion; and in the interval, between both, was the Orcheſtra.

The great theatres had three rows of portico's, raiſed one upon another, which formed the body of the edifice, and at the ſame time three different ſtories for the ſeats. From the higheſt of thoſe portico's the women ſaw the repreſentation, covered from the weather. The reſt of the theatre was uncovered, and all the buſineſs of the ſtage was performed in the open air.

Each of theſe ſtories conſiſted of nine rows of ſeats, including the landing place, which divided them from each other, and ſerved as a paſſage from ſide to ſide. But as this landing-place and paſſage took up the ſpace of two benches, there were only ſeven to ſit upon, and conſequently in each ſtory there were ſeven rows of ſeats. They were from fifteen to eighteen inches in height, and twice as much in breadth; ſo that the ſpectators had room to ſit with their legs extended, and without being incommoded by thoſe of the people above them; no foot-boards being provided for them.

Each of theſe ſtories of benches were divided in two different manners; in their height, by the landing-places, called by the Romans *Præcinctiones*, and in their circumferences by ſeveral ſtair-caſes, peculiar to each ſtory, which interſecting them in right lines, tending towards the center of the theatre, gave the form of wedges to the quantity of ſeats between them, from whence they were called *Cunei*.

Behind theſe ſtories of ſeats were covered galleries, through which the people thronged into the theatre by great ſquare openings, contrived for that purpoſe in the walls next the ſeats. Thoſe openings were called *Vomitoria*, from the multitude of the people crowding through them into their places.

As

As the actors could not be heard to the extremity of the theatre, the Greeks contrived a means to supply that defect, and to augment the force of the voice, and make it more distinct and articulate. For that purpose, they invented a kind of large vessels of copper, which were disposed under the seats of the theatre in such a manner, as made all sounds strike upon the ear with more force and distinction.

The Orchestra being situated, as I have observed, between the two other parts of the theatre, of which one was circular, and the other square, it participated of the form of each, and occupied the space between both. It was divided into three parts.

The first and most considerable was more particularly called the Orchestra, from a Greek word (*g*) that signifies to dance. It was appropriated to the pantomimes and dancers, and to all such subaltern actors, as played between the acts, and at the end of the representations.

The second was named θυμέλη, from its being square in the form of an altar. Here the chorus was generally placed.

And in the third, the Greeks generally bestowed their symphony, or band of musick. They called it ὑποσκήνιον, from its being situate at the bottom of the principal part of the theatre, which they stiled the scenes.

I shall describe here this third part of the theatre, called the scenes; which was also subdivided into three different parts.

The first and most considerable was properly called the scenes, and gave name to this whole division. It occupied the whole front of the building from side to side, and was the place allotted for the decorations. This front had two small wings at its extremity, from which hung a large curtain, that was let down to open the scene, and drawn up between the acts,

(*g*) Ὀρχεῖσθαι.

when

when any thing in the repreſentation made it neceſſary.

The ſecond, called by the Greeks indifferently προσκήνιον, and λογεῖον, and by the Romans *Proſcenium*, and *Pulpitum*, was a large open ſpace in front of the ſcene, in which the actors performed their parts, and which, by the help of the decorations, repreſented either the public place or forum, a common ſtreet, or the country; but the place ſo repreſented was always in the open air.

The third diviſion was a part reſerved behind the ſcenes, and called by the Greeks παρασκήνιον. Here the actors dreſt themſelves, and the decorations were locked up. In the ſame place were alſo kept the machines, of which the antients had abundance in their theatres.

As only the portico's, and the building of the ſcene were roofed, it was neceſſary to draw ſails, faſtened with cords to maſts, over the reſt of the theatre, to ſcreen the audience from the heat of the ſun. But as this contrivance did not prevent the heat, occaſioned by the perſpiration and breath of ſo numerous an aſſembly, the antients took care to allay it by a kind of rain; conveying the water for that uſe above the portico's, which falling again in form of dew through an infinity of ſmall pores, concealed in the ſtatues, with which the theatre abounded, did not only diffuſe a grateful coolneſs all around, but the moſt fragrant exhalations along with it; for this dew was always perfumed. Whenever the repreſentations were interrupted by ſtorms, the ſpectators retired into the portico's behind the ſeats of the theatre.

The paſſion of the Athenians for repreſentations of this kind is not conceivable. Their eyes, their ears, their imagination, their underſtanding, all ſhared in the ſatisfaction. Nothing gave them ſo ſenſible a pleaſure in dramatic performances, either tragic or comic, as the ſtrokes which were aimed at the affairs of the public; whether pure chance occaſioned the application,

application, or the addreſs of the poets, who knew how to reconcile the moſt remote ſubjects with the tranſactions of the republic. They entered by that means into the intereſts of the people, took occaſion to ſooth their paſſions, authorize their pretenſions, juſtify and ſometimes condemn their conduct, entertain them with agreeable hopes, inſtruct them in their duty in certain nice conjunctures; in effect of which they often not only acquired the applauſes of the ſpectators, but credit and influence in the public affairs and counſels: Hence the theatre became ſo grateful and ſo much the concern of the people. It was in this manner, according to ſome authors, that Euripides artfully reconciled his tragedy of * Palamedes with the ſentence paſſed againſt Socrates, and explained by an illuſtrious example of antiquity the innocence of a philoſopher, oppreſſed by a vile malignity ſupported againſt him by power and faction.

Accident was often the occaſion of ſudden and unforeſeen applications, which from their appoſiteneſs were very agreeable to the people. Upon this verſe of Æſchylus in praiſe of Amphiaraus,

———'*Tis his deſire*
Not to appear but be the great and good.

the whole audience roſe up, and unanimouſly applied it to Ariſtides (*b*). The ſame thing happened to Philopœmen at the Nemæan games. At the inſtant he entered the theatre, theſe verſes were ſinging upon the ſtage,

———*He comes, to whom we owe*
Our liberty, the nobleſt good below.

all the Greeks caſt their eyes upon Philopœmen (*i*), and with clapping of hands and acclamations of joy expreſſed their veneration for the hero.

(*b*) Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 320. (*i*) Plut. in Philopœm. p. 362.

* *It is not certain whether this piece was prior or poſterior to the death of Socrates.*

In

(*k*) In the ſame manner at Rome, during the baniſhment of Cicero, when ſome verſes of † Accius, which reproached the Greeks with their ingratitude in ſuffering the baniſhment of Telamon, were repeated by Æſop, the beſt actor of his time, they drew tears from the eyes of the whole aſſembly.

Upon another, though very different, occaſion, the Roman people applied to Pompey the Great ſome verſes to this effect,

(*l*) *'Tis our unhappineſs has made thee great.*

and then addreſſing to the people,

The time ſhall come when you ſhall late deplore
So great a power confided to ſuch hands.

The ſpectators obliged the actor to repeat theſe verſes ſeveral times.

SECT. V. *Paſſion for the repreſentations of the theatre, one of the principal cauſes of the degeneracy and corruption of the Athenian ſtate.*

WHEN we compare the happy times of Greece, in which Europe and Aſia reſounded with nothing but the fame of the Athenian victories, with the later ages when the power of Philip and Alexander the Great had in a manner ſubjected it, we ſhall be ſurprized at the ſtrange alteration in the affairs of that republic. But what is moſt material, is the knowledge of the cauſes and progreſs of this declenſion; and theſe Mr. de Tourreil has diſcuſſed in an admirable manner in the preface to his tranſlation of Demoſthenes's orations.

There was no longer at Athens any traces of that manly and vigorous policy, equally capable of planning good, and retrieving bad, ſucceſs. Inſtead of that, there remained only an inconſiſtent lottineſs,

(*k*) Cic. in Orat. pro Sext. n. 120, 123. (*l*) Cic. ad Attic. l. 2. Epiſ. 19. Val. Max. l. 6. c. 2.

† O ingratifici Argivi, inanes Graii, immemores beneficii,
Exulare ſivitis, ſivitis pelli, pulſum patimini.

apt to evaporate in pompous decrees. They were no more thoſe Athenians, who when menaced by a deluge of Barbarians, demoliſhed their houſes to build ſhips with the timber, and whoſe women ſtoned the abject wretch to death, that propoſed to appeaſe the grand monarch by tribute or homage. The love of eaſe and pleaſure had almoſt entirely extinguiſhed that of glory, liberty, and independance.

Pericles, that great man, ſo abſolute, that thoſe, who envied him, treated him as a ſecond Piſiſtratus, was the firſt author of this degeneracy and corruption. With the deſign of conciliating the favour of the people, he ordained that upon ſuch days as games or ſacrifices were celebrated, a certain number of oboli ſhould be diſtributed amongſt them; and that in the aſſemblies, in which affairs of ſtate were to be tranſacted, every individual ſhould receive a certain pecuniary gratification in right of preſence. Thus the members of the republic were ſeen for the firſt time to ſell their care in the adminiſtration of the government, and to rank amongſt ſervile employments the moſt noble functions of the ſovereign power.

It was not difficult to foreſee where ſo exceſſive an abuſe would end; and to remedy it, it was propoſed to eſtabliſh a fund for the ſupport of a war, and to make it capital to adviſe upon any account whatſoever, the application of it to other uſes. But notwithſtanding the abuſe always ſubſiſted. At firſt it ſeemed tolerable, whilſt the citizen who was ſupported at the public expence, endeavoured to deſerve its liberality by doing his duty in the field for nine months together. Every one was to ſerve in his turn, and whoever failed was treated as a deſerter without diſtinction: But at length the number of the tranſgreſſors carried it againſt the law; and impunity, as it commonly happens, multiplied their number. People accuſtomed to the delightful abode of a city, where feaſts and games ran in a perpetual circle, conceived an invin-

cible repugnance for labour and fatigue, which they looked upon as unworthy of free-born-men.

It was therefore neceſſary to find amuſement for this indolent people, to fill up the great void of an unactive uſeleſs life. Hence aroſe principally their paſſion, or rather frenzy for public ſhews. The death of Epaminondas, which ſeemed to promiſe them the greateſt advantages, gave the final ſtroke to their ruin and deſtruction. "Their courage," ſays Juſtin (*n*), "did not ſurvive that illuſtrious Theban. "Free from a rival, who kept their emulation alive, "they ſunk into lethargic ſloth and effeminacy. The "funds for armaments by land and ſea were ſoon la- "viſhed upon games and feaſts. The ſeaman's and "ſoldier's pay was diſtributed to the idle citizen ener- "vated in ſoft luxurious habits of life. The repre- "ſentations of the theatre were preferred to the ex- "erciſes of the camp. Valour and military know- "ledge were entirely diſregarded. Great captains "were in no eſtimation; whilſt good poets and ex- "cellent comedians engroſſed the univerſal applauſe."

Extravagance of this kind makes it eaſy to compre- hend in what multitudes the people thronged to the dramatic performances. As no expence was ſpared in embelliſhing them, exorbitant ſums were ſunk in the ſervice of the theatre. If, ſays Plutarch (*o*), what each repreſentation of the dramatic pieces coſt the A- thenians were rightly calculated, it would appear, that their expences in playing the Bacchanalians, the Phœ- nicians, Œdipus, Antigone, Medea and Electra, (tra- gedies written either by Sophocles or Euripides) were greater, than thoſe which had been employed againſt the Barbarians in the defence of the liberty, and for the preſervation, of Greece. (*p*) This gave a Spar- tan juſt reaſon to cry out, on ſeeing an eſtimate of the enormous ſums laid out in the diſputes of the tra- gic poets; and the extraordinary pains taken by the

(*n*) Juſtin. l. 6. c. 9. (*o*) Plut. de glo. Athen. p. 394.
(*p*) Id. Sympoſ. l. 7. Quæſt. 7. p. 710.

magiſtrates who preſided in them, that a people muſt be void of ſenſe to apply themſelves in ſo warm and ſerious a manner to things ſo frivolous. "For," added he, "games ſhould be only games; and nothing "is more unreaſonable than to purchaſe a ſhort and "trivial amuſement at ſo great a price. Pleaſures of "this kind agree only with public rejoicings, and "ſeaſons of feſtivity, and were deſigned to divert "people at their leiſure hours; but ſhould by no "means interfere with the affairs of the public, nor "the neceſſary expences of the government."

After all, ſays Plutarch, in a paſſage which I have already cited, of what utility have theſe tragedies been to Athens, though ſo much boaſted by the people, and admired by the reſt of the world? We find, that the prudence of Themiſtocles encloſed the city with ſtrong walls; that the fine taſte and magnificence of Pericles improved and adorned it; that the noble fortitude of Miltiades preſerved its liberty; and that the moderate conduct of Cimon acquired it the empire and government of all Greece. If the wiſe and learned poetry of Euripides, the ſublime diction of Sophocles, the lofty buſkin of Æſchylus, have obtained equal advantages for the city of Athens, by delivering it from impending calamities, or by adding to its glory, I conſent, (in Plutarch's words,) that dramatic pieces ſhould be ranked with trophies of victory, the poetic ſcenes with the fields of battle, and the compoſitions of the poets with the great exploits of the generals. But what a compariſon would this be: on the one ſide would be ſeen a few writers, crowned with wreaths of ivy, and dragging a goat or an ox after them, the rewards and victims aſſigned them for excelling in tragic poetry: on the other, a train of illuſtrious captains, ſurrounded with colonies founded, cities taken, and nations ſubjected by their wiſdom and valour. It is not to perpetuate the victories of Æſchylus and Sophocles, but in remembrance of the glorious battles of Marathon, Salamin, Eurymedon, and many others,

that ſeveral feaſts are celebrated every month by the Grecians.

The concluſion of Plutarch from hence, in which we ought to agree with him, is, that it was the higheſt imprudence in the * Athenians, to prefer pleaſure to duty, the paſſion for the theatre to the love of their country, trivial repreſentations to the application to public buſineſs; and to conſume in uſeleſs expences and dramatic entertainments the funds intended for the ſupport of fleets and armies. Macedon, till then obſcure and inconſiderable, well knew how to take advantage of the † Athenian indolence and effeminacy; and Philip, inſtructed by the Greeks themſelves, amongſt whom he had for ſeveral years applied himſelf ſucceſsfully to the art of war, was not long before he gave Greece a maſter, and ſubjected it to the yoke, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

* Ἁμαρτάνουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι μεγάλα, τὴν σπουδὴν εἰς τὴν παιδιὰν καταναλίσκοντες, τυτέστι μεγάλων ἀποστόλων δαπάνας καὶ στρατευμάτων ἐφόδια καταχορηγοῦντες εἰς τὸ θέατρον.

† Quibus rebus effectum eſt, ut inter otia Græcorum, ſordidum et obſcurum antea Macedonum nomen emergeret; et Philippus, obſes triennio Thebis habitus, Epaminondæ et Pelopidæ virtutibus eruditus, regnum Macedoniæ Græciæ et Aſiæ cervicibus, velut jugum ſervitutis, imponeret. *Juſtin.* l. 6. c. 9.

BOOK THE ELEVENTH.

THE HISTORY OF DIONYSIUS, THE ELDER and YOUNGER, TYRANTS of SYRACUSE.

SYRACUSE had regained its liberty about ſixty years, by the expulſion of the family of Gelon. The events which paſſed in that interval, except the invaſion of the Athenians, are of no great importance, and little known; but thoſe which follow, are of a different nature, and make amends for the chaſm; I mean the reigns of Dionyſius the father and ſon, tyrants of Syracuſe; the firſt of whom governed thirty eight, and the * other twelve, in all fifty years. As this hiſtory is entirely foreign to what paſſed in Greece at the ſame time, I ſhall relate it in this place all together and by itſelf; obſerving only, that the firſt twenty years of it, upon which I am

* *After having been expelled for more than ten years, he re-aſcended the throne, and reigned two or three years.*

now

now entering, agree almoſt in point of time with the laſt twenty of the preceding volume.

This hiſtory will preſent to our view a ſeries of the moſt odious and horrid crimes, though it abounds at the ſame time with inſtruction. When * on the one ſide we behold a prince, the declared enemy of liberty, juſtice and laws, treading under his feet the moſt ſacred rights of nature and religion, inflicting the moſt cruel torments upon his ſubjects, beheading ſome, burning others for a ſlight word, delighting and feaſting himſelf with human blood, and gratifying his ſavage inhumanity with the ſufferings and miſeries of every age and condition: I ſay, when we behold ſuch an object, can we deny a truth, which the pagan world itſelf hath confeſſed, and Plutarch takes occaſion to obſerve in ſpeaking of the tyrants of Sicily; that God in his anger gives ſuch princes to a people, and makes uſe of the impious and the wicked to puniſh the guilty and the criminal. On the other ſide, when the ſame prince, the dread and terror of Syracuſe, is perpetually anxious and trembling for his own life, and, abandoned to remorſe and regret, can find no perſon in his whole ſtate, not even his wives or children, in whom he can confide; who will not think with Tacitus, † *That it is not without reaſon the oracle of wiſdom has declared, that if the hearts of tyrants could be ſeen, we ſhould find them torn in pieces with a thouſand evils; it being certain, that the body does not ſuffer more from inflictions and torments, than the minds of ſuch wretches from their*

* Erit Dionyſius illic tyrannus, libertatis, juſtitiæ, legum exitium ——Alios uret, alios verberabit, alios ob levem offenſam jubebit detruncari. *Senec. de conſol. ad Marc.* c. 17.

Sanguine humano non tantùm gaudet, ſed paſcitur; ſed et ſuppliciis omnium ætatum crudelitatem inſatiabilem explet. *Id. de Benef.* l. 7. c. 19.

† Neque fruſtra præſtantiſſimus ſapientiæ firmare ſolitus eſt, ſi recludantur tyrannorum mentes, poſſe aſpici laniatus et ictus; quando, ut corpora verberibus, ita ſævitia, libidine, malis conſultis animus dilaceraretur. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 6. c. 6.

crimes, cruelties, and the injuſtice and violence of their proceedings.

The condition of a good prince is quite different. He loves his people, and is beloved by them, he enjoys a perfect tranquillity within himſelf, and lives with his ſubjects as a father with his children. Though he knows that the ſword of juſtice is in his hands, he apprehends the uſe of it. He loves to turn aſide its edge, and can never reſolve to evidence his power, but with extreme reluctance, in the laſt extremity, and with all the forms and ſanction of the * laws. A tyrant puniſhes only from caprice and paſſion; and believes, ſays Plutarch upon Dionyſius, that he is not really † maſter, and does not act with ſupreme authority, but as he ſets himſelf above all laws, has no other, but his will and pleaſure, and ſees himſelf obeyed implicitely. Whereas, continues the ſame author, he that can do whatever he will, is in great danger of doing what he ought not.

Beſides theſe characteriſtics of cruelty and tyranny, which particularly diſtinguiſh the firſt Dionyſius, we ſhall ſee in his hiſtory, whatever unbounded ambition, ſuſtained by great valour, extenſive abilities, and the neceſſary talents for acquiring the confidence of a people, is capable of undertaking for the attainment of ſovereignty; the various means he had the addreſs to employ for the maintaining himſelf in it againſt the oppoſition of his enemies, and the odium of the public; and laſtly, the tyrant's ſucceſs in eſcaping, during a reign of thirty eight years, the many conſpiracies formed againſt him, and in tranſmitting peacea-

* Hæc eſt in maxima poteſtate veriſſima animi temperantia, non cupiditate aliqua, non temeritate incendi; non priorum principum exemplis corruptum, quantum in cives ſuos liceat, experiendo tentare; ſed hebetare aciem imperii ſui ——Quid intereſt inter tyrannum et regem, (ſpecies enim ipſa fortunæ ac licentia par eſt,) niſi quod tyranni in voluptate ſæviunt, reges non niſi ex cauſa et neceſſitate? *Senec. de clem.* lib. c. 11.

† Ἔφη ἀπολαύειν μάλιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅταν ταχέως ἃ βέλεται ποιῇ· μέγας δ' ὁ κίνδυνος βέλεσθαι ἃ μὴ δεῖ, τὸν δὲ βέλεται ποιεῖν δυνάμενον. *Ad Princ. indoct.* p. 782.

bly

bly the tyranny to his ſon as a legitimate poſſeſſion and a right of inheritance.

CHAPTER I.

THIS chapter contains the hiſtory of Dionyſius the elder, who reigned thirty eight years.

SECT. I. *Means made uſe of by Dionyſius the elder to poſſeſs himſelf of the tyranny.*

(*a*) DIONYSIUS was a native of Syracuſe, of noble and illuſtrious extraction according to ſome, but others ſay his birth was baſe and obſcure. However it was, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour, and acquired great reputation in a war with the Carthaginians. He was one of thoſe, who accompanied Hermocrates, when he attempted to re-enter Syracuſe by force of arms, after having been baniſhed through the intrigues of his enemies. The event of that enterprize was not happy. Hermocrates was killed. The Syracuſans did not ſpare his accomplices; ſeveral of whom were publicly executed. Dionyſius was left amongſt the wounded. The report of his death, deſignedly given out by his relations, ſaved his life. Providence had ſpared Syracuſe an infinity of misfortunes, had he expired either upon the ſpot, or by the executioner.

The Carthaginians had made ſeveral attempts to eſtabliſh themſelves in Sicily, and to poſſeſs themſelves of the principal towns of that iſland, as we have obſerved elſewhere (*b*). Its happy ſituation for their maritime commerce, the fertility of its ſoil, and the riches of its inhabitants, were powerful inducements to ſuch an enterprize. We may form an idea of the wealth of its cities, from Diodorus Siculus's account of Agrigentum (*c*). The temples were of extraordinary magnificence, eſpecially that of Jupiter Olympius, which

(*a*) Diod. l. 13. p. 197. (*b*) *In the hiſtory of the Carthaginians*, Vol. I. (*c*) Diod. l. 13. p. 203, 206.

was three hundred and forty feet in length, ſixty in breadth, and one hundred and twenty in height. The piazzas or galleries in their extent and beauty anſwered to the reſt of the building. On one ſide was repreſented the battle of the giants, on the other the taking of Troy, in figures as large as the life. Without the city was an artificial lake, which was ſeven ſtadia (above a quarter of a league) in circumference. It was full of all kinds of fiſh, covered with ſwans and other water fowls, and afforded the moſt agreeable proſpect imaginable.

It was about the time of which we ſpeak, that Exenetus, victor in the Olympic games, entered the city in triumph in a magnificent chariot, attended by three hundred more, all drawn by white horſes. Their habits were adorned with gold and ſilver; and nothing was ever more ſplendid than their appearance. Gellias, the moſt wealthy of the citizens of Agrigentum, erected ſeveral large apartments in his houſe for the reception and entertainment of his gueſts. Servants waited by his order at the gates of the city, to invite all ſtrangers to lodge at their maſter's houſe, whither they conducted them. Hoſpitality was much practiſed and eſteemed by the generality of that city. A violent ſtorm having obliged five hundred horſe-men to take ſhelter there, Gellias entertained them all in his houſe, and ſupplied them immediately with dry cloaths, of which he had always a great quantity in his wardrobe. This is underſtanding how to make a noble uſe of riches. His cellar is much talked of by hiſtorians, in which he had three hundred reſervoirs hewn out of the rock, each of which contained an hundred * amphoræ.

This great and opulent city was beſieged, and at length taken by the Carthaginians. It's fall ſhook all Sicily, and ſpread an univerſal terror. The cauſe

* *An amphora contained about ſeven gallons; an hundred conſiſted of ſeven hundred gallons, or eleven hogſheads, ſeven gallons.*

of

of its being loſt was imputed to the Syracuſans, who had but weakly aided it. Dionyſius, who from that time had no other thoughts, but of his grand deſigns, and was ſecretly active in laying the foundations of his future power, took the advantage of this favourable opportunity, and of the general complaints of Sicily againſt the Syracuſans, to render the magiſtrates odious, and to exclaim againſt their adminiſtration. In a public aſſembly, held to conſider of the preſent ſtate of affairs, when no body dared to open their mouths for fear of the perſons at the helm, Dionyſius roſe up, and boldly accuſed the magiſtrates of treaſon; adding, that it was his opinion, that they ought to be depoſed immediately, without waiting till the term of their adminiſtration ſhould expire. They retorted this audacity with treating him as a ſeditious perſon, and a diſturber of the public tranquillity, and as ſuch, laid a fine upon him according to the laws. This was to be paid, before he could be admitted to ſpeak again, and Dionyſius was not in a condition to diſcharge it. Philiſtus, one of the richeſt citizens (who wrote the hiſtory of Sicily, which is not come down to us) depoſited the money, and exhorted him at the ſame time to give his opinion upon the ſtate of affairs with all the liberty, which became a citizen zealous for his country.

Dionyſius accordingly reſumed his diſcourſe with more vigour than before. He had long cultivated the habit of eloquence, which he looked upon with reaſon as a very neceſſary talent in a republican government; eſpecially in his views of acquiring the people's favour, and of conciliating them to his meaſures. He began with deſcribing in a lively and pathetic manner the ruin of Agrigentum, a neighbouring city in their alliance; the deplorable extremity, to which the inhabitants had been reduced, of quitting the place under the cover of the night; the cries and lamentations of infants, and of aged and ſick perſons, whom they had been obliged to abandon to a cruel and mer-

leſs enemy; and the conſequential murder of all who had been left in the city, whom the barbarous victor dragged from the temples and altars of the gods, feeble refuges againſt the Carthaginian fury and impiety. He imputed all theſe evils to the treachery of the commanders of the army, who inſtead of marching to the relief of Agrigentum, had retreated with their troops; to the criminal protraction and delay of the magiſtrates, corrupted by Carthaginian bribes; and to the pride of the great and rich, who regarded nothing but eſtabliſhing their own power upon the ruins of their country's liberty. He repreſented Syracuſe as compoſed of two different bodies; the one, by their power and influence, uſurping all the dignities and wealth of the ſtate; the other, obſcure, deſpiſed and trod under foot, bearing the ſad yoke of a ſhameful ſervitude, and rather ſlaves than citizens. He concluded with ſaying, that the only remedy for ſo many evils was to elect perſons from amongſt the people devoted to their intereſts, and who not being capable of rendering themſelves formidable by their riches and authority, would be ſolely employed for the public good, and apply in earneſt to the re-eſtabliſhment of the liberty of Syracuſe.

This diſcourſe was liſtened to with infinite pleaſure, as all ſpeeches are, which flatter the natural propenſity of inferiors to complain of the government, and was followed with the univerſal applauſe of the people, who always give themſelves up blindly to thoſe, who know how to deceive them under the ſpecious pretext of ſerving their intereſt. All the magiſtrates were depoſed upon the ſpot, and others ſubſtituted in their room, with Dionyſius at the head of them.

This was only the firſt ſtep to the tyranny, at which he did not ſtop. The ſucceſs of his undertaking inſpired him with new courage and confidence. He had alſo in view the diſplacing of the generals of the army, and to have their power transferred to himſelf. The deſign was bold and dangerous, and he applied

plied to it with addreſs. Before he attacked them openly, he planted his batteries againſt them at a diſtance; calumniating them by his emiſſaries to the people, and ſparing no pains to render them ſuſpected. He cauſed it to be whiſpered amongſt the populace, that thoſe commanders held ſecret intelligence with the enemy; that diſguiſed couriers were frequently ſeen paſſing and repaſſing; and that it was not to be doubted, but ſome conſpiracy was on foot. He affected on his ſide not to ſee thoſe leaders, nor to open himſelf to them at all upon the affairs of the public. He communicated none of his deſigns to them; as if he was apprehenſive of rendering himſelf ſuſpected by having any intercourſe or correſpondence with them. Perſons of ſenſe and diſcernment were not at a loſs to diſcover the tendency of theſe undermining arts; nor were they ſilent upon the occaſion: But the common people, prejudiced in his favour, inceſſantly applauded and admired his zeal, and looked upon him as the ſole protector and aſſerter of their rights and liberties.

Another ſcheme, which he ſet at work with his uſual addreſs, was of very great ſervice to him, and exceedingly promoted his deſigns. There was a great number of baniſhed perſons diſperſed throughout Sicily, whom the faction of the nobility of Syracuſe had expelled the city at different times, and upon different pretences. He knew what an addition of ſtrength ſo numerous a body of citizens would be to him, whom gratitude to a benefactor, and reſentment againſt thoſe who had occaſioned their baniſhment, the hope of retrieving their affairs, and of enriching themſelves out of the ſpoils of his enemies, rendered moſt proper for the execution of his deſigns, and attached unalterably to his perſon and intereſt. He applied therefore earneſtly to obtain their recal. It was given out, that it was neceſſary to raiſe a numerous body of troops to oppoſe the progreſs of the Carthaginians, and the people were in great pain upon the expence,

expence, to which the new levies would amount. Dionyſius took the advantage of this favourable conjuncture, and the diſpoſition of the public. He repreſented, that it was ridiculous to bring foreign troops at a great expence from Italy and Peloponneſus, whilſt they might ſupply themſelves with excellent ſoldiers, without being at any charge at all: that there were numbers of Syracuſans in every part of Sicily, who, notwithſtanding the ill treatment they had received, had always retained the hearts of citizens under the name and condition of exiles; that they preſerved a tender affection and inviolable fidelity for their country, and had choſe rather to wander about Sicily without ſupport or ſettlement, than to take party in the armies of the enemy, however advantagious the offers to induce them to it had been. This diſcourſe of Dionyſius had all the effect upon the people he could have wiſhed. His collegues, who perceived plainly what he had in view, were afraid to contradict him; rightly judging, that their oppoſition would not only prove ineffectual, but incenſe the people againſt them, and even augment the reputation of Dionyſius, to whom it would leave the honour of recalling the exiles. Their return was therefore decreed, and they accordingly came all to Syracuſe without loſing time.

A deputation from Gela, a city in the dependance of Syracuſe, arrived about the ſame time, to demand that the garriſon ſhould be re-inforced. Dionyſius immediately marched thither with two thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe. He found the city in a great commotion, and divided into two factions; one of the people, and the other of the rich and powerful. The latter having been tried in form, were condemned by the aſſembly to die, and to have their eſtates confiſcated for the uſe of the public. This confiſcation was applied to pay off the arrears, which had long been due to the former garriſon, commanded by Dexippus the Lacedæmonian; and Dionyſius promiſed

ſed the troops he brought with him to Syracuſe to double the pay they were to receive from the city. This was attaching ſo many new creatures to himſelf. The inhabitants of Gela treated him with the higheſt marks of honour, and ſent deputies to Syracuſe, to return their thanks for the important ſervice that city had done them in ſending Dionyſius thither. Having endeavoured in vain to bring Dexippus into his meaſures, he returned with his troops to Syracuſe, after having promiſed the inhabitants of Gela, who uſed all means in their power to keep him amongſt them, that he would ſoon return with more conſiderable aid.

He arrived at Syracuſe juſt as the people were coming out of the theatre, who ran in throngs about him, enquiring with earneſtneſs what he had heard of the Carthaginians. He anſwered with a ſad and dejected air, that the city nouriſhed far more dangerous and formidable enemies in her boſom; that whilſt Carthage was making extraordinary preparations for the invaſion of Syracuſe, thoſe, who were in command, inſtead of rouzing the zeal and attention of the citizens, and ſetting every thing at work againſt the approach of ſo potent an enemy, lulled them with trivial amuſements and idle ſhews, and ſuffered the troops to want neceſſaries; converting their pay to their private uſes in a fraudulent manner deſtructive to the public affairs; that he had always ſufficiently comprehended the cauſe of ſuch a conduct; that however it was not now upon mere conjecture, but upon too evident proof, his complaints were founded; that Imilcar the general of the Carthaginians, had ſent an officer to him, under pretext of treating about the ranſom of priſoners, but in reality to prevail on him not to be too ſtrict in examining into the conduct of his collegues; and that if he would not enter into the meaſures of Carthage, at leaſt that he would not oppoſe them; that for his part he came to reſign his command, and to abdicate his dignity, that he might

leave

leave no room for injurious ſuſpicions of his acting in concert, and holding intelligence, with traytors who ſold the commonwealth.

This diſcourſe being rumoured amongſt the troops, and about the city, occaſioned great inquietude and alarm. The next day the aſſembly was ſummoned, and Dionyſius renewed his complaints againſt the generals, which were received with univerſal applauſe. Some of the aſſembly cried out, that it was neceſſary to appoint him generaliſſimo, with unlimited power, and that it would be too late for ſo ſalutary a recourſe, when the enemy was at the gates of Syracuſe; that the importance of the war which threatened them, required ſuch a leader; that it was in the ſame manner formerly, that Gelon was elected generaliſſimo, and defeated the Carthaginian army at Himera, which conſiſted of three hundred thouſand men; that as for the accuſation, alledged againſt the traytors, it might be referred to another day, but that the preſent affair would admit no delay. Nor was it deferred in effect; for the people, (who, when once prejudiced, run headlong after their opinion without examining any thing) elected Dionyſius generaliſſimo with unlimited power that inſtant. In the ſame aſſembly he cauſed it to be decreed, that the ſoldiers pay ſhould be doubled; inſinuating that the ſtate would be amply reimburſed by the conqueſts conſequential of that advance. This being done, and the aſſembly diſmiſſed, the Syracuſans, upon cool reflection on what had paſſed, began to be in ſome conſternation; as if it had not been the effect of their own choice; and comprehended, though too late, that from the deſire of preſerving their liberty, they had given themſelves a maſter.

Dionyſius rightly judged the importance of taking his meaſures before the people repented what they had done. There remained but one ſtep more to the tyranny, which was to have a body of guards aſſigned him; and that he accompliſhed in the moſt artful and politic manner. He propoſed, that all the citizens

under

under forty years of age, and capable of bearing arms, ſhould march with proviſions for thirty days to the city of Leontium. The Syracuſans were at that time in poſſeſſion of the place, and had a garriſon in it. It was full of fugitive and foreign ſoldiers, who were very fit perſons for the execution of his deſigns. He juſtly ſuſpected, that the greateſt part of the Syracuſans would not follow him. He ſet out however, and encamped in the night upon the plains near the city. It was not long before a great noiſe was heard throughout the whole camp. This tumult was raiſed by perſons planted for that purpoſe by Dionyſius. He affected, that ambuſcades had been laid with deſign to aſſaſſinate him, and in great trouble and alarm retired for refuge into the citadel of Leontium, where he paſſed the reſt of the night, after having cauſed a great number of fires to be lighted, and had drawn off ſuch of the troops as he moſt confided in. At break of day the people aſſembled in a body, to whom, expreſſing ſtill great apprehenſion, he explained the danger he had been in, and demanded permiſſion to chuſe himſelf a guard of ſix hundred men for the ſecurity of his perſon. Piſiſtratus had ſet him the example long before, and had uſed the ſame ſtratagem when he made himſelf tyrant of Athens. His demand ſeemed very reaſonable, and was accordingly complied with. He choſe out a thouſand men for his guard upon the ſpot, armed them compleatly, equipped them magnificently, and made them great promiſes for their encouragement. He alſo attached the foreign ſoldiers to his intereſt in a peculiar manner by ſpeaking to them with great freedom and affability. He made many removals and alterations in the troops, to ſecure the officers in his intereſt, and diſmiſſed Dexippus to Sparta, in whom he could not confide. At the ſame time he ordered a great part of the garriſon, which he had ſent to Gela, to join him, and aſſembled from all parts fugitives, exiles, debtors, and criminals; a train worthy of a tyrant.

With

With this eſcort he returned to Syracuſe, that trembled at his approach. The people were no longer in a condition to oppoſe his undertakings, or to diſpute his authority. The city was full of foreign ſoldiers, and ſaw itſelf upon the point of being attacked by the Carthaginians. To ſtrengthen himſelf the more in the tyranny, he eſpouſed the daughter of Hermocrates, the moſt powerful citizen of Syracuſe, and who had contributed the moſt to the defeat of the Athenians. He alſo gave his ſiſter in marriage to Polyxenus, brother-in-law of Hermocrates. He afterwards ſummoned an aſſembly, in which he rid himſelf of Daphneus and Demarchus, who had been the moſt active in oppoſing his uſurpation. In this manner Dionyſius, from a ſimple notary and a citizen of the loweſt claſs, made himſelf abſolute lord and tyrant of the greateſt and moſt opulent city of Sicily.

SECT. II. *Commotions in Sicily and at Syracuſe againſt Dionyſius. He finds means to diſpel them. To prevent revolts he propoſes to attack the Carthaginians. His wonderful application and ſucceſs in making preparations for the war. Plato comes to Syracuſe. His intimacy and friendſhip with Dion.*

(*d*) DIONYSIUS had a rude ſhock to experience in the beginning of his uſurpation. The Carthaginians having beſieged Gela, he marched to its relief, and after ſome unſucceſsful endeavours againſt the enemy, threw himſelf into the place. He behaved there with little vigour, and all the ſervice he did the inhabitants was to make them abandon their city in the night, and to cover their flight in perſon. He was ſuſpected of acting in concert with the enemy, and the more becauſe they did not purſue him, and that he loſt very few of his foreign ſoldiers. All the inhabitants who remained at Gela were butchered. Thoſe of Camarina, to avoid the ſame fate, followed their example, and withdrew with all the

(*d*) Diod. l. 13. p. 227, 231.

effects

effects they could carry away. The moving ſight of aged perſons, matrons, young virgins, and tender infants, hurried on beyond their ſtrength, ſtruck Dionyſius's troops with compaſſion, and incenſed them againſt the tyrant. Thoſe he had raiſed in Italy withdrew to their own country, and the Syracuſan cavalry, after having made a vain attempt to kill him upon the march from his being ſurrounded with his foreigners, made forwards, and having entered Syracuſe, went directly to his palace, which they plundered, uſing his wife at the ſame time with ſo much violence and ill uſage, that ſhe died of it ſoon after. Dionyſius, who had foreſeen their deſign, followed them cloſe with only an hundred horſe, and four hundred foot; and having marched almoſt twenty leagues (*e*) with the utmoſt expedition, he arrived at midnight at one of the gates, which he found ſhut againſt him. He ſet fire to it, and opened himſelf a paſſage in that manner. The richeſt of the citizens ran thither to diſpute his entrance, but were ſurrounded by the ſoldiers, and almoſt all of them killed. Dionyſius having entered the city, put all to the ſword, that came in his way, plundered the houſes of his enemies, of whom he killed a great number, and forced the reſt to leave Syracuſe. The next day in the morning the whole body of his troops arrived. The unhappy fugitives of Gela and Camarina, out of horror for the tyrant, retired to the Leontines. Imilcar having ſent an herald to Syracuſe, a treaty was concluded, as mentioned in the hiſtory of the Carthaginians (*f*). By one of the articles it was ſtipulated, that Syracuſe ſhould continue under the government of Dionyſius; which confirmed all the ſuſpicions, that had been conceived of him. This happened in the year Darius Nothus died (*g*).

It was then he ſacrificed every thing that gave him umbrage to his repoſe and ſecurity. He knew, that

(*e*) 400 *ſtadia*.
(*f*) Vol. I.
(*g*) A. M. 3600. Ant. C. 404.

after having deprived the Syracuſans of all that was dear to them, he could not fail of incurring their extreme abhorrence; and the fear of the miſeries he had to expect in conſequence, increaſed in the uſurper in proportion to their hatred of him. He looked upon all his new ſubjects as ſo many enemies, and believed, that he could only avoid the dangers which ſurrounded him on all ſides, and dogged him in all places, by cutting off one part of the people to intimidate the other. He did not obſerve, that in adding the cruelty of executions to the oppreſſion of the public, he only multiplied his enemies, and induced them, after the loſs of their liberty, to preſerve at leaſt their lives by attempting upon his.

(*b*) Dionyſius, who foreſaw that the Syracuſans would not fail to take the advantage of the repoſe, in which the treaty lately concluded with the Carthaginians had left them, to attempt the re-eſtabliſhment of their liberty, neglected nothing on his ſide in ſupport of his power. He fortified the part of the city called the Iſle, which was before very ſtrong from the nature of its ſituation, and might be defended by a moderate garriſon. He ſurrounded it with good walls, flanked at due diſtances with high towers, and ſeparated in that manner from the reſt of the city. To theſe works he added a ſtrong citadel, to ſerve him for a retreat and refuge in caſe of accident, and cauſed a great number of ſhops and piazza's to be erected, capable of containing a conſiderable multitude of inhabitants.

As to the lands, he choſe out the beſt of them, which he beſtowed upon his creatures and the officers of his making, and diſtributed the reſt in equal proportions amongſt the citizens and ſtrangers, including the ſlaves who had been made free amongſt the firſt. He divided the houſes in the ſame manner, reſerving thoſe in the Iſle for ſuch of the citizens as he could moſt confide in, and for his ſtrangers.

(*b*) Diod. p. 238, 241.

After

After having taken theſe precautions for his ſecurity, he began to think of ſubjecting ſeveral free ſtates of Sicily, which had aided the Carthaginians. He began with the ſiege of Herbeſſes. The Syracuſans in his army, ſeeing their ſwords in their hands, thought it their duty to uſe them for the re-eſtabliſhment of their liberty. At a time when they met in throngs to concert their meaſures, one of the officers, who took upon him to reprove them on that account, was killed upon the ſpot, and his death ſerved as a ſignal for their revolt. They ſent immediately to Ætna for the horſe, who had retired thither at the beginning of the revolution. Dionyſius, alarmed at this motion, raiſed the ſiege, and marched directly to Syracuſe, to keep it in obedience. The revolters followed him cloſe, and having ſeized upon the ſuburb Epipolis, barred all communication with the country. They received aid from their allies both by ſea and land, and ſetting a price upon the tyrant's head, promiſed the freedom of the city to ſuch of the ſtrangers as ſhould abandon him. A great number came over to them; whom they treated with the utmoſt favour and humanity. They made their machines advance, and battered the walls of the Iſle vigorouſly, without giving Dionyſius the leaſt reſpite.

The tyrant, finding himſelf reduced to extremities, abandoned by the greateſt part of the ſtrangers, and ſhut up on the ſide of the country, aſſembled his friends to conſult with them rather by what kind of death he ſhould put a glorious period to his carreer, than upon the means of ſaving himſelf. They endeavoured to inſpire him with new courage, and were divided in their opinions; but at laſt the advice of Philiſtus prevailed, which was, that he ſhould by no means renounce the tyranny. Dionyſius, to gain time, ſent deputies to the revolters, and demanded permiſſion to quit the place with his adherents, which was granted, and five ſhips to tranſport his people and effects. He had however ſent diſpatches ſecretly to

the

the Campanians, who garriſoned the places in the poſ-ſeſſion of the Carthaginians, with offers of conſidera-ble reward, if they would come to his relief.

The Syracuſans, who, after the treaty, believed their buſineſs done, and the tyrant entirely defeated, had diſarmed part of their troops, and the reſt acted with great indolence and little diſcipline. The arri-val of the Campanians to the number of twelve hun-dred horſe, infinitely ſurprized and alarmed the city. After having beat ſuch as diſputed their paſſage, they opened themſelves a way to Dionyſius. At the ſame time, three hundred ſoldiers more arrived to his aſ-ſiſtance: The face of things was then entirely altered, and terror and dejection changed parties. Dionyſius in a ſally, drove them vigorouſly as far as that part of the city called Neapolis. The ſlaughter was not ve-ry conſiderable, becauſe he had given orders to ſpare thoſe that fled. He cauſed the dead to be interred, and gave thoſe who had retired to Ætna to under-ſtand, that they might return with entire ſecurity. Many came to Syracuſe, but others did not think it adviſeable to confide in the faith of a tyrant. The Campanians were rewarded to their ſatisfaction, and diſmiſſed.

The Lacedæmonians at this time took ſuch mea-ſures in regard to Syracuſe, as were moſt unwor-thy of the Spartan name. They had lately ſubverted the liberty of Athens, and declared publicly in all the cities of their dependance againſt popular government. They deputed one of their citizens to Syracuſe, to expreſs in appearance the part they took in the miſ-fortunes of that city, and to offer it their aid; but in reality he was ſent to confirm Dionyſius in ſupport-ing himſelf in the tyranny; expecting that from the increaſe of his power he would prove of great advan-tage and ſupport to their own.

Dionyſius ſaw, from what had ſo lately happened at Syracuſe, what he was to expect from the people

for

for the future. Whilſt the inhabitants were employed abroad in harveſt work, he entered their houſes, and ſeized upon all the arms he could find. He afterwards incloſed the citadel with an additional wall, fitted out abundance of ſhips, armed great numbers of ſtrangers, and took all poſſible meaſures to ſecure himſelf againſt the diſaffection of the Syracuſans.

After having made this proviſion for his ſafety at home, he prepared to extend his conqueſts abroad; from whence he did not only propoſe the increaſe of his dominions and revenues, but the additional advantage of diverting his ſubjects from the ſenſe of their loſt liberty, by turning their attention upon their antient, and always abhorred, enemy, and by employing them in lofty projects, military expeditions and glorious exploits, to which the hopes of riches and plunder would be annexed. He conceived this to be alſo the means to acquire the affection of his troops; and that the eſteem of the people would be a conſequence of the grandeur and ſucceſs of his enterprizes.

Dionyſius wanted neither courage nor policy, and had all the qualities of a great general. He took, either by force or fraud, Naxos, Catana, Leontium, and ſome (*l*) other towns in the neighbourhood of Syracuſe, which for that reaſon were very agreeable to his purpoſes. Some of them he treated with favour and clemency, to engage the eſteem and confidence of the people: Others he plundered, to ſtrike terror into the country. The inhabitants of Leontium were tranſplanted to Syracuſe.

Theſe conqueſts alarmed the neighbouring cities, which ſaw themſelves threatened with the ſame misfortune. Rhegium, ſituate upon the oppoſite coaſt of the ſtrait which divides Sicily from Italy, prepared to prevent it, and entered into an alliance with the Syracuſan exiles, who were very numerous, and with the Meſſenians on the Sicilian ſide of the ſtrait, who were to aid them with a powerful ſupply. They had

(*l*) Ætna. Enna.

levied

levied a conſiderable army, and were upon the point of marching againſt the tyrant, when diſcord aroſe amongſt the troops, and rendered the enterprize abortive. It terminated in a treaty of peace and alliance between Dionyſius and the two cities.

He had long revolved a great deſign in his mind, which was to ruin the Carthaginian power in Sicily, a great obſtacle to his own, as his diſcontented ſubjects never failed of refuge in the towns dependent upon that nation. The accident of the plague, which had lately ravaged Carthage, and extremely diminiſhed its ſtrength, ſeemed to ſupply a favourable opportunity for the execution of his deſign. But, as a man of ability, he knew that the greatneſs of the preparations ought to anſwer that of an enterprize, to aſſure the ſucceſs of it; and he applied to them in a manner, which ſhews the extent of his views, and extraordinary capacity. He therefore uſed uncommon pains and application for that purpoſe; conſcious that the war, into which he was entering with one of the moſt powerful nations then in the world, might be of long duration, and have variety of conſiderable events.

His firſt care was to bring to Syracuſe, as well from the conquered cities in Sicily, as from Greece and Italy, a great number of artiſans and workmen of all kinds; whom he induced to come thither by the offer of great gain and reward, the certain means of engaging the moſt excellent perſons in every profeſſion. He cauſed an infinite number of every kind of arms to be forged, ſwords, javelins, lances, partiſans, helmets, cuiraſſes, bucklers; all after the manner of the nation by whom they were to be worn. He built alſo a great number of galleys, that had from three to five benches of rowers, and were of an entirely new invention; with abundance of other barks and veſſels for the tranſportation of troops and proviſions.

The whole city ſeemed but one workſhop, and continually reſounded with the noiſe of the ſeveral artiſans.

tisans. Not only the porches, piazza's, portico's, places of exercise, and public places, but private houses of any extent were full of workmen. Dionysius had distributed them with admirable order. Each species of artists, divided by streets and districts, had their overseers and inspectors, who by their presence and direction promoted and compleated the works. Dionysius himself was perpetually amongst the workmen, encouraging them with praise, and rewarding their merit. He knew how to confer different marks of honour upon them, according to their distinguishing themselves by their ingenuity or application. He would even make some of them dine with him at his own table, where he entertained them with the freedom and kindness of a friend. * It is justly said, that honour nourishes arts and sciences, and that men of all ranks and conditions are animated by the love of glory. The prince, who knows how to put the two great springs and strongest incentives of the human soul, interest and glory, in motion under proper regulations, will soon make all arts and sciences flourish in his kingdom, and fill it at a small expence with persons who excel in every profession. And this happened now at Syracuse, where a single person of great ability in the art of governing excited such ardor and emulation amongst the artificers, as it is not easy to imagine or describe.

Dionysius applied himself more particularly to the navy. He knew that Corinth had invented the art of building galleys with three and five benches of oars, and was ambitious of acquiring for Syracuse, a Corinthian colony, the glory of bringing that art to perfection; which he effected. The timber for building his galleys was brought, part of it from Italy, where it was drawn on carriages to the sea-side, and from thence shipped to Syracuse, and part from mount Ætna, which at that time produced abundance

* Honos alit artes, omnesque incenduntur ad studia gloriæ. *Cic. Tusc. Quæst.* l. 1. n. 4.

of pine and fir trees. In a ſhort ſpace a fleet of two hundred gallies was ſeen in a manner to riſe out of the earth; and an hundred others formerly built were refitted by his order. He cauſed alſo an hundred and ſixty ſheds to be erected within the great port, each of them capable of containing two gallies, and an hundred and fifty more to be repaired.

The ſight of ſuch a fleet, built in ſo ſhort a time, and fitted out with ſo much magnificence, would have given reaſon to believe, that all Sicily had united its labours and revenues in accompliſhing ſo great a work. On the other ſide the view of ſuch an incredible quantity of arms newly made, would have inclined one to think, that Dionyſius had ſolely employed himſelf in providing them, and had exhauſted his treaſures in the expence. They conſiſted of one hundred and forty thouſand ſhields, as many helmets and ſwords; and upwards of fourteen thouſand cuiraſſes, finiſhed with all the art and elegance imaginable. They were intended for the horſe, for the tribunes and centurions of the foot, and for the foreign troops, who had the guard of his perſon. Darts, arrows, and lances, were innumerable, and engines and machines of war in proportion to the reſt of the preparations.

The fleet was to be manned by an equal number of citizens and ſtrangers. Dionyſius did not think of raiſing troops till all his preparations were compleat. Syracuſe and the cities in its dependance ſupplied him with part of his forces. Many came from Greece, eſpecially from Sparta. The conſiderable pay he offered brought ſoldiers in crowds from all parts to liſt in his ſervice.

He omitted none of the precautions neceſſary to the ſucceſs of his enterprize; the importance as well as difficulty of which was well known to him. He was not ignorant that every thing depends upon the zeal and affection of the troops for their general, and applied himſelf particularly to the gaining of the hearts, not of his own ſubjects only, but of all the

inhabitants of Sicily, and ſucceeded in it to a wonder. He had entirely changed his behaviour for ſome time. Kindneſs, courteſy, clemency, a diſpoſition to do good, and an inſinuating complacency for all the world, had taken place of that haughty and imperious air, and inhumanity of temper, which had rendered him ſo odious. He was ſo entirely altered that he did not ſeem to be the ſame man.

Whilſt he was haſtening his preparations for the war, and applying to the attainment of his ſubjects affections, he meditated an alliance with the two powerful cities, Rhegium and Meſſina, which were capable of diſconcerting his great deſigns by a formidable diverſion. The league formed by thoſe cities ſome time before, though without any effect, gave him ſome uneaſineſs. He therefore thought it neceſſary to make ſure of the amity of them both. He preſented the inhabitants of Meſſina with a conſiderable quantity of land, which was ſituate in their neighbourhood, and lay very commodiouſly for them. To give the people of Rhegium an inſtance of his eſteem and regard for them, he ſent ambaſſadors to deſire that they would give him one of their citizens in marriage. He had loſt his firſt wife in the popular commotion, as before related.

Dionyſius, ſenſible that nothing eſtabliſhes a throne more effectually than the proſpect of a ſucceſſor, who may enter into the ſame deſigns, have the ſame intereſts, purſue the ſame plan, and obſerve the ſame maxims of government, took the opportunity of the preſent tranquillity of his affairs to contract a double marriage, in order to have a ſucceſſor, to whom he might transfer the ſovereignty, which had coſt him ſo many pains and dangers to acquire.

The people of Rhegium, to whom Dionyſius had firſt applied, having called a council to take his demand into conſideration, came to a reſolution not to contract any alliance with a tyrant; and for their fi-

nal anſwer returned, that they had only the hangman's daughter to give him. The raillery was home and cut deep. We ſhall ſee in the ſequel how dear that city paid for their jeſt.

The Locrians, to whom Dionyſius ſent the ſame ambaſſadors, did not ſhew themſelves ſo difficult and delicate, but ſent him Doris for a wife, who was the daughter of one of their moſt illuſtrious citizens. He cauſed her to be brought from Locris in a galley with five benches of rowers of extraordinary magnificence, and ſhining on all ſides with gold and ſilver. He married at the ſame time Ariſtomache daughter of Hipparinus, the moſt conſiderable and powerful of the Syracuſan citizens, and ſiſter of Dion, of whom much will be ſaid hereafter. She was brought to his palace in a chariot drawn by four white horſes, which was then a ſingular mark of diſtinction. The nuptials of both were celebrated the ſame day with univerſal rejoicings throughout the whole city, and was attended with feaſts and preſents of incredible magnificence.

It was contrary to the manners and univerſal cuſtom of the weſtern nations from all antiquity that he eſpouſed two wives at once; taking in this, as in every thing elſe, the liberty aſſumed by tyrants of ſetting themſelves above all laws.

Dionyſius ſeemed to have an equal affection for the two wives, without giving the preference to either, to remove all cauſe of jealouſy and diſcord. The people of Syracuſe reported that he preferred his own country-woman to the ſtranger; but the latter had the good fortune to bring her huſband the firſt ſon, which ſupported him not a little againſt the cabals and intrigues of the Syracuſans. Ariſtomache was a long time without any ſymptoms of child-bearing; though Dionyſius deſired ſo earneſtly to have iſſue by her, that he put his Locrian's mother to death; accuſing her of hindering Ariſtomache from conceiving by witchcraft.

Ariſtomache's

Ariſtomache's brother was the celebrated Dion, in great eſtimation with Dionyſius. He was at firſt obliged for his credit to his ſiſter's favour; but after diſtinguiſhing his great capacity in many inſtances, his own merit made him much beloved and regarded by the tyrant. Amongſt the other marks Dionyſius gave him of his confidence, he ordered his treaſurers to ſupply him without farther orders with whatever money he ſhould demand, provided they informed him the ſame day they paid it.

Dion had naturally a great and moſt noble ſoul. An happy accident had conduced to inſpire and confirm in him the moſt elevated ſentiments. It was a kind of chance, or rather, as Plutarch ſays, a peculiar providence, which at diſtance laid the foundations of the Syracuſan liberty, that brought Plato, the moſt celebrated of philoſophers, to Syracuſe. Dion became his friend and diſciple, and made great improvements from his leſſons: For though brought up in a luxurious and voluptuous court, where the ſupreme good was made to conſiſt in pleaſure and magnificence, he had no ſooner heard the precepts of his new maſter, and imbibed a taſte of the philoſophy that inculcates virtue, than his ſoul was enflamed with the love of it. Plato in one of his letters gives this glorious teſtimony of him; that he had never met with a young man, upon whom his diſcourſes made ſo great impreſſion, or who had conceived his principles with ſo much ardor and vivacity.

As Dion was young and unexperienced, obſerving the facility with which Plato had changed his taſte and inclinations, he imagined, with ſimplicity enough, that the ſame reaſons would have the ſame effects upon the mind of Dionyſius; and from that opinion could not reſt till he had prevailed upon the tyrant to hear, and converſe with him. Dionyſius conſented: But the luſt of tyrannic power had taken too deep a root in his heart to be ever eradicated from it. It

was * like an indelible dye, that had penetrated his inmoſt ſoul, from whence it was impoſſible ever to efface it.

(*k*) Though the ſtay of Plato at the court made no alteration in Dionyſius, he perſevered in giving Dion the ſame inſtances of his eſteem and confidence, and even to ſupport, without taking offence, the freedom with which he ſpoke to him. Dionyſius, ridiculing one day the government of Gelon, formerly king of Syracuſe, and ſaying, in alluſion to his name, that he had been the *laughing-ſtock* (*l*) of Sicily, the whole court fell into great admiration, and took no ſmall pains in praiſing the quaintneſs and delicacy of the conceit, inſipid and flat as it was, and indeed as puns and quibbles generally are. Dion took it in a ſerious ſenſe, and was ſo bold to repreſent to him, that he was in the wrong to talk in that manner of a prince, whoſe wiſe and equitable conduct had been an excellent model of government, and given the Syracuſans a favourable opinion of monarchical power. *You reign*, added he, *and have been truſted for Gelon's ſake; but for your ſake, no man will ever be truſted after you.* It was very much, that a tyrant ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be talked to in ſuch a manner with impunity.

SECT. III. *Dionyſius declares war againſt the Carthaginians. Various ſucceſs of it. Syracuſe reduced to extremities, and ſoon after delivered. New commotions againſt Dionyſius. Defeat of Imilcar, and afterwards of Mago. Unhappy fate of the city of Rhegium.*

DIONYSIUS ſeeing his great preparations were compleat, and that he was in a condition to take the field, publicly opened his deſign to the Syracuſans, in order to intereſt them the more in the ſucceſs of

(*k*) Plut. p. 960. (*l*) Γέλως *ſignifies* laughing-ſtock.

* Τὴν βαφὴν σὸν ἀνιέντα τ τυραννίδ, ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ δυσποτον ἦσαν κ δυσίκπτυτον. Δρομαίες ἢ ὄντας ἔτι δεῖ τ χρησων ἀντιλαμβάνεσθ λόγων. Plut. in Moral. p. 779.

the

the enterprize, and told them that it was againſt the Carthaginians. He repreſented that people as the perpetual and inveterate enemy of the Greeks, and eſpecially of thoſe who inhabited Sicily; that the plague, which had lately waſted Carthage, had made the opportunity favourable, which ought not to be neglected; that the people in ſubjection to ſo cruel a power, waited only the ſignal to declare againſt it; that it would be much for the glory of Syracuſe to reinſtate the Grecian cities in their liberty, after having ſo long groaned under the yoke of the Barbarians; that in declaring war at preſent againſt the Carthaginians, they only preceded them in doing ſo for ſome time; ſince as ſoon as they had retrieved their loſſes, they would not fail to attack Syracuſe with all their forces.

The aſſembly were unanimouſly of the ſame opinion. Their antient and natural hatred of the Barbarians; their anger againſt them for having given Syracuſe a maſter; and the hope that with arms in their hands they might find ſome occaſion of recovering their liberty, united them in their ſuffrages. The war was reſolved without any oppoſition, and began that very inſtant. There were, as well in the city as the port, a great number of Carthaginians, who, upon the faith of treaties and under the peace, exerciſed traffic, and thought themſelves in ſecurity. The populace, by Dionyſius's authority, upon the breaking up of the aſſembly, ran to their houſes and ſhips, plundered their goods, and carried off their effects. They met with the ſame treatment throughout Sicily; to which murders and maſſacres were added, by way of repriſal for the many cruelties committed by the Barbarians upon thoſe they conquered, and to ſhew them what they had to expect, if they continued to make war with the ſame inhumanity.

After this bloody execution, Dionyſius ſent a letter by an herald to Carthage, in which he ſignified, that the Syracuſans declared war againſt the Carthaginians,

if they did not withdraw their garriſons from all the Grecian cities held by them in Sicily. The reading of this letter at firſt in the ſenate, and afterwards in the aſſembly of the people, occaſioned an uncommon alarm, as the peſtilence had reduced the city to a deplorable condition. However they were not diſmayed, and prepared for a vigorous defence. They raiſed troops with the utmoſt diligence, and Imilcar ſet out immediately to put himſelf at the head of the Carthaginian army in Sicily.

Dionyſius on his ſide loſt no time, and took the field with his army, which daily increaſed by the arrival of new troops, who came to join him from all parts. It amounted to fourſcore thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. The fleet conſiſted of two hundred galleys, and five hundred barks laden with proviſions, and machines of war. He opened the campaign with the ſiege of Motya, a fortified town under the Carthaginians near mount Eryx, in a little iſland ſomething more than a quarter of a league (*m*) from the continent, to which it was joined by a ſmall neck of land, which the beſieged immediately cut off, to prevent the approaches of the enemy on that ſide.

Dionyſius having left the care of the ſiege to Leptinus, who commanded the fleet, went with his land-forces to attack the places in alliance with the Carthaginians. Terrified by the approach of ſo numerous an army, they all ſurrendered except five, which were Ancyra, Solos, (*n*) Palermo, Segeſta, and Entella. The laſt two places he beſieged.

Imilcar however, to make a diverſion, detached ten galleys of his fleet, with orders to attack and ſurprize in the night all the veſſels, which remained in the port of Syracuſe. The commander of this expedition entered the port according to his orders without reſiſtance, and after having ſunk a great part of the veſſels, which he found there, retired well ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of his enterprize.

(*m*) *Six ſtadia or furlongs.* (*n*) Panormus.

Dionyſius,

Dionyſius, after having waſted the enemy's country, returned, and ſat down with his whole army before Motya, and having employed a great number of hands in making dams and moles, he reinſtated the neck of land, and brought his engines to work on that ſide. The place was attacked and defended with the utmoſt vigour. After the beſiegers had paſſed the breach, and entered the city, the beſieged perſiſted a great while in defending themſelves with incredible valour; ſo that it was neceſſary to purſue and drive them from houſe to houſe. The ſoldiers, enraged at ſo obſtinate a defence, put all before them to the ſword; age, youth, women, children, nothing was ſpared, except thoſe who had taken refuge in the temples. The town was abandoned to the ſoldiers diſcretion; Dionyſius being pleaſed with an occaſion of attaching the troops to his ſervice by the allurement and hope of gain.

The Carthaginians made an extraordinary effort the next year, and raiſed an army of three hundred thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe. The fleet under Mago's command conſiſted of four hundred galleys, and upwards of ſix hundred veſſels laden with proviſions and engines of war. Imilcar had given the captains of the fleet his orders ſealed up, which were not to be opened till they were out at ſea. He had taken this precaution, that his deſigns might be kept ſecret, and to prevent ſpies from ſending advices of them to Sicily. The rendezvous was at Palermo; where the fleet arrived without much loſs in their paſſage. Imilcar took Eryx by treachery, and ſoon after reduced Motya to ſurrender. Meſſina ſeemed to him a place of importance; becauſe it might favour the landing of troops from Italy in Sicily, and bar the paſſage of thoſe that ſhould come from Peloponneſus. After a long and vigorous defence it fell into his hands, and ſome time after he entirely demoliſhed it.

Dionyſius, ſeeing his forces extremely inferior to

the enemy, retired to Syracuſe. Almoſt all the people of Sicily, who hated him from the beginning, and were only reconciled to him in appearance and out of fear, took this occaſion to quit his party, and to join the Carthaginians. The tyrant levied new troops, and gave the ſlaves their liberty, that they might ſerve on board the fleet. His army amounted to thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, and his fleet to an hundred and eighty galleys. With theſe forces he took the field, and removed about eighteen leagues from Syracuſe. Imilcar advanced perpetually with his land-army followed by his fleet, that kept near the coaſt. When he arrived at Naxos, he could not continue his march upon the ſea-ſide, and was obliged to take a long compaſs round mount Ætna, which by a new irruption had ſet the country about it on fire, and covered it with aſhes. He ordered his fleet to wait his coming up at Catana. Dionyſius apprized of this, thought the opportunity favourable for attacking it, whilſt ſeparate from the land-forces, and whilſt his own, drawn up in battle upon the ſhore, might be of ſervice to animate and ſupport his fleet. The ſcheme was wiſely concerted, but the ſucceſs not anſwerable to it. Leptinus his admiral, having advanced inconſiderately with thirty galleys, contrary to the opinion of Dionyſius, who had particularly recommended to him not to divide his forces, at firſt ſunk ſeveral of the enemy's ſhips, but upon being ſurrounded by the greater number was forced to fly. His whole fleet followed his example, and was warmly purſued by the Carthaginians. Mago detached boats full of ſoldiers, with orders to kill all that endeavoured to ſave themſelves by ſwimming to ſhore. The land army drawn up there, ſaw them periſh miſerably without being able to give them any aſſiſtance. The loſs on the ſide of the Sicilians was very great; more than an hundred gallies being either taken or ſunk, and twenty thouſand men periſhing either in the battle, or the purſuit.

The

The Sicilians, who were afraid to ſhut themſelves up in Syracuſe, where they could not fail of being beſieged very ſoon, ſollicited Dionyſius to lead them againſt Imilcar, whom ſo bold an enterprize might diſconcert; beſides which, they ſhould find his troops fatigued with their long and haſty march. The propoſal pleaſed him at firſt; but upon reflecting, that Mago with the victorious fleet might notwithſtanding advance and take Syracuſe, he thought it more adviſeable to return thither; which was the occaſion of his loſing abundance of his troops, who deſerted in numbers on all ſides. Imilcar, after a march of two days, arrived at Catana, where he halted ſome days to refreſh his army, and refit his fleet, which had ſuffered exceedingly by a violent ſtorm.

(*o*) He then marched to Syracuſe, and made his fleet enter the port in triumph. More than two hundred gallies, adorned with the ſpoils of their victory, made a noble appearance as they advanced; the crews forming a kind of concert by the uniform and regular order they obſerved in the motion of their oars. They were followed by an infinite number of ſmaller barks; ſo that the port, vaſt as it was, was ſcarce capable of containing them; the whole ſea being in a manner covered with ſails. At the ſame time on the other ſide appeared the land army, compoſed as has been ſaid, of three hundred thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe. Imilcar pitched his tent in the temple of Jupiter, and the army encamped around, at ſomewhat more than half a league's (*p*) diſtance from the city. It is eaſy to judge the conſternation and alarm which ſuch a proſpect muſt give the Syracuſans. The Carthaginian general advanced with his troops to the walls, to offer the city battle, and at the ſame time ſeized upon the two remaining * ports by a detachment of an hundred gallies. As he ſaw no motion on the ſide of the Syracuſans, he retired, con-

(*o*) Diod. p. 285, 296. (*p*) 12 *ſtadia*.
* *The little port and that of Trogilus.*

tented

tented for that time with the enemy's confeſſing their inequality. For thirty days together he laid waſte the country, cutting down all the trees, and deſtroying all before him. He then made himſelf maſter of the ſuburb called Achradina, and plundered the temples of Ceres and Proſerpina. Foreſeeing that the ſiege would be of long duration, he entrenched his camp, and enclofed it with ſtrong walls, after having demoliſhed for that purpoſe all the tombs, and amongſt others, that of Gelon and his wife Demarate, which was a monument of great magnificence. He built three forts at ſome diſtance from each other; the firſt at Pemmyra; the ſecond towards the middle of the port; the third near the temple of Jupiter for the ſecurity of his magazines of corn and wine. He ſent alſo a great number of ſmall veſſels to Sardinia and Africa to fetch proviſions.

At the ſame time arrived Polyxenus, whom his brother-in-law Dionyſius had diſpatched before into Italy and Greece for all the aid he could obtain, and brought with him a fleet of thirty ſhips, commanded by Pharacides the Lacedæmonian. This re-inforcement came in very good time, and gave the Syracuſans new ſpirit. Upon ſeeing a bark laden with proviſions for the enemy, they detached five galleys and took it. The Carthaginians gave them chaſe with forty ſail, to which they advanced with their whole fleet, and in the battle carried the admiral galley, damaged many others, took twenty four, purſued the reſt to the place where their whole fleet rode, and offered them battle a ſecond time, which the Carthaginians, diſcouraged by the check they had received, were afraid to accept.

The Syracuſans, emboldened by ſo unexpected a victory, returned to the city with the galleys they had taken, and entered it in a kind of triumph. Animated by this ſucceſs, which could be only aſcribed to their valour; for Dionyſius was then abſent with a ſmall detachment of the fleet to procure proviſions attended

tended by Leptinus; they encouraged each other, and seeing they did not want arms, they reproached themselves with cowardice, ardently exclaiming, that the time was come for throwing off the shameful yoke of servitude, and resuming their antient liberty.

Whilst they were in the midst of these discourses, dispersed in small parties, the tyrant arrived; and having summoned an assembly, he congratulated the Syracusans upon their late victory, and promised in a short time to put an end to the war, and deliver them from the enemy. He was going to dismiss the assembly, when Theodorus one of the most illustrious of the citizens, a person of sense and valour, took upon him to speak, and to declare boldly for liberty. "We are told, said he, of restoring peace, terminating the war, and of being delivered from the enemy. What signifies such language from Dionysius? Can we have peace in the wretched state of slavery imposed upon us? Have we an enemy more to be dreaded than the tyrant who subverts our liberty, or a war more cruel than that he has made upon us for so many years? Let Imilcar conquer, so he contents himself with laying a tribute upon us, and leaves us the exercise of our laws: The tyrant that enslaves us, knows no other but his avarice, his cruelty, his ambition! The temples of the gods robbed by his sacrilegious hands, our goods made a prey, and our lands abandoned to his instruments, our persons daily exposed to the most shameful and cruel treatment, the blood of so many citizens shed in the midst of us and before our eyes; these are the fruits of his reign, and the peace he obtains for us! Was it for the support of our liberties he built yon citadel, that he has enclosed it with such strong walls and high towers, and has called in for his guard that tribe of strangers and Barbarians, who insult us with impunity? How long, oh Syracusans, shall we suffer such indignities, more insupportable to the brave and generous than death itself?

" itſelf? Bold and intrepid abroad againſt the enemy,
" ſhall we always tremble like cowards in the pre-
" ſence of a tyrant? Providence, which has again put
" arms into our hands, directs us in the uſe of them!
" Sparta, and the other cities in our alliance, who hold
" it their glory to be free and independant, would deem
" us unworthy of the Grecian name if we had any
" other ſentiments. Let us ſhew that we do not de-
" generate from our anceſtors. If Dionyſius conſents
" to retire from amongſt us, let us open him our
" gates, and let him take along with him whatever
" he pleaſes: But if he perſiſts in the tyranny, let
" him experience what effects the love of liberty has
" upon the brave and determinate!"

After this ſpeech, all the Syracuſans, in ſuſpence betwixt hope and fear, looked earneſtly upon their allies, and particularly upon the Spartans. Pharacides, who commanded their fleet, roſe up to ſpeak. It was expected that a citizen of Sparta would declare in favour of liberty: but he did quite the reverſe, and told them, that his republic had ſent him to the aid of the Syracuſans and Dionyſius, and not to make war upon Dionyſius, or to ſubvert his authority. This anſwer confounded the Syracuſans, and the tyrant's guard arriving at the ſame time, the aſſembly broke up. Dionyſius perceiving more than ever what he had to fear, uſed all his endeavours to ingratiate himſelf with the people, and to attach the citizens to his intereſts; making preſents to ſome, inviting others to eat with him, and affecting upon all occaſions to treat them with kindneſs and familiarity.

(q) It muſt have been about this time, that Polyxenus, Dionyſius's brother-in-law, who had married his ſiſter Theſta, having without doubt declared againſt him in this conſpiracy, fled from Sicily for the preſervation of his life, and to avoid falling into the tyrant's hands. Dionyſius ſent for his ſiſter, and reproached her very much for not apprizing him of her

(q) Plut. in Dion. p. 966.

huſband's

husband's intended flight, as she could not be ignorant of it. She replied, without expressing the least surprize or fear, "Have I then appeared so bad a wife to "you, and of so mean a soul, as to have abandoned "my husband in his flight, and not to have desired "to share in his dangers and misfortunes? No! "I knew nothing of it; or I should have been much "happier in being called the wife of Polyxenus the "exile, in all places, than, in Syracuse, the sister of "the tyrant." Dionysius could not but admire an answer so full of spirit and generosity; and the Syracusans in general were so charmed with her virtue, that after the tyrrany was suppressed, the same honours, equipage and train of a queen, which she had before, were continued to her during her life; and after her death, the whole people attended her body to her tomb, and honoured her funeral with an extraordinary appearance.

On the side of the Carthaginians, affairs began to take a new face on a sudden. They had committed an irretrievable error in not attacking Syracuse upon their arrival, and in not taking the advantage of the consternation, which the sight of a fleet and army equally formidable had occasioned. The plague, which was looked upon as a punishment sent from heaven for the plundering of temples and demolishing of tombs, had destroyed great numbers of their army in a short time. I have described the extraordinary symptoms of it in the history of the Carthaginians (r). To add to that misfortune, the Syracusans, being informed of their unhappy condition, attacked them in the night by sea and land. The surprize, terror, and even haste they were in to put themselves into a posture of defence, threw them into new difficulty and confusion. They knew not on which side to send relief; all being equally in danger. Many of their vessels were sunk, and others almost entirely disabled, and a much greater number destroyed by fire. The old men, wo-

(r) Tom. I. p. 163.

men

men and children ran in crouds to the walls to be witneſſes of that ſcene of horror, and lifted up their hands towards heaven, returning thanks to the gods for ſo ſignal a protection of their city. The ſlaughter within and without the camp and on board the veſſels was great and dreadful, and ended only with the day.

Imilcar, reduced to deſpair, offered Dionyſius ſecretly three hundred thouſand crowns (*s*) for permiſſion to retire in the night with the remains of his army and fleet. The tyrant, who was not diſpleaſed with leaving the Carthaginians ſome reſource, to keep his ſubjects in continual awe, gave his conſent; but only for the citizens of Carthage. Upon which Imilcar ſet out with the Carthaginians, and only forty ſhips; leaving the reſt of his troops behind. The Corinthians, diſcovering from the noiſe and motion of the galleys, that Imilcar was making off, ſent to inform Dionyſius of his flight, who affected ignorance of it, and gave immediate orders to purſue him: but as thoſe orders were but ſlowly executed, they followed the enemy themſelves, and ſunk ſeveral veſſels of their rear-guard.

Dionyſius then marched out with his troops; but before their arrival, the Sicilians in the Carthaginian ſervice had retired to their ſeveral countries. Having firſt poſted troops in the paſſes, he advanced directly to the enemies camp, though it was not quite day. The Barbarians, who ſaw themſelves cruelly abandoned and betrayed by Imilcar and the Sicilians, loſt courage and fled. Some of them were taken by the troops in the paſſes; others laid down their arms and asked quarter. Only the Iberians drew up, and ſent an herald to capitulate with Dionyſius, who incorporated them into his guards. The reſt were all made priſoners.

Such was the fate of the Carthaginians; which ſhews, ſays the hiſtorian (*t*) that humiliation treads upon the heels of pride, and that thoſe, who are too

(*s*) 300 *talents*. (*t*) Diodorus Siculus.

much

much puffed up with power and ſucceſs, are ſoon forced to confeſs their weakneſs and vanity. Thoſe haughty victors, maſters of almoſt all Sicily, who looked upon Syracuſe as already their own, and entered at firſt triumphant into the great port, inſulting the citizens, are now reduced to fly ſhamefully under the covert of the night; dragging away with them the ſad ruins, and miſerable remains of their fleet and army, and trembling for the fate of their native country. Imilcar, who had neither regarded the ſacred refuge of temples, nor the inviolable ſanctity of tombs, after having left one hundred and fifty thouſand men unburied in the enemies country, returns to periſh miſerably at Carthage, avenging upon himſelf by his death the contempt he had expreſſed for gods and men.

Dionyſius, who was ſuſpicious of the ſtrangers in his ſervice, removed ten thouſand of them, and under the pretence of rewarding their merit, gave them the city of Leontium, which was in reality very commodiouſly ſituated, and an advantagious ſettlement. He confided the guard of his perſon to other foreigners, and the ſlaves he had made free. He made ſeveral attempts upon places in Sicily, and in the neighbouring country, eſpecially againſt Rhegium (*u*). The people of Italy, ſeeing themſelves in danger, entered into a powerful alliance to put a ſtop to his conqueſts. The ſucceſs was tolerably equal on both ſides.

(*x*) About this time, the Gauls, who ſome months before had burnt Rome, ſent deputies to Dionyſius to make an alliance with him, who was at that time in Italy. The advices he had received of the great preparations making by the Carthaginians for war, obliged him to return to Sicily.

The Carthaginians, having ſet on foot a numerous army under the conduct of Mago, made new efforts againſt Syracuſe, but with no better ſucceſs than the former. They terminated in an accommodation with Dionyſius.

(*u*) Diod. l. 14. p. 304, 310. (*x*) Juſtin. l. 20. c. 5.

(*y*) He

(y) He attacked Rhegium again, and at firſt received no inconſiderable check. But having gained a great victory againſt the Greeks of Italy, in which he took more than ten thouſand priſoners, he diſmiſſed them all without ranſom contrary to their expectation; with a view of dividing the Italians from the intereſts of Rhegium, and of diſſolving a powerful league, which might have defeated his deſigns. Having by this action of favour and generoſity acquired the good opinion of all the inhabitants of the country, and from enemies made them his friends and allies, he returned againſt Rhegium. He was extremely incenſed againſt that city upon account of their refuſing to give him one of their citizens in marriage, and the inſolent anſwer, with which that refuſal was attended. The beſieged, finding themſelves incapable of reſiſting ſo numerous an army as that of Dionyſius, and expecting no quarter if the city were taken by aſſault, began to talk of capitulating; to which he hearkened not unwillingly. He made them pay three hundred thouſand crowns, deliver up all their veſſels to the number of ſeventy, and put an hundred hoſtages into his hands: after which he raiſed the ſiege. It was not out of favour or clemency that he acted in this manner, but to make their deſtruction ſure, after having firſt reduced their power.

Accordingly the next year, under the falſe pretext, and with the reproach of their having violated the treaty, he beſieged them again with all his forces, firſt ſending back their hoſtages. Both parties acted with the utmoſt vigour. The deſire of revenge on one ſide, and the fear of the greateſt cruelties on the other, animated the troops. Thoſe of the city were commanded by Phyto, a brave and intrepid man, whom the danger of his country rendered more courageous. He made frequent and rude ſallies. In one of them Dionyſius received a wound, of which he recovered with great difficulty. The ſiege went on ſlowly, and

(y) A. M. 3615. Ant. J. C. 389.

had

had already continued eleven months, when a cruel famine reduced the city to the laſt extremities. A meaſure of wheat (of about ſix buſhels) was ſold for two hundred and fifty livres (z). After having conſumed all their horſes and beaſts of carriage, they were obliged to ſupport themſelves with leather and hides, which they boiled; and at laſt to feed upon the graſs of the fields like beaſts; a reſource, of which Dionyſius ſoon deprived them, by making his horſe eat up all the herbage around the city. Neceſſity at length reduced them to ſurrender at diſcretion, and Dionyſius entered the place, which he found covered with dead bodies. Thoſe who ſurvived were rather ſkeletons than men. He took above ſix thouſand priſoners, whom he ſent to Syracuſe. Such as could pay fifty livres (a) he diſmiſſed, and ſold the reſt for ſlaves.

Dionyſius let fall the whole weight of his reſentment and revenge upon Phyto. He began with ordering his ſon to be thrown into the ſea. The next day he ordered the father to be faſtened to the extremity of the higheſt of his engines for a ſpectacle to the whole army, and in that condition, he ſent to tell him that his ſon had been thrown into the ſea. "Then he is happier than me by a day," replied that unfortunate parent. He afterwards cauſed him to be led through the whole city, to be ſcourged with rods, and to ſuffer a thouſand other indignities, whilſt an herald proclaimed, "that the perfidious traytor was "treated in that manner, for having inſpired the peo-"ple of Rhegium with rebellion." "Say rather," anſwered that generous defender of his country's liberty, "that a faithful citizen is ſo uſed, for hav-"ing refuſed to ſacrifice his country to a tyrant." Such an object and ſuch diſcourſe drew tears from all eyes, and even from the ſoldiers of Dionyſius. He was afraid his priſoner would be taken from him before he had ſatiated his revenge, and ordered him to be flung into the ſea directly.

(z) *Five minæ.* (a) *One mina.*

SECT.

SECT. IV. *Violent paſſion of Dionyſius for poeſy. Reflections upon that taſte of the tyrant. Generous freedom of Philoxenus. Death of Dionyſius. His bad qualities.*

(*b*) AT an interval which the ſucceſs againſt Rhegium had left Dionyſius, the tyrant, who was fond of all kinds of glory, and piqued himſelf upon the excellence of his genius, ſent his brother Thearides to Olympia, to diſpute in his name the prizes of the chariot-race and poetry.

The circumſtance, which I am going to treat, and which regards the taſte or rather paſſion of Dionyſius for poetry and polite learning, being one of his peculiar characteriſtics, and having beſides a mixture of good and bad in itſelf, makes it requiſite, for a right underſtanding of it, to diſtinguiſh, wherein this taſte of his is either laudable or worthy of blame.

I ſhall ſay as much upon the tyrant's total character, with whoſe vices of ambition and tyranny many great qualities were united, which ought not to be diſguiſed or miſrepreſented; the veracity of hiſtory requiring, that juſtice ſhould be done to the moſt wicked, as they are not ſo in every reſpect. We have ſeen ſeveral things in his character that certainly deſerve praiſe; I mean in regard to his manners and behaviour: The mildneſs with which he ſuffered the freedom of young Dion, the admiration he expreſſed of the bold and generous anſwer of his ſiſter Theſta upon account of her huſband's flight, his gracious and inſinuating deportment upon ſeveral other occaſions to the Syracuſans, the familiarity of his diſcourſe with the meaneſt citizens and even workmen, the equality he obſerved between his two wives, and his kindneſs and reſpect for them; all which imply that Dionyſius had more of equity, moderation, affability, and generoſity, than is commonly aſcribed to him. He is not

(*b*) Diod. l. 14. p. 318.

ſuch

ſuch a tyrant as Phalaris, Alexander of Pheræ, Caligula, Nero, or Caracalla.

But to return to Dionyſius's taſte for poetry. In his intervals of leiſure, he loved to unbend in the converſation of perſons of wit, and in the ſtudy of arts and ſciences. He was particularly fond of verſifying, and employed himſelf in the compoſition of poems, eſpecially of tragedies. Thus far this paſſion of his may be excuſed, having ſomething undoubtedly laudable in it; I mean in the taſte for polite learning, the eſteem he expreſſed for learned men, his inclination to do them good offices, and the application of his leiſure hours. Was it not better to employ them in the exerciſe of his wit and the cultivation of ſcience, than feaſting, dancing, theatrical amuſements, gaming, frivolous company, and other pleaſures ſtill more pernicious? Which wiſe reflection Dionyſius the younger made when at Corinth. (*c*) Philip of Macedon, being at table with him, ſpoke of the odes and tragedies his father had left behind him with an air of raillery and contempt, and ſeemed to be under ſome difficulty to comprehend at what time of his life he had leiſure for ſuch compoſitions: Dionyſius ſmartly reparteed; *The difficulty is very great indeed! Why he compoſed them at thoſe hours, which you and I, and an infinity of others, as we have reaſon to believe, paſs in drinking and other diverſions.*

(*d*) Julius Cæſar and the emperor Auguſtus applied themſelves to poetry, and compoſed tragedies. Lucullus intended to have wrote the memoirs of his military actions in verſe. The comedies of Terence were attributed to Lelius and Scipio, both great captains, eſpecially the latter; and that report was ſo far from leſſening their reputation at Rome, that it added to the general eſteem for them.

Theſe unbendings therefore were not blameable in their own nature; this taſte for poetry was rather laudable, if kept within due bounds; but Dionyſius was

(*c*) Plut. in Timol. p. 243.

(*d*) Suet. in Cæſ. c. 56. in Auguſt. c. 85. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492.

ridiculous

ridiculous for pretending to excel all others in it. He could not endure either a ſuperior or competitor in any thing. From being in the ſole poſſeſſion of ſupreme authority, he had accuſtomed himſelf to imagine his wit of the ſame rank with his power: In a word, he was in every thing a tyrant. His immoderate eſtimation of his own merit flowed in ſome meaſure from the over-bearing turn of mind, which empire and command had given him. The continual applauſes of a court, and the flatteries of thoſe, who knew how to recommend themſelves by his darling foible, were another ſource of this vain conceit. And of what will not a * great man, a miniſter, a prince, think himſelf capable, who has ſuch incenſe and adoration continually paid to him? It is well known, that Cardinal Richelieu in the midſt of the greateſt affairs, not only compoſed dramatic poems, but piqued himſelf on his excellency that way; and what is more, his jealouſy in that point roſe ſo high as to uſe authority by way of criticiſm upon the compoſitions of thoſe, to whom the public, a juſt and incorruptible judge in the queſtion, had given the preference againſt him.

Dionyſius did not reflect, that there are things, which though eſtimable in themſelves, and which do honour to private perſons, it does not become a prince to deſire to excel in. I have mentioned elſewhere Philip of Macedon's expreſſion to his ſon upon his having ſhewn too much ſkill in muſick at a public entertainment: *Are not you aſhamed*, ſaid he, *to ſing ſo well.* It was acting inconſiſtently with the dignity of his character. If Cæſar and Auguſtus, when they wrote tragedies, had taken it into their heads to equal or excel Sophocles, it had not only been *ridiculous*, but *a reproach* to them. And the reaſon is, becauſe a prince being obliged by an eſſential and indiſpenſible duty to apply himſelf inceſſantly to the affairs of government, and having an infinitude of various buſineſs

* ——— Nihil eſt quod credere de ſe
Non poſſit, cam laudatur diis æqua poteſtas. *Juvenal.*

always

always recurring to him, he can make no other uſe of the ſciences, than to divert him at ſuch ſhort intervals, as will not admit any great progreſs in them, and the excelling of thoſe who employ themſelves in no other ſtudy. Hence when the public ſees a prince affect the firſt rank in this kind of merit, it may juſtly conclude, that he neglects his more important duties, and what he owes to his people's happineſs, to give himſelf up to an employment, which waſtes his time and application of mind ineffectually.

We muſt however do Dionyſius the juſtice to own, that he never was reproachable for letting poetry interfere to the prejudice of his great affairs, or that it made him leſs active and diligent on any important occaſion.

(e) I have already ſaid, that this prince, in an interval of peace, had ſent his brother Thearides to Olympia, to diſpute the prizes of poetry and the chariot-race in his name. When he arrived in the aſſembly, the beauty as well as number of his chariots, and the magnificence of his pavilion, embroidered with gold and ſilver, attracted the eyes and admiration of all the ſpectators. The ear was no leſs charmed when the poems of Dionyſius began to be read. He had choſen expreſsly for the occaſion * readers with ſonorous, muſical voices, who might be heard far and diſtinctly, and who knew how to give a juſt emphaſis and numeroſity to the verſes they repeated. At firſt this had a very happy effect, and the whole audience were deceived by the art and ſweetneſs of the pronunciation. But that charm was ſoon at an end, and the mind not long amuſed by the ears. The verſes then appeared in all their ridicule. The audience were aſhamed of having applauded them, and their praiſe was turned into laughter, ſcorn and inſult. To expreſs their contempt and indignation, they tore Dionyſius's rich pavilion in pieces. Lyſias, the celebrated

(e) Diod. l. 14. p. 318.

* *Theſe readers were called* Ραψῳδοί.

orator,

orator, who was come to the Olympic games to dispute the prize of eloquence, which he had carried several times before, undertook to prove, that it was inconsistent with the honour of Greece, the friend and assertor of liberty, to admit an impious tyrant to share in the celebration of the sacred games, who had no other thoughts than of subjecting all Greece to his power. Dionysius was not affronted in that manner then; but the event proved as little in his favour. His chariots having entered the lists, were all of them either carried out of the course by an headlong impetuosity, or dashed in pieces against one another. And to compleat the misfortune, the galley, which carried the persons Dionysius had sent to the games, met with a violent storm, and did not return to Syracuse without great difficulty. When the pilots arrived there, out of hatred and contempt for the tyrant, they reported throughout the city, that it was his vile poems, which had occasioned so many miscarriages to the readers, racers, and even the ship itself. This bad success did not at all discourage Dionysius, nor make him abate any thing in his high opinion of his poetic vein. The flatterers, who abounded in his court, did not fail to insinuate, that such injurious treatment of his poems could proceed only from envy, which always fastens upon what is most excellent; and that sooner or later the invidious themselves would be convinced by demonstration, to do justice to his merit, and acknowledge his superiority to all other poets.

(*f*) The extravagance of Dionysius in that respect was inconceivable. He was undoubtedly a great warriour, and an excellent captain; but he fancied himself a much better poet, and believed that his verses were a far greater honour to him than all his victories. To attempt to undeceive him in an opinion so favourable to himself, had been an ill way of making court to him; so that all the learned men and poets, who eat

(*f*) Diod. l. 15. p. 331.

at

at his table in great numbers, ſeemed to be in extaſy of admiration, whenever he read them his poems. Never, according to them, was there any compariſon: all was great, all noble in his poetry: all was majeſtic, or to ſpeak more properly, all divine.

Philoxenus was the only one of all the tribe, who did not run with the ſtream into exceſſive praiſes and flattery. He was a man of great reputation, and excelled in Dithyrambic poetry. There is a ſtory told of him, which Fontaine has known how to apply admirably. Being at table with Dionyſius, and ſeeing a very ſmall fiſh ſet before him, and an huge one before the king, the whim took him to lay his ear cloſe to the little fiſh. He was aſked his meaning by that pleaſantry; "I was enquiring," ſaid he, "into ſome "affairs that happened in the reign of Nereus, but "this young native of the floods can give me no in-"formation; yours is elder, and without doubt knows "ſomething of the matter."

Dionyſius having read one day ſome of his verſes to Philoxenus, and having preſt him to give him his opinion of them, he anſwered with entire freedom, and told him plainly his real ſentiments. Dionyſius, who was not accuſtomed to ſuch language, was extremely offended, and aſcribing his boldneſs to envy, gave orders to carry him to the mines; the common jail being ſo called. The whole court were afflicted upon this account, and ſollicited for the generous priſoner, whoſe releaſe they obtained. He was enlarged the next day, and reſtored to favour.

At the entertainment made that day by Dionyſius for the ſame gueſts, which was a kind of ratification of the pardon, and at which they were for that reaſon more than uſually gay and chearful, after they had plentifully regaled a great while, the prince did not fail to introduce his poems into the converſation, which were the moſt frequent ſubject of it. He choſe ſome paſſages, which he had taken extraordinary pains in compoſing, and conceived to be maſter-

pieces; as was very discernible from the self-satisfaction and complacency he expressed whilst they were reading. But his delight could not be perfect without Philoxenus's approbation, upon which he set the greater value, as it was not his custom to be so profuse of it as the rest. What had passed the evening before was a sufficient lesson for the poet. When Dionysius asked his thoughts of the verses, Philoxenus made no answer, but turning towards the guards, who always stood round the table, he said in a serious, though humorous, tone without any emotion; *Carry me back to the mines.* * The prince took all the salt and spirit of that ingenious pleasantry, without being offended. The sprightliness of the conceit atoned for its freedom, which at another time would have touched him to the quick, and made him excessively angry. He only laughed at it now, and did not make a quarrel of it with the poet.

He was not in the same temper upon a gross jest of Antiphon's, which was indeed of a different kind, and seemed to argue a violent and brutal disposition. The prince in conversation asked, which was the best kind of brass. After the company had given their opinions, Antiphon said, that was the best, of which the statues of † Harmodius and Aristogiton were made. This witty expression (*g*), if it may be called so, cost him his life.

The friends of Philoxenus apprehending, that his too great liberty might be also attended with fatal consequences, represented to him in the most serious manner, that those who live with princes must speak their language; that they hate to hear any thing not agreeable to themselves; that whoever does not know how to dissemble, is not qualified for a court; that the sa-

(g) Plut. Moral. p. 78, & 833.

* Τότε μὲν δὴ τὴν εὐτραπελίαν τῶν λόγων μεισήσας ὁ Διονύσιος, ἤνεγκε τὴν παῤῥησίαν τοῦ γέλωτος τὴν μέμψιν ἀμυξάνοντος.

† *They had delivered Athens from the tyranny of the Pisistratides.*

vours and liberalities, which Dionyſius continually beſtowed upon them, well deſerved the return of complaiſance; that, in a word, with his blunt freedom and plain truth, he was in danger of loſing not only his fortune but his life. Philoxenus told them, that he would take their good advice, and for the future give ſuch a turn to his anſwers, as ſhould ſatisfy Dionyſius without injuring truth.

Accordingly ſome time after, Dionyſius, having read a piece of his compoſing upon a very mournful ſubject, wherein he was to move compaſſion and draw tears from the eyes of the audience, addreſſed himſelf again to Philoxenus, and aſked him his ſentiments upon it. Philoxenus gave him for anſwer (*b*) one word, which in the Greek language has two different ſignifications. In one of them it implies mournful, moving things, ſuch as inſpire ſentiments of pity and compaſſion; in the other, it expreſſes ſomething very mean, defective, pitiful or miſerable. Dionyſius, who was fond of his verſes, and believed that every body muſt have the ſame good opinion of them, took that word in the favourable conſtruction, and was extremely ſatisfied with Philoxenus. The reſt of the company were not miſtaken, but underſtood it in the right ſenſe, though without explaining themſelves.

Nothing could cure his folly for verſification. It appears from Diodorus Siculus (*i*), that having ſent his poems a ſecond time to Olympia, they were treated with the ſame ridicule and contempt as before. That news, which could not be kept from him, threw him into an exceſs of melancholy, which he could never get over, and turned ſoon after into a kind of madneſs and phrenzy. He complained that envy and jealouſy, the certain enemies of true merit, were always at variance with him, and that all the world conſpired to the ruin of his reputation. He accuſed his beſt friends of the ſame deſign; ſome of whom he put to death, and others he baniſhed; amongſt

(*b*) Οἰκτρέ. (*i*) Diod. p. 332.

whom were Leptinus his brother, and Philiſtus, who had done him ſuch great ſervices, and to whom he was obliged for his power. They retired to Thurium in Italy, from whence they were recalled ſome time after, and re-inſtated in all their fortunes and his favour: Leptinus in particular, who married Dionyſius's daughter.

(*k*) To remove his melancholy for the ill ſucceſs of his verſes, it was neceſſary to find ſome employment, with which his wars and buildings ſupplied him. He had formed a deſign of eſtabliſhing powerful colonies in the part of Italy, ſituate upon the Adriatic ſea facing Epirus; in order that his fleet might not want a ſecure retreat, when he ſhould employ his forces on that ſide; and with this view he made an alliance with the Illyrians, and reſtored Alcetes king of the Moloſſians to his throne. His principal deſign was to attack Epirus, and to make himſelf maſter of the immenſe treaſures, which had been for many ages amaſſing in the temple of Delphos. Before he could ſet this project on foot, which required great preparations, he ſeemed to make an eſſay of his genius for it, by another of the ſame kind, though of much more eaſy execution. Having made a ſudden irruption into Tuſcany, under the pretence of purſuing pirates, he plundered a very rich temple in the ſuburbs of Agyllum, a city of that country, and carried away a ſum exceeding four millions five hundred thouſand livres (*l*). He had occaſion for money to ſupport his great expences at Syracuſe, as well in fortifying the port, and to make it capable of receiving two hundred gallies, as to encloſe the whole city with good walls, erect magnificent temples, and build a place of exerciſe upon the banks of the river Anapus.

(*m*) At the ſame time he formed the deſign of driving the Carthaginians entirely out of Sicily. A firſt victory which he gained, put him almoſt into a con-

(*k*) Diod. l. 15. p. 336, 337. (*l*) 1500 *talents, or about* 200000 *l. Sterling.* (*m*) *See the hiſtory of the Carthaginians.*

dition

dition to accompliſh his project; but the loſs of a ſecond battle, in which his brother Leptinus was killed, put an end to his hopes, and obliged him to enter into a treaty, by which he gave up ſeveral towns to the Carthaginians, and paid them great ſums of money to re-imburſe their expences in the war. An attempt which he made upon them ſome years after, taking advantage of the deſolation occaſioned by the plague at Carthage, had no better ſucceſs.

(*n*) Another victory of a very different kind, though not leſs at his heart, made him amends, or at leaſt comforted him for the ill ſucceſs of his arms. He had cauſed a tragedy of his to be repreſented at Athens for the prize in the celebrated feaſt of Bacchus, and was declared victor. Such a victory with the Athenians, who were the beſt judges of this kind of literature, ſeems to argue the poetry of Dionyſius not ſo *mean* and *pitiful*, and that it is very poſſible, the averſion of the Greeks for every thing, which came from a tyrant, had a great ſhare in the contemptuous ſentence, paſſed upon his poems in the Olympic games. However it was, Dionyſius received the news with inexpreſſible tranſports of joy. Public thankſgivings were made to the gods, the temples being ſcarce capable of containing the concourſe of the people. Nothing was ſeen throughout the city, but feaſting and rejoicing; and Dionyſius regaled all his friends with the moſt extraordinary magnificence. Self-ſatisfied to a degree that cannot be deſcribed, he believed himſelf at the ſummit of glory, and did the honours of his table with a gaiety and eaſe, and at the ſame time with a grace and dignity that charmed all the world. He invited his gueſts to eat and drink more by his example than expreſſions, and carried his civilities of that kind to ſuch an exceſs, that at the cloſe of the banquet he was ſeized with violent pains, occaſioned by an indigeſtion, of which it was not difficult to foreſee the conſequences.

(*n*) Diod. p. 384, 385.

(o) Dionyſius had three children by his wife Doris, and four by Ariſtomache, of which two were daughters, the one named Sophroſyne, the other Arete. Sophroſyne was married to his eldeſt ſon, Dionyſius the younger, whom he had by his Locrian wife, and Arete eſpouſed her brother Theorides. But Theorides dying ſoon, Dion married his widow Arete, who was his own niece.

As Dionyſius's diſtemper left no hopes of his life, Dion took upon him to diſcourſe him upon his children by Ariſtomache, who were at the ſame time his brothers-in-law and nephews, and to inſinuate to him, that it was juſt to prefer the iſſue of his Syracuſan wife to that of a ſtranger. But the phyſicians, deſirous of making their court to young Dionyſius, the Locrian's ſon, for whom the throne was intended, did not give him time to alter his purpoſe: For Dionyſius having demanded a medicine to make him ſleep, they gave him ſo ſtrong a doſe, as quite ſtupified his ſenſes, and laid him in a ſleep that laſted him for the reſt of his life. He had reigned thirty eight years.

He was certainly a prince of very great political and military abilities, and had occaſion for them all in raiſing himſelf as he did from a mean condition to ſo high a rank. After having held the ſovereignty thirty eight years, he tranſmitted it peaceably to a ſucceſſor of his own iſſue and election; and had eſtabliſhed his power upon ſuch ſolid foundations, that his ſon, notwithſtanding the ſlenderneſs of his capacity for governing, retained it twelve years after his death. All which could not have been effected without a great fund of merit as to his capacity. But what qualities could cover the vices, which rendered him the object of his ſubjects abhorrence? His ambition knew neither law nor limitation; his avarice ſpared nothing, not even the moſt ſacred places; his cruelty had often no regard to the affinity of blood; and

(o) Plut. in Dion. pag. 960.

his

his open and profeſſed impiety only acknowledged the divinity to inſult him.

In his return to Syracuſe with a very favourable wind from plundering the temple of Proſerpine at Locris, *See*, ſaid he to his friends with a ſmile of contempt, *how the immortal gods favour the navigation of the ſacrilegious.*

(*p*) Having occaſion for money to carry on the war againſt the Carthaginians, he rifled the temple of Jupiter, and took from that god a robe of ſolid gold, which ornament Hiero the tyrant had given him out of the ſpoils of the Carthaginians. He even jeſted upon that occaſion, ſaying, that a robe of gold was much too heavy in ſummer, and too cold in winter; and at the ſame time ordered one of wool to be thrown over the god's ſhoulders; adding, that ſuch an habit would be commodious in all ſeaſons.

Another time he ordered the golden beard of Æſculapius of Epidaurus to be taken off; giving for his reaſon, that it was very inconſiſtent for the ſon to have a beard *, when the father had none.

He cauſed all the tables of ſilver to be taken out of the temples, and as there was generally inſcribed upon them according to the cuſtom of the Greeks, TO THE GOOD GODS; he would, (he ſaid,) take the benefit of their GOODNESS.

As for leſs prizes, ſuch as cups and crowns of gold, which the ſtatues held in their hands, thoſe he carried off without any ceremony; ſaying, it was not taking, but receiving, them; and that it was idle and ridiculous to aſk the gods perpetually for good things, and to refuſe them, when they held out their hands themſelves to preſent them to you. Theſe ſpoils were carried by his order to the market, and ſold at the public ſale: and when he had got the money for them, he ordered proclamation to be made, that whoever had in their cuſtody any things taken out of ſacred

(*p*) Cic. de nat. deor. l. 15. n. 83, 84.

* *Apollo's ſtatues had no beards.*

places, ſhould reſtore them entire within a limited time to the temples from whence they were brought; adding in this manner to his impiety to the gods, injuſtice to man.

The amazing precautions, that Dionyſius thought neceſſary to the ſecurity of his life, ſhew to what anxiety and apprehenſion he was abandoned. (q) He wore under his robe a cuiraſs of braſs. He never harangued the people but from the top of an high tower; and thought proper to make himſelf invulnerable by being inacceſſible. Not daring to confide in any of his friends or relations, his guard was compoſed of ſlaves and ſtrangers. He went abroad as little as poſſible; fear obliging him to condemn himſelf to a kind of impriſonment. Theſe extraordinary precautions regard without doubt certain intervals of his reign, when frequent conſpiracies againſt him rendered him more timid and ſuſpicious than uſual; for at other times we have ſeen that he converſed freely enough with the people, and was acceſſible even to familiarity. In thoſe dark days of diſtruſt and fear, he fancied, that he ſaw all mankind in arms againſt him. (r) A word which eſcaped his barber, who boaſted by way of jeſt, that he held a razor at the tyrant's throat every week, coſt him his life. From thenceforth, not to abandon his head and life to the hands of a barber, he made his daughters, though very young, do him that deſpicable office; and when they were more advanced in years, he took the ſciſſars and razors from them, and taught them to ſinge off his beard with nut-ſhells. (s) He was at laſt reduced to do himſelf that office, not daring it ſeems to truſt his own daughters any longer. He never went into the chamber of his wives at night, till they had been firſt ſearched with the utmoſt care and circumſpection. His bed was ſurrounded with a very broad and deep trench, with a ſmall drawbridge over it for the en-

(q) Cic. Tuſc. quæſt. l. 5. n. 57, 63. (r) Plut. de Garrul. p. 508.
(s) Offic. l. 2. n. 55.

trance.

trance. After having well locked and bolted the doors of his apartment, he drew up the bridge, that he might ſleep in ſecurity. (*t*) Neither his brother, nor even his ſon could be admitted into his chamber without firſt changing their cloaths, and being viſited by the guards. Is paſſing one's days in ſuch a continual circle of diſtruſt and terror, to live, to reign!

In the midſt of all his greatneſs, poſſeſſed of riches, and ſurrounded with pleaſures of every kind, during a reign of almoſt forty years, notwithſtanding all his preſents and profuſions, he never was capable of making a ſingle friend. He paſſed his life with none but trembling ſlaves and ſordid flatterers, and never taſted the joy of loving, or of being beloved, nor the charms of ſocial truth and reciprocal confidence. This he owned himſelf upon an occaſion not unworthy of repetition.

(*u*) Damon and Pythias had both been educated in the principles of the Pythagorean philoſophy, and were united to each other in the ſtricteſt ties of friendſhip, which they had mutually ſworn to obſerve with inviolable fidelity. Their faith was put to a ſevere trial. One of them being condemned to die by the tyrant, petitioned for permiſſion to make a journey into his own country, to ſettle his affairs, promiſing to return at a fixed time, the other generouſly offering to be his ſecurity. The courtiers, and Dionyſius in particular, expected with impatience the event of ſo delicate and extraordinary an adventure. The day fixed for his return drawing nigh, and he not appearing, every body began to blame the raſh and imprudent zeal of his friend who had bound himſelf in ſuch a manner. But he, far from expreſſing any fear or concern, replied with tranquillity in his looks, and confidence in his expreſſions, that he was aſſured his friend would return; as he accordingly did upon the day and hour agreed. The tyrant ſtruck with admiration at ſo un-

(*t*) Plut. in Dion. p. 961. (*u*) Cic. de Offic. l. 3. n. 43. Val. Max. l. 4. c. 7.

common an inſtance of fidelity, and ſoftened with the view of ſo amiable an union, granted him his life, and deſired to be admitted as a third perſon into their friendſhip.

(*x*) He expreſſed with equal ingenuity on another occaſion what he thought of his condition. One of his courtiers, named Damocles, was perpetually extolling with rapture his treaſures, grandeur, the number of his troops, the extent of his dominions, the magnificence of his palaces, and the univerſal abundance of all good things and enjoyments in his poſſeſſion; always repeating that never man was happier than Dionyſius. "Becauſe you are of that opinion, ſaid the "tyrant to him one day, will you taſte, and make "proof of my felicity in perſon?" The offer was accepted with joy. Damocles was placed upon a golden bed, covered with carpets of ineſtimable value. The ſide-boards were loaded with veſſels of gold and ſilver. The moſt beautiful ſlaves in the moſt ſplendid habits ſtood around, watching the leaſt ſignal to ſerve him. The moſt exquiſite eſſences and perfumes had not been ſpared. The table was ſpread with proportionate magnificence. Damocles was all joy, and looked upon himſelf as the happieſt man in the world; when unfortunately caſting up his eyes, he beheld over his head the point of a ſword, which hung from the roof only by a ſingle horſe-hair. He was immediately ſeized with a cold ſweat; every thing diſappeared in an inſtant; he could ſee nothing but the ſword, nor think of any thing but his danger. In the height of his fear he deſired permiſſion to retire, and declared he would be happy no longer. A very natural image of the life of a tyrant. Ours reigned, as I have obſerved before, thirty eight years.

(*x*) Cic. Tuſc. quæſt. l. 5. n. 61, 62.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

THIS chapter includes the history of Dionyſius the younger, tyrant of Syracuſe, ſon of the former; and that of Dion his near relation.

SECT. I. *Dionyſius the younger ſucceeds his father. Dion engages him to invite Plato to his court. Surprizing alteration occaſioned by his preſence. Conſpiracy of the courtiers to prevent the effects of it.*

(y) DIONYSIUS the elder was ſucceeded by one of his ſons of his own name, commonly called Dionyſius the younger. After his father's funeral had been ſolemnized with the utmoſt magnificence, he aſſembled the people, and deſired they would have the ſame good inclinations for him as they had profeſſed for his father. They were very different from each other in their character. (z) For the latter was as peaceable and calm in his diſpoſition as the former was active and enterprizing; which would have been no diſadvantage to his people, had that mildneſs and moderation been the effect of a wiſe and judicious underſtanding, and not of natural ſloth and indolence of temper.

It was ſurprizing to ſee Dionyſius the younger take quiet poſſeſſion of the tyranny after the death of his father, as of a right of inheritance, notwithſtanding the paſſion of the Syracuſans for liberty, which could not but revive upon ſo favourable an occaſion, and the weakneſs of a young prince undiſtinguiſhed by his merit, and void of experience. It ſeemed as if the laſt years of the elder Dionyſius, who had applied himſelf towards the cloſe of his life in making his ſubjects taſte the advantages of his government, had in ſome meaſure reconciled them to the tyranny; eſpecially after his exploits by ſea and land had acquired him a great reputation, and infinitely exalted the glory of the

(y) A. M. 3637. Ant. J. C. 372. Diod. l. 15. p. 385. (z) Id. l. 16. p. 410.

Syra-

Syracuſan power, which he had found means to render formidable to Carthage it ſelf, as well as to the moſt potent ſtates of Greece and Italy. Beſides which it was to be feared, that ſhould they attempt a change in the government, the ſad conſequences of a civil war might deprive them of all thoſe advantages: And at the ſame time the gentle and humane diſpoſition of young Dionyſius gave them reaſon to entertain the moſt favourable hopes of the future. He therefore peaceably aſcended his father's throne.

England has ſeen ſomething of this kind in the famous Cromwell, who died in his bed with as much tranquillity as the beſt of princes, and was interred with the ſame honours and pomp as the moſt lawful ſovereign. Richard his ſon ſucceeded him, and was for ſome time in equal authority with his father, though he had not any of his great qualities.

(*a*) Dion the braveſt, and at the ſame time the wiſeſt of the Syracuſans, Dionyſius's brother-in-law, might have been of great ſupport to him, had he known how to make uſe of his counſels. In the firſt aſſembly held by Dionyſius and all his friends, Dion ſpoke in ſo wiſe a manner upon what was neceſſary and expedient in the preſent conjuncture, as ſhewed that the reſt were like infants in compariſon with him, and in regard to a juſt boldneſs and freedom of ſpeech, were no more than deſpicable ſlaves of the tyranny, ſolely employed in the abject endeavour of pleaſing the prince. But what ſurprized and amazed them moſt was that Dion, at a time when the whole court were ſtruck with terror at the proſpect of the ſtorm, forming on the ſide of Carthage and juſt ready to break upon Sicily, ſhould inſiſt that if Dionyſius deſired peace, he would embark immediately for Africa, and diſpel this tempeſt to his ſatisfaction; or if he preferred the war, that he would furniſh and maintain him fifty galleys of three benches compleately equipped for ſervice.

Dionyſius admiring and extolling his generous mag-

(*a*) Plut. in Dion. p. 960, 961.

nanimity

nanimity to the ſkies, profeſſed the higheſt gratitude to him for his zeal and affection; but the courtiers, who looked upon Dion's magnificence as a reproach to themſelves, and his great power as a leſſening of their own, took immediate occaſion from thence to calumniate him, and ſpared no diſcourſe, that might influence the young prince againſt him. They inſinuated, that in making himſelf ſtrong at ſea he would open his way to the tyranny; and that he deſigned to tranſport the ſovereignty on board his veſſels to his nephews, the ſons of Ariſtomache.

But what put them moſt out of humour with Dion was his manner of life, which was a continual reproach to theirs. For theſe courtiers having preſently inſinuated themſelves, and got the aſcendant of the young tyrant, who had been wretchedly educated, thought of nothing but of ſupplying him perpetually with new amuſements, keeping him always employed in feaſting, abandoned to women and all manner of ſhameful pleaſures. (*b*) In the beginning of his reign he made a debauch, which continued for three months entire, during all which time his palace, ſhut againſt all perſons of ſenſe and reaſon, was crowded with drunkards, and reſounded with nothing but low buffoonery, obſcene jeſts, lewd ſongs, dances, maſquerades, and every kind of groſs and diſſolute extravagance. It is therefore natural to believe, that nothing could be more offenſive and diſguſting to them than the preſence of Dion, who gave into none of theſe pleaſures. For which reaſon, painting his virtues in ſuch of the colours of vice as were moſt likely to diſguiſe them, they found means to calumniate him with the prince, and to make his gravity paſs for arrogance, and his freedom of ſpeech for inſolence and ſedition. If he advanced any wiſe counſel, they treated him as a ſour pedagogue, who took upon him to obtrude his lectures, and to ſchool his prince without being aſked; and if he refuſed to ſhare in the debauch

(*b*) Athen. l. 10. p. 435.

with

with the reſt, they called him a man-hater, a ſplenetic melancholy wretch, who from the fantaſtic height of virtue, looked down with contempt on the reſt of the world, of whom he ſet himſelf up for the cenſor.

And indeed it muſt be confeſſed, that he had naturally ſomething auſtere and rigid in his manners and behaviour, which ſeemed to argue an haughtineſs of nature, very capable not only of diſguſting a young prince, nurtured from his infancy amidſt flatteries and ſubmiſſions, but the beſt of his friends, and thoſe who were moſt nearly attached to him. Full of admiration for his integrity, fortitude and nobleneſs of ſentiments, they repreſented to him, that for a ſtateſman, who ought to know how to adapt himſelf to the different tempers of men, and to apply them to his purpoſes, his humour was much too rough and forbidding. (c) Plato afterwards took pains to correct that defect in him, by making him intimate with a philoſopher of a gay and polite turn of mind, whoſe converſation was very proper to inſpire him with more eaſy and inſinuating manners. He obſerves alſo upon that failing in a letter to him, wherein he ſpeaks to this effect; "Conſider, I beg you, that you are cenſured "of being deficient in point of good nature and af- "fability; and be entirely aſſured, that the moſt cer- "tain means to the ſucceſs of affairs, is to be agree- "able to the perſons with whom we have to tranſ- "act. An * haughty carriage keeps people at a diſ- "tance, and reduces a man to paſs his life in ſoli- "tude." Notwithſtanding this defect, he continued to be highly conſidered at court; where his ſuperior abilities and tranſcendent merit made him abſolutely neceſſary, eſpecially at a time when the ſtate was threatened with great danger and emergency.

(c) Plat. Epiſt. 4.

* Ἡ δ' αὐθάδεια ἐρημία ξύνοικος. *M. Dacier renders theſe words*; Pride is always the companion of ſolitude. *I have ſhewn elſewhere, wherein this verſion is faulty.* Art of teaching the Belles Lettres. *Vol.* 3. p. 505.

As

(*d*) As he believed, that all the vices of young Dionyſius were the effect of his bad education, and entire ignorance of his duty, he conceived juſtly, that the beſt remedy would be to aſſociate him if poſſible with perſons of wit and ſenſe, whoſe ſolid, but agreeable, converſation might at once inſtruct and divert him: For the prince did not naturally want parts and genius.

The ſequel will ſhew that Dionyſius the younger had a natural propenſity to what was good and virtuous, and a taſte and capacity for arts and ſciences. He knew how to ſet a value upon the merit and talents, by which men are diſtinguiſhed. He delighted in converſing with perſons of ability, and from his correſpondence with them made himſelf capable of the higheſt improvements. He went ſo far as to familiarize the throne with the ſciences, which of themſelves have little or no acceſs to it; and by rendering them in a manner his favourites, he gave them courage to make their appearance in courts. His protection was the patent of nobility by which he raiſed them to honour and diſtinction. Nor was he inſenſible to the joys of friendſhip. In private he was a good parent, relation and maſter, and acquired the affection of all that approached him. He was not naturally inclined to violence or cruelty; and it might be ſaid of him, that he was rather a tyrant by ſucceſſion and inheritance, than by temper and inclination.

All which demonſtrates, that he might have made a very tolerable prince, (not to ſay a good one) had an early and proper care been taken to cultivate the happy diſpoſition, which he brought into the world with him. But his father, to whom all merit, even in his own children, gave umbrage, induſtriouſly ſuppreſſed in him all tendency to goodneſs, and every noble and elevated ſentiment, by a baſe and obſcure education, with the view of preventing his attempting any thing againſt himſelf. It was therefore neceſſary to find a perſon of the character before mentioned, or rather to

(*d*) Plut. in Dion. p. 962. Plat. Epiſt. 7. p. 327, 328.

inſpire

inſpire himſelf with the deſire of having ſuch an one found.

This was what Dion laboured with wonderful addreſs. He often talked to him of Plato, as the moſt profound and illuſtrious of philoſophers, whoſe merit he had experienced, and to whom he was obliged for all he knew. He enlarged upon the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, the amiableneſs of his character, and the charms of his converſation. He repreſented him particularly as the man of the world moſt capable of forming him in the arts of governing, upon which his own and the people's happineſs depended. He told him, that his ſubjects, governed for the future with lenity and indulgence, as a good father governs his family, would voluntarily render that obedience to his moderation and juſtice, which force and violence extorted from them againſt their will; and that by ſuch a conduct he would, from a tyrant, become a juſt king, to whom all ſubmiſſion would be paid out of affection and gratitude.

It is incredible how much theſe diſcourſes, introduced in converſation from time to time, as if by accident, without affectation, or the appearance of any premeditated deſign, enflamed the young prince with the deſire of knowing and converſing with Plato. He wrote to him in the moſt importunate and obliging manner to that purpoſe; he diſpatched couriers after couriers to haſten his voyage; whilſt Plato, who apprehended the conſequences, and had ſmall hopes of any good effect of it, protracted the affair, and without abſolutely refuſing, ſufficiently intimated, that he could not reſolve upon it, without doing violence to himſelf. The obſtacles and difficulties, made to the young prince's requeſt, were ſo far from diſguſting him, that they only ſerved, as it commouly happens, to inflame his deſire. The Pythagorean philoſophers of Græcia major in Italy joined their entreaties with his and Dion's, who on his part redoubled his inſtances, and uſed the ſtrongeſt arguments to conquer Pla-

to's

to's repugnance. "This is not, ſaid he, the concern "of a private perſon, but of a powerful prince, whoſe "change of manners will have the ſame effect through-"out his whole dominions, with the extent of which "you are not unacquainted. It is himſelf who makes "all theſe advances; who importunes and ſollicites "you to come to his aſſiſtance, and employs the in-"tereſt of all your friends to that purpoſe. What "more favourable conjuncture could we expect from "the divine providence than that which now offers "itſelf? Are you not afraid that your delays will "give the flatterers, who ſurround the young prince, "the opportunity of drawing him over to themſelves, "and of ſeducing him to change his reſolution? "What reproaches would you not make yourſelf, and "what diſhonour would it not be to philoſophy, "ſhould it ever be ſaid, that Plato, whoſe counſels "to Dionyſius might have eſtabliſhed a wiſe and e-"quitable government in Sicily, abandoned it to all "the evils of tyranny, rather than undergo the fa-"tigues of a voyage, or from I know not what o-"ther imaginary difficulties?"

(e) Plato could not reſiſt ſollicitations of ſo much force. Vanquiſhed by the conſideration of his own character, and to obviate the reproach of his being a philoſopher in words only, without having ever ſhewn himſelf ſuch in his actions, and conſcious beſides of the great advantages which Sicily might acquire from his voyage, he ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded.

The flatterers at the court of Dionyſius, terrified with the reſolution he had taken contrary to their remonſtrances, and fearing the preſence of Plato, of which they foreſaw the conſequences, united together againſt him as their common enemy. They rightly judged, that if, according to the new maxims of government, all things were to be meaſured by the ſtandard of true merit, and no favour to be expected from the prince, but for the ſervices done the ſtate, they

(e) Plut. p. 962.

had

had nothing further to expect, and might wait their whole lives at court to no manner of purpose. They therefore spared no pains to render Plato's voyage ineffectual, though they were not able to prevent it. They prevailed upon Dionysius to recal Philistus from banishment, who was not only an able soldier but a great historian, very eloquent and learned, and a zealous assertor of the tyranny. They hoped to find a counterpoise in him against Plato and his philosophy. Upon his being banished by Dionysius the elder on some personal discontent, he retired into the city of Adria, where it was believed he composed the greatest part of his writings. (*f*) He wrote the history of Egypt in twelve books, that of Sicily in eleven, and of Dionysius the tyrant in six; all which works are entirely lost. Cicero praises * him much, and calls him Thucydides the less, *pene pusillus Thucydides*, to signify that he copied after that author not unhappily. The courtiers at the same time made complaints against Dion to Dionysius, accusing him of having held conferences with Theodotus and Heraclides, the secret enemies of that prince, upon measures for subverting the tyranny.

(*g*) This was the state of affairs when Plato arrived in Sicily. He was received with infinite caresses, and with the highest marks of honour and respect. Upon his landing, he found one of the prince's chariots equally magnificent in its horses and ornaments attending upon him. The tyrant offered a sacrifice, as if some singular instance of good fortune had befallen him; nor was he mistaken, for a wise man, who is capable of giving a prince good counsels, is a treasure of inestimable value to a whole nation. But the

(*f*) Diod. l. 13. p. 222.

* Hunc (Thucydidem) consecutus est Syracusius Philistus, qui cum Dionysii tyranni familiarissimus esset, otium suum consumpsit in historia scribenda, maximèque Thucydidem est, sicut mihi videtur, imitatus. *Cic. de Orat.* l. 2. n. 57.

Siculus ille creber, acutus, brevis, pene pusillus Thucydides. *Id. Epist.* 13. *ad Qu. frat.* l. 2.

(*g*) Plut. in Dion. p. 963.

worth of ſuch a perſon is rarely known, and more rarely applied to the uſes which might be made of it.

Plato found the moſt happy diſpoſitions imaginable in young Dionyſius, who applied himſelf entirely to his leſſons and counſels. But as he had improved infinitely from the precepts and example of Socrates his maſter, the moſt exquiſite of all the pagan world in forming the mind for a right taſte of truth, he took care to adapt himſelf with wonderful addreſs to the young tyrant's humour, avoiding all direct attacks upon his paſſions; taking pains to acquire his confidence by kind and inſinuating behaviour; and particularly endeavouring to render virtue amiable, and at the ſame time triumphant over vice, which keeps mankind in its chains, by the ſole force of allurements, pleaſures, and voluptuouſneſs.

The change was ſudden and ſurprizing. The young prince, who had abandoned himſelf till then to idleneſs, pleaſure and luxury, and was ignorant of all the duties of his character, the inevitable conſequence of a diſſolute life, awaking as from a lethargic ſleep, began to open his eyes, to have ſome idea of the beauty of virtue, and to reliſh the refined pleaſure of converſation equally ſolid and agreeable. He was now as paſſionately fond of learning and inſtruction, as he had once been averſe and repugnant to them. The court, which always apes the prince, and falls in with his inclinations in every thing, entered into the ſame way of thinking. The apartments of the palace, like ſo many ſchools of geometry, were full of the duſt made uſe of by the profeſſors of that ſcience in tracing their figures, and in a very ſhort time the ſtudy of philoſophy and of every kind of literature became the reigning and univerſal taſte.

The great benefit of theſe ſtudies in regard to a prince does not conſiſt alone in ſtoring his mind with an infinity of the moſt curious, uſeful, and often neceſſary notions of things, but has the farther advantage

tage of abſtracting himſelf from idleneſs, indolence, and the frivolous amuſements of a court; of habituating him to a life of application and reflection; of inſpiring him with a paſſion to inform himſelf in the duties of the ſovereignty, and to know the characters of ſuch as have excelled in the art of reigning; in a word, of making himſelf capable of governing the ſtate in his own perſon, and of ſeeing every thing with his own eyes, that is to ſay, to be indeed a king; but That the courtiers and flatterers are almoſt always unanimous in oppoſing.

They were conſiderably alarmed by a word that eſcaped Dionyſius, and ſhewed how much he was affected with the diſcourſes he had heard upon the happineſs of a king, regarded with tender affection by his people as their common father, and the wretched condition of a tyrant, whom they abhor and deteſt. Some days after Plato's arrival, was the anniverſary, on which a ſolemn ſacrifice was offered in the palace for the prince's proſperity. The herald having prayed to this effect according to cuſtom, *That it would pleaſe the gods to ſupport the tyranny, and preſerve the tyrant:* Dionyſius, who was not far from him, and to whom thoſe terms began to grow odious, called out to him aloud, *Will you not give over curſing me?* Philiſtus and his party were infinitely alarmed at that expreſſion, and judged from it, that time and habit muſt give Plato an invincible aſcendant over Dionyſius, if the correſpondence of a few days could ſo entirely alter his diſpoſition. They therefore ſet themſelves at work upon new and more effectual ſtratagems againſt him.

They began by turning the retired life which Dionyſius led with Plato, and the ſtudies, in which he employed himſelf, into ridicule, as if intended to make a philoſopher of him. But that was not all; they laboured in concert to render the zeal of Dion and Plato ſuſpected, and even odious to him. They

repreſented

represented them as * impertinent censors and imperious pedagogues, who assumed an authority over him, which neither consisted with his age nor rank. † It is no wonder that a young prince like Dionysius, who, with the most excellent natural parts, and amidst the best examples, would have found it difficult to have supported himself, should at length give way to such artful insinuations in a court, that had long been infected, where there was no emulation but to excel in vice, and where he was continually besieged by a crowd of flatterers incessantly praising and admiring him in every thing.

But the principal application of the courtiers was to decry the character and conduct of Dion himself; not separately, nor in the method of whisper, but all together, and in public. They talked openly, and to whoever would give them the hearing, that it was very visible, Dion made use of Plato's eloquence, to insinuate and enchant Dionysius, with design to draw him into a voluntary resignation of the throne, that he might take possession of it for his nephews, the children of Aristomache, and establish them in the sovereignty. They added, that it was very extraordinary and afflicting, that the Athenians, who had formerly invaded Sicily with great forces both by sea and land, which had all perished there without being able to take Syracuse, should now with a single sophist attain their point, and subvert the tyranny of Dionysius, by persuading him to dismiss the ten thousand strangers of his guard; to lay aside his fleet of four hundred gallies, which he always kept in readiness for service; and to disband his ten thousand horse, and the greatest part of his foot; for the sake of going to find in the academy, (the place where Plato taught) a pretended supreme good not explicable, and to make

* Tristes et supercilios alienæ vitæ censores, publicos pædagogos. *Sen. Epist.* 123.

† Vix artibus honestis pudor retinetur, nedum inter certamina vitiorum pudicitia, aut modestia, aut quidquam probi moris servaretur. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 4. c. 15.

himself

himſelf happy in imagination by the ſtudy of geometry, whilſt he abandoned to Dion and his nephews a real and ſubſtantial felicity, conſiſting in empire, riches, luxury, and pleaſure.

SECT. II. *Baniſhment of Dion. Plato quits the court ſoon after, and returns into Greece. Dion admired by all the learned. Plato returns to Syracuſe.*

THE courtiers, intent upon making the beſt uſe of every favourable moment, perpetually beſieged the young prince, and covering their ſecret motives under the appearance of zeal for his ſervice, and an affected moderation in regard to Dion, inceſſantly adviſed him to take proper meaſures for the ſecurity of his life and throne. Such repeated diſcourſes ſoon raiſed in the mind of Dionyſius the moſt violent ſuſpicions of Dion, which preſently increaſed into fierce reſentment, and broke out in an open rupture. Letters were privately brought to Dionyſius, written by Dion to the Carthaginian ambaſſadors, wherein he tells them, *that when they ſhould treat of peace with Dionyſius, he would adviſe them not to open the conferences but in his preſence; becauſe he would aſſiſt them in making the treaty more firm and laſting.* Dionyſius read theſe letters to Philiſtus, and having concerted with him what meaſures to take, (*b*) he amuſed Dion with the appearance of a reconciliation, and led him alone to the ſea-ſide below the citadel, where he ſhewed him his letters, and accuſed him of having entered into a league againſt him with the Carthaginians. Dion would have juſtified himſelf, but he refuſed to hear him, and made him immediately go on board a brigantine, which had orders to carry him to the coaſt of Italy, and to leave him there. Dion immediately after ſet ſail for Peloponneſus.

(*i*) So hard and unjuſt a treatment could not fail of making abundance of noiſe, and the whole city declared againſt it; eſpecially as it was reported, though

(*b*) Diod. l. 16. p. 410, 411. (*i*) Plut. p. 964.

without

without foundation, that Plato had been put to death. (*k*) Dionyſius, who apprehended the conſequences, took pains to appeaſe the public diſcontent, and to obviate complaints. He gave Dion's relations two veſſels to tranſport to him in Peloponneſus his riches and numerous family; for he had the equipage of a king.

As ſoon as Dion was gone, Dionyſius made Plato change his lodging, and brought him into the citadel; in appearance to do him honour, but in reality to aſſure himſelf of his perſon, and prevent him from going to join Dion. In bringing Plato nearer to him, he might alſo have in view the opportunity of hearing him more frequently and more commodiouſly. For charmed with the delights of his converſation, and ſtudious of pleaſing him in every thing, and to merit his affection, he had conceived an eſteem, or rather paſſion for him, which roſe even to jealouſy, but a jealouſy of that violence, that could ſuffer neither companion nor rival. He was for engroſſing him entirely to himſelf, for reigning ſolely in his thoughts and affections, and for being the only object of his love and eſteem. He ſeemed content to give him all his treaſures and authority, provided he would but love him better than Dion, and not prefer the latter's friendſhip to his. Plutarch has reaſon to call this paſſion *a tyrannic affection* (*l*). Plato had much to ſuffer from it; for it had all the ſymptoms of the moſt ardent jealouſy. * Sometimes it was all friendſhip, careſſes, and fond reſpect, with an unbounded effuſion of heart, and an endleſs ſwell of tender ſentiments: Sometimes it was all reproaches, menaces, fierce paſſion, and wild emotion; and ſoon after it ſunk into repentance, excuſes, tears, and humble entreaties of pardon and forgiveneſs.

About this time a war broke out very conveniently

(*k*) Plat. Ep. 7. (*l*) ἠράσθη τυράννικον ἔρωτα.

* In amore hæc omnia inſunt vitia; ſuſpiciones, inimicitiæ, injuriæ, induciæ, bellum, pax rurſum. *Terent. in Eunuch.*

In amore hæc ſunt mala, bellum, pax rurſum. *Horat.*

for

for Plato, which obliged Dionyſius to reſtore him his liberty, and ſend him home. At his departure, he would have laden him with preſents, but Plato refuſed them, contenting himſelf with his promiſe to recal Dion the following ſpring: he did not keep his word, and only ſent him his revenues, deſiring Plato in his letters to excuſe his breach of promiſe at the time prefixed, and to impute it only to the war. He aſſured him, as ſoon as peace ſhould be concluded, that Dion ſhould return; upon condition however, that he ſhould continue quiet, and not intermeddle in affairs, nor endeavour to leſſen him in the opinion of the Greeks.

Plato in his return to Greece, went to ſee the games at Olympia, where he happened to lodge amongſt ſtrangers of diſtinction. He eat and paſſed whole days with them, behaving himſelf in a plain and ſimple manner, without ever mentioning Socrates or the academy, or making himſelf known in any thing, except that his name was Plato. The ſtrangers were overjoyed with having met with ſo kind and amiable a companion; but as he never talked of any thing out of common converſation, they had not the leaſt notion, that he was the philoſopher whoſe reputation was ſo univerſal. When the games were over, they went with him to Athens, where he provided them with lodgings. They were ſcarce arrived there, when they deſired him to carry them to ſee the famous philoſopher of his name, who had been Socrates's diſciple. Plato told them ſmiling, that he was the man; upon which, the ſtrangers, ſurprized at their having poſſeſſed ſo ineſtimable a treaſure without knowing it, were much diſpleaſed with, and ſecretly reproached themſelves for not having diſcerned the great merit of the man, through the veil of ſimplicity and modeſty he had thrown over it, whilſt they admired him the more upon that account.

(*m*) The time Dion paſſed at Athens was not loſt.

(*m*) Plut. in Dion. p. 964.

He employed it chiefly in the ſtudy of philoſophy, for which he had a great taſte, and which was become his paſſion. * He knew however, which is not very eaſy, to confine it within its juſt bounds, and never gave himſelf up to it at the expence of any duty. It was at the ſame time Plato made him contract a particular friendſhip with his nephew Speuſippus, who, uniting the eaſy and inſinuating manners of a courtier with the gravity of a philoſopher, knew how to aſſociate mirth and innocent pleaſure with the moſt ſerious affairs, and by that character very rarely found amongſt men of learning, was the moſt proper of all men to ſoften what was too rough and auſtere in the humour of Dion.

Whilſt Dion was at Athens, it fell to Plato's turn to give the public games, and to have tragedies performed at the feaſt of Bacchus, which was uſually attended with great magnificence and expence, from an extraordinary emulation which had grown into faſhion. Dion defrayed the whole charge. Plato, who was ſtudious of all occaſions of producing him to the public, was well pleaſed to reſign that honour to him, as his magnificence might make him ſtill better beloved and eſteemed by the Athenians.

Dion viſited alſo the other cities of Greece, where he was preſent at all their feaſts and aſſemblies, and converſed with the moſt excellent wits, and the moſt profound ſtateſmen. He was not diſtinguiſhed in company by the loftineſs and pride too common in perſons of his rank, but, on the contrary, by an unaffected, ſimple, and modeſt air; and eſpecially by the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, and the wiſdom of his reflections. All cities paid him the higheſt honours, and the Lacedæmonians declared him a citizen of Sparta, without regard to the reſentment of Dionyſius, though he actually aſſiſted them at that time with a powerful ſupply in their war againſt the

* Retinuitque, quod eſt difficillimum, ex ſapientia modum. *Tacit. in vit. agric.* n. 4.

Thebans. So many marks of eſteem and diſtinction alarmed the tyrant's jealouſy. He put a ſtop to the remittance of Dion's revenues, and ordered them to be received by his own officers.

(*n*) After Dionyſius had put an end to the war he was engaged in in Sicily, of which hiſtory relates no circumſtance, he was afraid that his treatment of Plato would prejudice the philoſophers againſt him, and make him paſs for their enemy. For this reaſon he invited the moſt learned men of Italy to his court, where he held frequent aſſemblies, in which, out of a fooliſh ambition, he endeavoured to excel them all in eloquence and profound knowledge; venting, without application, ſuch of Plato's diſcourſes as he retained. But as he had thoſe diſcourſes only by rote, and his heart had never been rightly affected with them, the ſource of his eloquence was ſoon exhauſted. He then perceived what he had loſt by not having made a better uſe of that treaſure of wiſdom once in his own poſſeſſion and under his own roof, and by not having heard, in all their extent, the admirable lectures of the greateſt philoſopher in the world.

As in tyrants every thing is violent and irregular, Dionyſius was ſuddenly ſeized with an exceſſive deſire of ſeeing Plato again, and uſed all means for that purpoſe. He prevailed upon Architas, and the other Pythagorean philoſophers, to write to him that he might return with all manner of ſecurity, and to be bound for the performances of all the promiſes, which had been made to him. They deputed Archidemus to Plato, and Dionyſius ſent at the ſame time two galleys of three benches of rowers, with ſeveral of his friends on board to intreat his compliance. He alſo wrote letters to him with his own hand, in which he frankly declared, that if he would not be perſuaded to come to Sicily, Dion had nothing to expect from him; but if he came, that he might entirely diſpoſe of every thing in his power.

(*n*) Plat. Epiſt. 7. p. 338, 340. Plut. in Dion. p. 964, 966.

Dion

Dion received ſeveral letters at the ſame time from his wife and ſiſter, who preſs'd him to prevail upon Plato to make the voyage, and to ſatisfy the impatience of Dionyſius, that he might have no new pretexts againſt him upon that account. Whatever repugnance Plato had to it, he could not reſiſt the warm ſollicitations made to him, and determined to go to Sicily for the the third time, at ſeventy years of age.

His arrival gave the whole people new hopes, who flattered themſelves, that his wiſdom would at length overthrow the tyranny, and the joy of Dionyſius was inexpreſſible. He appointed the apartment of the gardens for his lodging, the moſt honourable in the palace, and had ſo much confidence in him, that he ſuffered his acceſs to him at all hours without being ſearched; a favour not granted to any of his beſt friends.

After the firſt careſſes were over, Plato was for entering into Dion's affair, which he had much at heart, and which was the principal motive of his voyage. But Dionyſius put it off at firſt; to which enſued complaints and murmurings, though not outwardly expreſſed for ſome time. The tyrant took great care to conceal his ſentiments upon that head, endeavouring by all manner of honours, and by all poſſible regard and complacency to abate his friendſhip for Dion. Plato diſſembled on his ſide, and though extremely ſhocked at ſo notorious a breach of faith, he kept his opinion to himſelf.

Whilſt they were upon theſe terms, and believed that no body penetrated their ſecret; Helicon of Cyzicum, one of Plato's particular friends, foretold, that on a certain day there would be an eclipſe of the ſun; which happening according to his prediction, exactly at the hour, Dionyſius was ſo much ſurprized and aſtoniſhed at it, (a proof that he was no great philoſopher) that he made him a preſent of a * talent.

* *A thouſand crowns.*

Ariſtippus jeſting upon that occaſion, ſaid, that he had alſo ſomething very incredible and extraordinary to foretel Upon being preſs'd to explain himſelf, "I "prophefy, ſaid he, that it will not be long before "Dionyſius and Plato, who ſeem to agree ſo well "with each other, will be enemies."

Dionyſius verified this prediction; for being weary of the conſtraint he laid upon himſelf, he ordered all Dion's lands and effects to be ſold, and applied the money to his own uſe. At the ſame time he made Plato quit the apartments in the garden, and gave him another lodging without the caſtle in the midſt of his guards, who had long hated him, and would have been glad of an opportunity to kill him, becauſe he had adviſed Dionyſius to renounce the tyranny, to break them, and to live without any other guard but the love of his people. Plato was ſenſible, that he owed his life to the tyrant's favour, who reſtrained the fury of his guard.

Architas, the celebrated Pythagorean philoſopher, who was the principal perſon, and ſupreme magiſtrate of Tarentum, had no ſooner heard of Plato's great danger, than he ſent ambaſſadors with a galley of thirty oars to demand him from Dionyſius, and to remind him that he came to Syracuſe only upon his promiſe, and that of all the Pythagorean philoſophers, who had engaged for his ſafety; that therefore he could not retain him againſt his will, nor ſuffer any inſult to be done to his perſon, without a manifeſt breach of faith, and abſolutely forfeiting the opinion of all honeſt men These juſt remonſtrances awakened a ſenſe of ſhame in the tyrant, who at laſt permitted Plato to return into Greece.

(o) Philoſophy and wiſdom abandoned the palace with him. To the converſations, as agreeable as uſeful, to that taſte and paſſion for the arts and ſciences, to the grave and judicious reflections of a profoundly wife politician, idle tattle, frivolous amuſements, and a

(o) Plut. in Moral. p. 52.

ſtupid

ſtupid indolence, entirely averſe to every thing ſerious or reaſonable, were ſeen to ſucceed. Gluttony, drunkenneſs, and debauchery reſumed their empire at the court, and transformed it from the ſchool of virtue, which it had been under Plato, into the real ſtable of Circe.

SECT. III. *Dion ſets out to deliver Syracuſe. Sudden and fortunate ſucceſs of his enterprize. Horrid ingratitude of the Syracuſans. Unparallelled goodneſs of Dion to them and his moſt cruel enemies. His death.*

(p) WHEN Plato had quitted Sicily, Dionyſius threw off all reſerve, and married his ſiſter Arete, Dion's wife, to Timocrates, one of his friends. So unworthy a treatment was, in a manner, the ſignal of the war. From that moment Dion reſolved to attack the tyrant with open force, and to revenge himſelf for all the wrongs he had done him. Plato did all in his power to make him change his reſolution; but finding his endeavours ineffectual, he foretold the miſfortunes he was about to occaſion, and declared, that he muſt expect neither aſſiſtance nor relief from him; that as he had been the gueſt and companion of Dionyſius, had lodged in his palace, and joined in the ſame ſacrifices with him, he ſhould never forget the duties of hoſpitality; and at the ſame time, not to be wanting to his friendſhip for Dion, that he would continue neuter, always ready to diſcharge the offices of a mediator between them, though he ſhould oppoſe their deſigns, when they tended to the deſtruction of each other.

Whether prudence, or gratitude, or the conviction that Dion could not juſtifiably undertake to dethrone Dionyſius; this was Plato's opinion. On the other hand, Speuſippus, and all the reſt of Dion's friends, perpetually exhorted him to go and reſtore the liberty of Sicily, which opened its arms to him, and was

(p) A. M. 3643. Ant. J. C. 361. Plut. in Dion. p. 966, 968.

ready to receive him with the utmoſt joy. This was indeed the diſpoſition of Syracuſe, which Speuſippus, during his reſidence there with Plato, had ſufficiently experienced. This was the univerſal cry; whilſt they importuned and conjured Dion to come thither, deſiring him not to be in pain for the want of ſhips or troops, but only to embark in the firſt merchant veſſel he met with, and lend his perſon and name to the Syracuſans againſt Dionyſius.

Dion did not heſitate any longer upon taking that reſolution, which in one reſpect coſt him not a little. From the time that Dionyſius had obliged him to quit Syracuſe and Sicily, he had led in his baniſhment the moſt agreeable life it was poſſible to imagine, for a perſon, who like him had contracted a taſte for the delights of ſtudy. He enjoyed in peace the converſation of the philoſophers, and was preſent at their diſputations; ſhining in a manner intirely peculiar to himſelf by the greatneſs of his genius, and the ſolidity of his judgment; going to all the cities of the learned Greece, to ſee and converſe with the moſt eminent for knowledge and capacity, and to correſpond with the ableſt politicians; leaving every where the marks of his liberality and magnificence, equally beloved and reſpected by all that knew him; and receiving wherever he came, the higheſt honours, which were rendered more to his merit than his birth. It was from ſo happy a life, that he withdrew himſelf to go to the relief of his country which implored his protection, and to deliver it from the yoke of a tyranny under which it had long groaned.

No enterprize perhaps was ever formed with ſo much boldneſs, or conducted with ſo much prudence. Dion began to raiſe foreign troops privately by proper agents, for the better concealment of his deſign. A great number of conſiderable perſons, and who were at the head of affairs, joined with him. But what is very ſurprizing, of all thoſe the tyrant had baniſhed, and who were not leſs than a thouſand, only twenty five

accompanied

accompanied him in this expedition; so much had fear got the possession of them. The isle of Zacynthus was the place of rendezvous, where the troops assembled to the number of almost eight hundred; but all of them courage-proved on great occasions, excellently disciplined and robust, of an audacity and experience rarely to be found amongst the most brave and warlike; and in fine, highly capable of animating the troops which Dion was in hopes of finding in Sicily, and of setting them the example of fighting with all the valour so noble an enterprize required.

But when they were to set forwards, and it was known that this armament was intended against Sicily and Dionysius, for till then it had not been declared, they were all in a consternation, and repented their having engaged in the enterprize which they could not but conceive as the effect of extreme rashness and folly, that in the last despair was for putting every thing to the hazard. Dion had occasion at this time for all his resolution and eloquence to re-animate the troops, and remove their fears. But after he had spoke to them, and with an assured though modest tone, had made them understand, that he did not lead them in this expedition as soldiers, but as officers, to put them at the head of the Syracusans and all the people of Sicily, who had been long prepared for a revolt, their dread and sadness were changed into shouts of joy, and they desired nothing so much as to proceed on their voyage.

Dion having prepared a magnificent sacrifice to be offered to Apollo, put himself at the head of his troops compleatly armed, and in that equipage marched in procession to the temple. He afterwards gave a great feast to the whole company, at the end of which, after the libations and solemn prayers had been made, there happened a sudden eclipse of the moon. Dion, who was well versed in the causes of such appearances, reassured his soldiers, who were at first in some terror upon that account. The next day they embarked on

board two trading veſſels, which were followed by a third not ſo large, and by two barks of thirty oars.

(r) Who could have imagined, ſays an hiſtorian, that a man with two merchant-veſſels ſhould ever dare to attack a prince, who had four * hundred ſhips of war, an hundred thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe, with magazines of arms and corn in proportion, and treaſures ſufficient to pay and maintain them; who, beſides all this, was in poſſeſſion of one of the greateſt and ſtrongeſt cities then in the world, with ports, arſenals, and impregnable citadels, with the additional ſtrength and ſupport of a great number of potent allies? The event will ſhew, whether force and power are adamantine chains for retaining a ſtate in ſubjection, as the elder Dionyſius flattered himſelf; or if the goodneſs, humanity, and juſtice of princes, and the love of ſubjects are not infinitely ſtronger and more indiſſoluble ties.

(s) Dion having put to ſea with his ſmall body of troops, was twelve days under ſail with little wind, and the thirteenth arrived at Pachynus a cape of Sicily, about twelve or fifteen leagues from Syracuſe. When they came up with that place, the pilot gave notice that they muſt land directly, that there was reaſon to fear an hurricane, and therefore not proper to put to ſea. But Dion, who apprehended making his deſcent ſo near the enemy, and choſe to land further off, doubled the cape of Pachynus, which he had no ſooner paſſed, than a furious ſtorm aroſe, attended with

(r) Died. l. 16. p. 413. (s) Plut. in Dion. p. 963, 972. Died. l. 16. p. 414, 417.

* *It is not eaſy to comprehend, how the two Dionyſii were capable of entertaining ſo great a force by ſea and land, their dominions being only a part of Sicily, and conſequently of no great extent. It is true, that the city of Syracuſe had been very much enriched by commerce; and that theſe two princes received great contributions both from the places of Sicily and Italy in their dependance: But it is ſtill no eaſy matter to conceive how all this ſhould ſuffice to the enormous expences of Dionyſius the elder, in fitting out great fleets, raiſing and maintaining numerous armies, and erecting magnificent buildings. It were to be wiſhed, that hiſtorians had given us ſome better lights upon this head.*

rain,

rain, thunder, and lightning, which drove his ſhips to the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, where they were in great danger of daſhing to pieces againſt the rocks. Happily for them a ſouth wind riſing ſuddenly contrary to expectation, they unfurled all their ſails, and after having made vows to the gods, they ſtood out to ſea for Sicily. The ran in this manner four days, and on the fifth entered the port of Minoa, a ſmall town of Sicily under the Carthaginians; whoſe commander Synalus was Dion's particular friend and gueſt. They were perfectly well received, and would have ſtaid there ſome time to refreſh themſelves, after the rude fatigues they had ſuffered during the ſtorm, if they had not been informed, that Dionyſius was abſent, having embarked ſome days before for the coaſt of Italy, attended by fourſcore veſſels. The ſoldiers demanded earneſtly to be led on againſt the enemy, and Dion, having deſired Synalus to ſend his baggage after him when proper, marched directly to Syracuſe.

His troops increaſed conſiderably upon his rout by the great number of thoſe who came to join him from all parts. The news of his arrival being ſoon known at Syracuſe, Timocrates, who had married Dion's wife, the ſiſter of Dionyſius, to whom he had left the command of the city in his abſence, diſpatched a courier to him into Italy, with advice of Dion's progreſs. But that courier, being almoſt at his journey's end, was ſo fatigued with having run the beſt part of the night, that he found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſtopping to take a little ſleep. In the mean time, a wolf, attracted by the ſmell of a piece of meat, which he had in his wallet, came to the place, and ran away with both the fleſh and the bag, in which he had alſo put his diſpatches. Dionyſius was by this means prevented for ſome time from knowing that Dion was arrived, and then received the news from other hands.

When Dion was near the Anapus, which runs a-

bout half a league from the city, he ordered his troops to halt, and offered a ſacrifice upon the river ſide, addreſſing his prayers to the riſing ſun. All who were preſent, ſeeing him with a wreath of flowers upon his head, which he wore upon account of the ſacrifice, crowned themſelves alſo in the ſame manner, as animated with one and the ſame ſpirit. He had been joined on his march by at leaſt five thouſand men, and advanced with them towards the city. The moſt conſiderable of the inhabitants came out in white habits to receive him at the gates. At the ſame time the people fell upon the tyrant's friends, and upon the ſpies and informers, an accurſed race of wretches, * THE ENEMIES OF THE GODS AND MEN, ſays Plutarch, who made it the buſineſs of their lives, to diſperſe themſelves into all parts, to mingle with the citizens, to pry into all their affairs, and to report to the tyrant whatever they ſaid or thought, and often what they neither ſaid nor thought. Theſe were the firſt victims to the fury of the people, and were knocked on the head with ſtaves immediately. Timocrates not being able to throw himſelf into the citadel, rode off on horſeback.

At that inſtant Dion appeared within ſight of the walls. He marched at the head of his troops magnificently armed, with his brother Megacles on one ſide, and Callippus the Athenian on the other, both crowned with chaplets of flowers. After him came an hundred of the foreign ſoldiers, fine troops whom he had choſen for his guard. The reſt followed in order of battle with their officers at the head of them. The Syracuſans beheld them with inexpreſſible ſatisfaction, and received them as a ſacred proceſſion, whom the gods themſelves regarded with pleaſure, and who reſtored them their liberty with the democracy forty eight years after they had been baniſhed from their city.

After Dion had made his entry, he ordered the trum-

* Ἀνθρώπους ἀνοσίους καὶ θεοῦ ἐχθρούς.

trumpets to ſound, to appeaſe the noiſe and tumult; and ſilence being made, an herald proclaimed, that *Dion and Megacles were come to aboliſh the tyranny, and to free the Syracuſans and all the people of Sicily from the yoke of the tyrant.* And being deſirous to harangue the people in perſon, he went to the upper part of the city, through the quarter called Achradina. Wherever he paſſed, the Syracuſans had ſet out, on both ſides of the ſtreets, tables and bowls, and had prepared victims, and as he came before their houſes, they threw all ſorts of flowers upon him, addreſſing vows and prayers to him as to a god. Such was the origin of idolatry, which paid divine honours to thoſe who had done the people any great and ſignal ſervices. And can there be any ſervice, any gift, ſo grateful, ſo valuable, as that of liberty! Not far from the citadel, and below the place called Pentapylæ, ſtood a ſun-dial upon an high pedeſtal, erected by Dionyſius. Dion placed himſelf upon it, and in a ſpeech to the people, exhorted them to employ their utmoſt efforts for the recovery and preſervation of their liberty. The Syracuſans, tranſported with what he ſaid, and to expreſs their gratitude and affection, elected him and his brother captain-generals with ſupreme authority; and by their conſent, and at their entreaty, joined with them twenty of the moſt conſiderable citizens, half of whom were of the number of thoſe who had been baniſhed by Dionyſius, and returned with Dion.

Having afterwards taken the caſtle of Epipolis, he ſet the citizens, who were priſoners in it at liberty, and fortified it with ſtrong works. Dionyſius arrived from Italy ſeven days after, and entered the citadel by ſea. The ſame day a great number of carriages brought Dion the arms which he had left with Synalus. Theſe he diſtributed amongſt the citizens, who were unprovided. All the reſt armed and equipped themſelves as well as they could, expreſſing the greateſt ardor and ſatisfaction.

Dionyſius

Dionyſius began by ſending ambaſſadors to Dion and the Syracuſans with propoſals, which ſeemed very advantagious. The anſwer was, that by way of preliminary, he muſt abdicate the tyranny; to which Dionyſius did not ſeem averſe. From thence he came to interviews and conferences; which were only feints to gain time, and abate the ardor of the Syracuſans by the hope of an accommodation. Accordingly having made the deputies, who were ſent to treat with him, priſoners, he ſuddenly attacked, with a great part of his troops, the wall, with which the Syracuſans had ſurrounded the citadel, and made ſeveral breaches in it. So warm and unexpected aſſault put Dion's ſoldiers into great confuſion, who immediately fled. Dion endeavoured in vain to ſtop them, and believing example more prevalent than words, he threw himſelf fiercely into the midſt of the enemy, where he ſtood their charge with intrepid courage, and killed great numbers of them. He received a wound in the hand from a ſpear; his arms were ſcarce proof againſt the great number of darts thrown at him, and his ſhield being pierced through in many places with ſpears and javelins, he was at length beat down. His ſoldiers immediately brought him off from the enemy. He left Timonides to command them, and getting on horſeback, rode through the whole city, ſtopt the flight of the Syracuſans, and taking the foreign ſoldiers, whom he had left to guard the quarter called Achradina, he led them on freſh againſt Dionyſius's troops, who were already fatigued, and entirely diſcouraged by ſo vigorous and unexpected a reſiſtance. It was now no longer a battle, but a purſuit. A great number of the tyrant's troops were killed upon the ſpot, and the reſt eſcaped with difficulty into the citadel. This victory was ſignal and glorious. The Syracuſans, to reward the valour of the foreign troops, gave each of them a conſiderable ſum of money; and thoſe ſoldiers, to honour Dion, preſented him with a crown of gold.

Soon

Soon after came heralds from Dionyſius, with ſeveral letters for Dion from the women of his family, and with one from Dionyſius himſelf. Dion ordered them all to be read in a full aſſembly. That of Dionyſius was couched in the form of a requeſt and juſtification, intermixed however with the moſt terrible menaces againſt the perſons who were deareſt to Dion; his ſiſter, wife, and ſon. It was wrote with an art and addreſs exceedingly proper to render Dion ſuſpected. Dionyſius puts him in mind of the ardour and zeal, he had formerly expreſſed, for the ſupport of the tyranny. He exhorts him at a diſtance and with ſome obſcurity, though eaſy enough to be underſtood, not to aboliſh it entirely; but to preſerve it for himſelf. He adviſes him not to give the people their liberty, who were far from affecting him at heart; nor to abandon his own ſafety, and that of his friends and relations, to the capricious humour of a violent and inconſtant multitude.

(*t*) The reading of this letter had the effect Dionyſius propoſed from it. The Syracuſans, without regard to Dion's goodneſs to them, and the greatneſs of his ſoul in forgetting his deareſt intereſts, and the ties of nature to reſtore them their liberty, took umbrage at his too great authority, and conceived injurious ſuſpicions of him. The arrival of Heraclides confirmed them in their ſentiments, and determined them to act accordingly. He was one of the baniſhed perſons, a good ſoldier, and well known amongſt the troops, from having been in conſiderable commands under the tyrant, very bold and ambitious, and a ſecret enemy of Dion's, between whom and himſelf, there had been ſome difference in Peloponneſus. He came to Syracuſe with ſeven gallies of three benches of oars, and three other veſſels, not to join Dion, but in the reſolution to march with his own forces againſt the tyrant, whom he found reduced to ſhut himſelf up in the citadel. His firſt endeavour was to ingratiate himſelf

(*t*) Plut. in Dion. p. 972, 975. Diod. l. 16. p. 419, 422.

with

with the people; for which an open and insinuating behaviour made him very fit, whilst Dion's austere gravity was offensive to the multitude; especially as they were become more haughty and untractable from the last victory, and * expected to be treated like a popular state, even before they could call themselves a free people; that is to say in the full sense of the Greek terms, they were for being used with complaisance, flattery, regard, and a deference to all their capricious humours.

What gratitude could be expected from a people, that consulted only their passions and blind prejudices? The Syracusans formed an assembly immediately upon their own accord, and chose Heraclides admiral. Dion came unexpectedly thither, and complained highly of such a proceeding; as the charge conferred upon Heraclides, was an abridgment of his office; that he was no longer generalissimo, if another commanded at sea. Those remonstrances obliged the Syracusans against their will, to deprive Heraclides of the office they had so lately conferred upon him. When the assembly broke up, Dion sent for him, and after some gentle reprimands for his strange conduct with regard to him in so delicate a conjuncture, wherein the least division amongst them might ruin every thing, he summoned a new assembly himself, and in the presence of the whole people, appointed Heraclides admiral, and gave him a guard, as he had himself.

He thought by the force of kind offices to get the better of his rival's ill-will, who, in his expressions and outward behaviour, made his court to Dion, confessed his obligations to him, and obeyed his orders with a promptitude and punctuality, which expressed an entire devotion to his service, and a desire of occasions to do him pleasure. But underhand, by his intrigues and cabals, he influenced the people against him, and opposed his designs in every thing. If

* Πρὸ τῦ δῆμ☉ ἶναι, τὸ δημαγωγεῖσθαι θέλοντες.

Dion

Dion gave his conſent that Dionyſius ſhould quit the citadel by treaty, he was accuſed of favouring, and intending to ſave, him: If, to ſatisfy them, he continued the ſiege without hearkening to any propoſals of accommodation, they did not fail to reproach him with the deſire of protracting the war, for the ſake of continuing in command, and to keep the citizens in awe and reſpect.

Philiſtus, who came to the tyrant's relief with ſeveral gallies, having been defeated and put to death, Dionyſius ſent to offer Dion the citadel with the arms and troops in it, and money to pay them for five months, if he might be permitted by a treaty to retire into Italy for the reſt of his life, and be allowed the revenue of certain lands, which he mentioned, in the neighbourhood of Syracuſe. The Syracuſans, who were in hopes of taking Dionyſius alive, rejected thoſe propoſals; and Dionyſius, deſpairing of reconciling them to his terms, left the citadel in the hands of his eldeſt ſon Apollocrates, and taking the advantage of a favourable wind, (*u*) embarked for Italy with his treaſures and effects of the greateſt value, and ſuch of his friends as were deareſt to him.

Heraclides, who commanded the gallies, was very much blamed for having ſuffered him to eſcape by his negligence. To regain the people's favour, he propoſed a new diſtribution of lands, inſinuating, that as liberty was founded in equality, ſo poverty was the principle of ſervitude. Upon Dion's oppoſing this motion, Heraclides perſuaded the people to reduce the pay of the foreign troops, who amounted to three thouſand men, to declare a new diviſion of land, to appoint new generals, and deliver themſelves in good time from Dion's inſupportable ſeverity. The Syracuſans agreed, and nominated twenty five new officers, Heraclides being one of the number.

At the ſame time they ſent privately to ſollicit the foreign ſoldiers to abandon Dion, and to join with

(*u*) A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

them,

them, promiſing to give them a ſhare in the government as natives and citizens. Thoſe generous troops received the offer with diſdain; and then placing Dion in the center of them, with a fidelity and affection of which there are few examples, they made their bodies and their arms a rampart for him, and carried him out of the city without doing the leaſt violence to any body, but warmly reproaching all they met with ingratitude and perfidy. The Syracuſans, who contemned their ſmall number, and attributed their moderation to fear and want of courage, began to attack them, not doubting but they ſhould defeat, and put them all to the ſword, before they got out of the city.

Dion, reduced to the neceſſity of either fighting the citizens, or periſhing with his troops, held out his hands to the Syracuſans, imploring them in the moſt tender and affectionate manner to deſiſt, and pointing to the citadel full of enemies, who ſaw all that paſs'd with the utmoſt joy. But finding them deaf and inſenſible to all his remonſtrances, he commanded his ſoldiers to march in cloſe order without attacking; which they obeyed, contenting themſelves with making a great noiſe with their arms, and raiſing great cries, as if they were going to fall upon the Syracuſans. The latter were diſmayed with thoſe appearances, and ran away in every ſtreet without being purſued. Dion haſtened the march of his troops towards the country of the Leontines.

The officers of the Syracuſans, laughed at and ridiculed by the women of the city, were deſirous to retrieve their honour, and made their troops take arms, and return to the purſuit of Dion. They came up with him at the paſs of a river, and made their horſe advance to ſkirmiſh. But when they ſaw that Dion was reſolved in earneſt to repel their inſults, and had made his troops face about with great indignation, they were again ſeized with terror, and taking to

their heels in a more ſhameful manner than before, made all the haſte they could to regain the city.

(*y*) The Leontines received Dion with great marks of honour and eſteem. They alſo made preſents to his ſoldiers, and declared them free citizens. Some days after which, they ſent ambaſſadors to demand juſtice for the ill treatment of thoſe troops to the Syracuſans, who on their ſide ſent deputies to complain of Dion. Syracuſe was intoxicated with inconſiderate joy and inſolent proſperity, which entirely baniſhed reflection and judgment.

Every thing conſpired to ſwell and enflame their pride. The citadel was ſo much reduced by famine, that the ſoldiers of Dionyſius, after having ſuffered very much, reſolved at laſt to ſurrender it. They ſent in the night to make that propoſal, and were to perform conditions the next morning. But at day-break, whilſt they were preparing to execute the treaty, Nypſius, an able and valiant general, whom Dionyſius had ſent from Italy with corn and money to the beſieged, appeared with his gallies, and anchored near Arethuſa. Plenty ſucceeding on a ſudden to famine, Nypſius landed his troops, and ſummoned an aſſembly, wherein he made a ſpeech to the ſoldiers ſuitable to the preſent conjuncture, which determined them to hazard all dangers. The citadel, that was upon the point of ſurrendering, was relieved in this manner, contrary to all expectation.

The Syracuſans at the ſame time haſtened on board their gallies, and attacked the enemy's fleet. They ſunk ſome of their ſhips, took others, and purſued the reſt to the ſhore. But this very victory was the occaſion of their ruin. Abandoned to their own diſcretion, without either leader of authority to command them or counſel, the officers as well as ſoldiers, gave themſelves up to rejoicing, feaſting, drinking, debauchery, and every kind of looſe exceſs. Nypſius knew well how to take advantage of this general

(*y*) Plut. p. 975, 931. Diod. p. 422, 423.

infatuation

infatuation. He attacked the wall that incloſed the citadel, of which having made himſelf maſter, he demoliſhed it in ſeveral places, and permitted his ſoldiers to enter and plunder the city. All things were in the utmoſt confuſion. Here, the citizens half aſleep had their throats cut; there, houſes were plundered, whilſt the women and children were driven off into the citadel, without regard to their tears, cries and lamentations.

There was but one man, who could remedy this misfortune, and preſerve the city. This was in every body's thoughts, but no one had courage enough to propoſe it; ſo much aſhamed were they of the ungenerous manner in which they had driven him out. As the danger increaſed every moment, and already approached the quarter Achradina, in the height of their extremity and deſpair, a voice was heard from the horſe and allies, which ſaid, *that it was abſolutely neceſſary to recal Dion and the Peloponneſian troops from the country of the Leontines.* As ſoon as any body had courage enough to utter thoſe words, they were the general cry of the Syracuſans, who with tears of joy and grief, made prayers to the gods, that they would bring him back to them. The hope alone of ſeeing him again, gave them new courage, and enabled them to make head againſt the enemy. The deputies ſet out immediately with full ſpeed, and arrived at the city of Leontium late in the evening.

As ſoon as they alighted, they threw themſelves at Dion's feet, bathed in their tears, and related the deplorable extremity, to which the Syracuſans were reduced. Some of the Leontines, and ſeveral of the Peloponneſian ſoldiers, who had ſeen them arrive, were already got round Dion, and conceived rightly from their emotion and proſtrate behaviour, that ſomething very extraordinary had happened. Dion had no ſooner heard what they had to ſay, than he carried them with him to the aſſembly, which formed itſelf immediately; for the people ran thither with abundance

dance of eagerneſs. The two principal deputies explained in a few words the greatneſs of their diſtreſs, and "implored the foreign troops to haſten to the relief of the Syracuſans, and to forget the ill treatment they had received, and the rather, becauſe that unfortunate people had already paid a ſeverer penalty for it, than the moſt injured amongſt them would deſire to impoſe.

The deputies having finiſhed their diſcourſe, the whole theatre, where the aſſembly was held, continued ſad and ſilent. Dion roſe; but as ſoon as he began to ſpeak, a torrent of tears ſuppreſſed his utterance. The foreign ſoldiers called out to him to take courage, and expreſſed a generous compaſſion of his grief. At length, having recovered himſelf a little, he ſpoke to them in theſe terms, "Men of Peloponneſus, and you our allies, I have aſſembled you here, that you might deliberate upon what regards yourſelves; as for my part, I muſt not deliberate upon any thing, when Syracuſe is in danger. If I cannot preſerve it, I go to periſh with it, and to bury myſelf in its ruins. But for you, if you are reſolved to aſſiſt us once more, us, who are the moſt imprudent and moſt unfortunate of mankind, come and relieve the city of Syracuſe, from henceforth the work of your hands. If not, and the juſt ſubjects of complaint, which you have againſt the Syracuſans, determine you to abandon them in their preſent condition, and to ſuffer them to periſh; may you receive from the immortal gods, the reward you merit for the affection and fidelity, which you have hitherto expreſſed for me. For the reſt, I have only to deſire, that you will keep Dion in your remembrance, who did not abandon you when unworthily treated by his country, nor his country, when fallen into misfortunes."

He had no ſooner ceaſed ſpeaking, than the foreign ſoldiers roſe up with loud cries, and intreated him to lead

lead them on that moment to the relief of Syracuſe. The deputies, tranſported with joy, ſaluted and embraced them, praying the gods to beſtow upon Dion and them, all kind of happineſs and proſperity. When the tumult was appeaſed, Dion ordered them to prepare for the march, and aſſoon as they had ſupped to return with their arms to the ſame place, being determined to ſet out the ſame night, and fly to the relief of his country.

In the mean time at Syracuſe, the officers of Dionyſius, after having done all the miſchief they could to the city, retired at night into the citadel with the loſs of ſome of their ſoldiers. This ſhort reſpite gave the ſeditious orators new courage, who, flattering themſelves that the enemy would lie ſtill after what they had done, exhorted the Syracuſans to think no further of Dion, not to receive him if he came to their relief with his foreign troops, nor to yield to them in courage, but to defend their city and liberty with their own arms and valour. New deputies were inſtantly diſpatched from the general officers to prevent his coming, and from the principal citizens and his friends, to deſire him to haſten his march; which difference of ſentiments, and contrariety of advices, occaſioned his marching ſlowly, and by ſmall journies.

When the night was far ſpent, Dion's enemies ſeized the gates of the city, to prevent his entrance. At the ſame inſtant, Nypſius, well apprized of all that paſſed in Syracuſe, made a ſally from the citadel with a greater body of troops, and more determinate than before. They demoliſhed the wall that incloſed them entirely, and entered the city, which they plundered. Nothing but ſlaughter and blood was ſeen every where. Nor did they ſtop for the pillage, but ſeemed to have no other view, than to ruin and deſtroy all before them. One would have thought, the ſon of Dionyſius, whom his father had left in the citadel, being reduced to deſpair, and prompted by an exceſs of hatred

for

for the Syracuſans, was determined to bury the tyranny in the ruins of the city. To prevent Dion's relief of it they had recourſe to fire, the ſwifteſt of deſtructions, burning with torches and lighted ſtraw, all places within their power, and darting combuſtibles againſt the reſt. The Syracuſans, who fled to avoid the flames, were butchered in the ſtreets, and thoſe, who to ſhun the all-murdering ſword retired into the houſes, were driven out of them again by the encroaching fire: For there were abundance of houſes burning, and many that fell upon the people in the ſtreets.

Theſe very flames opened the city for Dion, by obliging the citizens to agree in not keeping the gates ſhut againſt him. Couriers after couriers were diſpatched to haſten his march. Heraclides himſelf, his moſt declared and mortal enemy, deputed his brother, and afterwards his uncle Theodotus, to conjure him to advance with the utmoſt ſpeed, there being no body beſides himſelf to make head againſt the enemy, he being wounded, and the city almoſt entirely ruined and reduced to aſhes.

Dion received this news, when he was about ſixty * ſtadia from the gates. His ſoldiers upon that occaſion marched with the utmoſt diligence, and with ſo good a will, that it was not long before he arrived at the walls of the city. He there detached his light-armed troops againſt the enemy, to reanimate the Syracuſans by the ſight of them. He then drew up his heavy-armed infantry, and the citizens who came running to join him on all ſides. He divided them into ſmall parties, of greater depth than front, and put different officers at the head of them, that they might be capable of attacking in ſeveral places at once, and appear ſtronger and more formidable to the enemy.

After having made theſe diſpoſitions, and prayed to the gods, he marched a-croſs the city againſt the enemy. In every ſtreet as he paſſed, he was welcomed with acclamations, cries of joy, and ſongs of victory,

* *Two or three leagues.*

mingled

mingled with the prayers and bleſſings of all the Syracuſans; who called Dion their preſerver and their god, and his ſoldiers, their brothers and fellow citizens. At that inſtant, there was not a ſingle man in the city ſo fond of life, as not to be much more in pain for Dion's ſafety than his own, and not to fear much more for him, than for all the reſt together, ſeeing him march foremoſt to ſo great a danger over blood, fire, and dead bodies, with which the ſtreets and publick places were univerſally covered.

On the other hand, the view of the enemy was no leſs terrible: For they were animated by rage and deſpair, and were poſted in line of battle behind the ruins of the wall they had thrown down, which made the approach very difficult and dangerous. They were under the neceſſity of defending the citadel, which was their ſafety and retreat, and durſt not remove from it, leſt their communication ſhould be cut off. But what was moſt capaple of diſordering and diſcouraging Dion's ſoldiers, and made their march very painful and difficult, was the fire. For wherever they turned themſelves, they marched by the light of the houſes in flames, and were obliged to go over ruins in the midſt of fires; expoſing themſelves to being cruſhed in pieces by the fall of walls, beams, and roofs of houſes, which tottered half conſumed by the flames, and under the neceſſity of keeping their ranks, whilſt they opened their way through frightful clouds of ſmoke, mingled with duſt.

When they had joined the enemy, only a very ſmall number on each ſide were capable of coming to blows, from the want of room, and the unevenneſs of the ground. But at length, Dion's ſoldiers, encouraged and ſupported by the cries and ardour of the Syracuſans, charged the enemy with ſuch redoubled vigour, that the troops of Nypſius gave way. The greateſt part of them eſcaped into the citadel, which was very near; and thoſe who remained without, being

ing broke, were cut to pieces in the purſuit by the foreign troops.

The time would not admit their making immediate rejoicings for their victory, in the manner ſo great an exploit deſerved; the Syracuſans being obliged to apply to the preſervation of their houſes, and to paſs the whole night in extinguiſhing the fire; which however they did not effect without great difficulty.

At the return of day, none of the ſeditious orators durſt ſtay in the city. but all fled ſelf-condemned to avoid the puniſhment due to their crimes. Only Heraclides and Theodotus came to Dion, and put themthemſelves into his hands, confeſſing their injurious treatment of him, and conjuring him not to imitate their ill conduct: That it became Dion, ſuperior as he was in all other reſpects to the reſt of mankind, to ſhew himſelf as much ſo in that greatneſs of ſoul, which could conquer reſentment and revenge, and forgive the ungrateful, who owned themſelves unworthy of his pardon.

Heraclides and Theodotus having made theſe ſupplications, Dion's friends adviſed him not to ſpare men of their vile and malignant diſpoſition; but to abandon Heraclides to the ſoldiers, and in ſo doing, exterminate from the ſtate that ſpirit of ſedition and intrigue; a diſtemper that has really ſomething of madneſs in it, and is no leſs to be feared from its pernicious conſequences, than Tyranny itſelf. But Dion, to appeaſe them, ſaid, "That other captains ge-
" nerally made the means of conquering their ene-
" mies their ſole application; that for his part, he had
" paſſed much time in the academy, in learning to
" ſubdue anger, envy, and all the jarring paſſions of
" of the mind: That the ſign of having conquered
" them is not kindneſs and affability to friends and
" perſons of merit; but treating thoſe with huma-
" nity who have injured us, and in being always rea-
" dy to forgive them: That he did not deſire ſo
" much to appear ſuperior to Heraclides in power and
" ability,

" ability as in wiſdom and juſtice; for in that, true
" and eſſential ſuperiority conſiſts. That if Hera-
" clides be wicked, invidious, and perfidious, muſt Dion
" contaminate and diſhonour himſelf with low re-
" ſentment? It is true, according to human laws,
" there ſeems to be leſs injuſtice in revenging an in-
" jury, than committing it; but if we conſult na-
" ture, we ſhall find both the one and the other to
" have their riſe in the ſame weakneſs of mind. Be-
" ſides, there is no diſpoſition ſo obdurate and ſavage,
" but may be vanquiſhed by the force of kind uſage
" and obligations." Dion upon theſe maxims par-doned Heraclides.

His next application was to incloſe the citadel with a new work, and he ordered each of the Syracuſans to go out and cut a large ſtake. In the night, he ſet his ſoldiers to work, whilſt the Syracuſans took their reſt. He ſurrounded the citadel in this manner with a ſtrong paliſade, before it was perceived; ſo that in the morning, the greatneſs of the work, and the ſuddenneſs of the execution, were matter of admiration for all the world, as well the enemy, as the citizens.

Having finiſhed this paliſade, he buried the dead; and diſmiſſing the priſoners taken from the enemy, he ſummoned an aſſembly. Heraclides propoſed in it, that Dion ſhould be elected generaliſſimo with ſupreme authority by ſea and land. All the people of worth, and the moſt conſiderable of the citizens were pleaſed with the propoſal, and deſired it might have the authority of the aſſembly. But the mariners and artiſans, who were ſorry that Heraclides ſhould loſe the office of admiral; and convinced, that although he were little eſtimable in all other reſpects, he would at leaſt be more for the people than Dion, they oppoſed it with all their power. Dion, to avoid diſturbance and confuſion, did not inſiſt upon that point, and acquieſced that Heraclides ſhould continue to command in chief at ſea. But his oppoſing the diſtribution

diſtribution of lands and houſes, which they were earneſt for having take place, and his cancelling and annulling whatever had been decreed upon that head, embroiled him with them irretrievably.

Heraclides, taking advantage of a diſpoſition ſo favourable to his views, did not fail to revive his cabals and intrigues; as appeared openly by an attempt of his to make himſelf maſter of Syracuſe, and to ſhut the gates upon his rival: But it proved unſucceſsful. A Spartan, who had been ſent to the aid of Syracuſe, negotiated a new accommodation between Heraclides and Dion, under the ſtricteſt oaths, and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of obedience on the ſide of the former; weak ties to a man void of faith and probity.

The Syracuſans having diſmiſſed their ſea-forces who were become unneceſſary, applied ſolely to the ſiege of the citadel, and rebuilt the wall which had been thrown down. As no relief came to the beſieged, and bread began to fall ſhort with them, the ſoldiers grew mutinous, and would obſerve no diſcipline. The ſon of Dionyſius, finding himſelf without hope or reſource, capitulated with Dion to ſurrender the citadel, with all the arms and munitions of war. He carried his mother and ſiſters away with him, filled five gallies with his people and effects, and went to his father; for Dion gave him entire liberty to retire unmoleſted. It is eaſy to conceive the joy of the city upon his departure. Women, children, old people, all were paſſionately fond of gratifying their eyes from the port with ſo agreeable a ſpectacle, and to ſolemnize the joyful day, on which, after ſo many years ſervitude, the ſun aroſe for the firſt time upon the Syracuſan liberty.

Apollocrates having ſet ſail, and Dion begun his march to enter the citadel, the princeſſes, who were there, did not ſtay till he arrived, but came out to meet him at the gates. Ariſtomache led the ſon of Dion; after whom came Arete, his wife, with her

eyes fixed upon the ground, and full of tears. Dion embraced his ſiſter firſt, and afterwards his ſon. Ariſtomache, then preſenting Arete to him, ſpoke thus, "The tears you ſee her ſhed, the ſhame expreſſed in "her looks, at the time your preſence reſtores us life "and joy, her ſilence itſelf, and her confuſion ſuffi-"ciently denote the grief ſhe ſuffers at the ſight of "an huſband, to whom another has been ſubſtituted "contrary to her will, but who alone has always "poſſeſſed her heart. Shall ſhe ſalute you as her "uncle, ſhall ſhe embrace you as her huſband?" Ariſtomache having ſpoke in this manner, Dion with his face bathed in tears, tenderly embraced his wife; to whom he gave his ſon, and ſent them home to his houſe; becauſe he thought proper to leave the citadel to the diſcretion of the Syracuſans, as an evidence of their liberty.

For himſelf, after having rewarded with a magnificence truly royal all thoſe who had contributed to his ſucceſs, according to their rank and merit, at the height of glory and happineſs, and the object, not only of Sicily, but of Carthage and all Greece, who eſteemed him the wiſeſt and moſt fortunate captain that ever lived, he conſtantly retained his original ſimplicity; as modeſt and plain in his garb, equipage, and table, as if he had lived in the academy with Plato, and not with people bred in armies, with officers and ſoldiers, who often breath nothing but pleaſures and magnificence. Accordingly, at the time Plato wrote him, *that the eyes of all mankind were upon him alone*; little affected with that general admiration, his thoughts were always intent upon the academy, that ſchool of wiſdom and virtue, where exploits and ſucceſſes were not judged from the external ſplendor and noiſe, with which they are attended, but from the wiſe and moderate uſe of them.

Dion deſigned to eſtabliſh a form of government in Syracuſe, compoſed of the Spartan and Cretan, but wherein the Ariſtocratical was always to prevail, and

to

to decide important affairs by the authority, which, according to his plan, was to be vested in a council of elders. Heraclides again opposed him in this scheme, still turbulent and seditious according to custom, and solely intent upon gaining the people by flattery, caresses, and other popular arts. One day, when Dion sent for him to the council, he answered that he would not come; and that, being only a private person, he should be in the assembly with the rest of the citizens, whenever it was summoned. His view, in such behaviour, was to make his court to the people, and to render Dion odious; who, weary of his repeated insults, permitted those to kill him, he had formerly prevented. They accordingly went to his house and dispatched him. We shall see presently Dion's own sense of this action.

The Syracusans were highly afflicted for his death; but as Dion solemnized his funeral with great magnificence, followed his body in person at the head of his whole army, and afterwards harangued the people upon the occasion, they were appeased, and forgave him the murder; convinced, that it was impossible for the city ever to be free from commotions and sedition, whilst Heraclides and Dion governed together.

(z) After that murder Dion never knew joy, or peace of mind. An hideous spectre, which he saw in the night, filled him with trouble, terror, and melancholy. The fantom seemed a woman of enormous stature, who, in her attire, air, and haggard looks, resembled a fury sweeping his house with violence. His son's death, who for some unknown grief, had thrown himself from the roof of an house, passed for the accomplishment of that ominous apparition, and was the prelude to his misfortunes. Callippus gave the last hand to them. He was an Athenian, with whom Dion had contracted an intimate friendship, whilst he lodged in his house at Athens, and with whom he lived ever after with entire freedom and un-

(z) Plut. p. 981, 983. Diod. p. 432.

bounded confidence. Callippus, having given himſelf up to his ambitious views, and entertained thoughts of making himſelf maſter of Syracuſe, threw off all regard for the ſacred ties of friendſhip and hoſpitality, and contrived to get rid of Dion, who was the ſole obſtacle to his deſigns. Notwithſtanding his care to conceal them, they got air, and came to the ears of Dion's ſiſter and wife, who loſt no time, and ſpared no pains to diſcover the truth by a very ſtrict enquiry. To prevent its effects, he went to them with tears in his eyes, and the appearance of being inconſolable that any body ſhould ſuſpect him of ſuch a crime, or think him capable of ſo black a deſign. They inſiſted upon his taking the *great oath*, as it was called. The perſon who ſwore it, was wrapt in the purple mantle of the goddeſs Proſerpine, and holding a lighted torch in his hand, pronounced in the temple the moſt dreadful execrations againſt himſelf it is poſſible to imagine.

The oath coſt him nothing, but did not convince the princeſſes. They daily received new intimations of his guilt from ſeveral hands, as did Dion himſelf, whoſe friends in general perſuaded him to prevent Callippus's crime by a juſt and ſudden puniſhment. But he could never reſolve upon it. The death of Heraclides, which he looked upon as an horrible blot in his reputation and virtue, was perpetually preſent to his troubled imagination, and renewed by continual terrors his grief and repentance. Tormented night and day by that cruel remembrance, he profeſſed that he had rather die a thouſand deaths, and preſent his throat himſelf to whoever would kill him, than to live under the neceſſity of continual precautions, not only againſt his enemies, but the beſt of his friends.

Callippus ill deſerved that name. He haſtened the execution of his crime, and cauſed Dion to be aſſaſſinated in his own houſe by the Zacynthian ſoldiers, who were entirely devoted to his intereſt. The ſiſter and wife of that prince were put into priſon, where

the latter was delivered of a ſon, which ſhe reſolved to nurſe there herſelf.

(*a*) After this murder, Callippus was for ſome time in a ſplendid condition, having made himſelf maſter of Syracuſe by the means of the troops, who were entirely devoted to his ſervice in effect of the gifts he beſtowed upon them. The Pagans believed, that the divinity ought to puniſh great crimes in a ſudden and extraordinary manner in this life: And Plutarch obſerves, that the ſucceſs of Callippus occaſioned very great complaints againſt the gods. as ſuffering calmly, and without indignation the vileſt of men to raiſe himſelf to ſo exalted a fortune by ſo deteſtable and impious a method. But providence was not long without juſtifying itſelf, for Callippus ſoon ſuffered the puniſhment of his guilt. Having marched with his troops to take Catanea, Syracuſe revolted againſt him, and threw off ſo ſhameful a ſubjection. He afterwards attacked Meſſina, where he loſt abundance of men, and particularly the Zacynthian ſoldiers, who had murdered Dion. No city of Sicily would receive him, but all deteſting him as the moſt execrable of wretches, he retired to Rhegium, where, after having led for ſome time a miſerable life, he was killed by Leptinus and Polyperchon, and it was ſaid, with the ſame dagger with which Dion had been aſſaſſinated.

Hiſtory has few examples of ſo diſtinct an attention of providence to puniſh great crimes, ſuch as murder, perfidy, treaſon, either in the authors of thoſe crimes themſelves, who commanded or executed them, or in the accomplices any way concerned in them. The divine juſtice evidences itſelf from time to time in this manner, to prove that it is not unconcerned and inattentive; and to prevent the inundation of crimes, which an entire impunity would occaſion; but it does not always diſtinguiſh itſelf by remarkable chaſtiſements in this world, to intimate to mankind,

(*a*) A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 358.

that greater punishments are reserved for guilt in the next.

As for Aristomache and Arete, as soon as they came out of prison, Icetes of Syracuse, one of Dion's friends, received them into his house, and treated them at first with an attention, fidelity, and generosity of the most exemplary kind had he persevered. But complying at last with Dion's enemies, he provided a bark for them, and having put them on board, under the pretence of sending them to Peloponnesus, he gave orders to those who were to carry them, to kill them in the passage, and to throw them into the sea. He was not long without receiving the chastisement due to his black treachery; for being taken by Timoleon, he was put to death. The Syracusans, fully to avenge Dion, killed also the two sons of that traitor.

(*b*) The relations and friends of Dion, soon after his death, had wrote to Plato, to consult him upon the manner in which they should behave in the present troubled and fluctuating condition of Syracuse, and to know what sort of government it was proper to establish there. Plato, who knew the Syracusans were equally incapable of entire liberty, or absolute servitude, exhorted them strenuously to pacify all things as soon as possible, and for that purpose, to change the tyranny, of which the very name was odious, into a lawful sovereignty, which would make subjection easy and agreeable. He advised them, (and according to him, it had been Dion's opinion) to create three kings; one to be Hipparinus Dion's son, another Hipparinus Dionysius the younger's brother, who seemed to be well inclined towards the people, and Dionysius himself, if he would comply with such conditions as should be prescribed him; their authority to be not unlike that of the kings of Sparta. By the same scheme, thirty five magistrates were to be appointed, to take care that the laws should be duly ob-

(*b*) Plat. Ep. 8.

served,

ſerved, to have great authority both in times of war and peace, and to ſerve as a ballance between the power of the kings, the ſenate, and the people.

It does not appear, that this advice was ever followed, which indeed had its great inconveniences. (c) It is only known, that Hipparinus, Dionyſius's brother, having landed at Syracuſe with a fleet, and conſiderable forces, expelled Callippus, and exerciſed the ſovereign power two years.

The hiſtory of Sicily, as related thus far, includes about fifty years, beginning with Dionyſius the elder, who reigned thirty eight of them, and continuing to the death of Dion. I ſhall return in the ſequel to the affairs of Sicily, and ſhall relate the end of Dionyſius the younger, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the Syracuſan liberty by Timoleon.

SECT. IV. *Character of Dion.*

IT is not eaſy to find ſo many excellent qualities in one and the ſame perſon as were united in Dion. I do not conſider in this place, his wonderful taſte for the ſciences, his art of aſſociating them with the greateſt employments of war and peace, of extracting from them the rules of conduct and maxims of government, and of making them an equally uſeful and honourable entertainment of his leiſure: I confine myſelf to the ſtateſman and patriot, and in this view, how admirably does he appear! Greatneſs of ſoul, elevation of ſentiments, generoſity in beſtowing his wealth, heroic valour in battle, attended with a coolneſs of temper and a prudence ſcarce to be parallelled, a mind vaſt and capable of the higheſt views, a conſtancy not to be ſhaken by the greateſt dangers, or the moſt unexpected revolutions of fortune, the love of his country and of the public good carried almoſt to exceſs: Theſe are part of Dion's virtues. The deſign he formed of delivering his country from the

(c) Diod. l. 16. p. 436.

yoke of the tyranny, and his boldneſs and wiſdom in the execution of it, explain of what he was capable.

But what I conceive the greateſt beauty in Dion's character, the moſt worthy of admiration, and, if I may ſay ſo, the moſt above human nature, is the greatneſs of ſoul, and unexampled patience, with which he ſuffered the ingratitude of his country. He had abandoned and ſacrificed every thing to come to their relief; he had reduced the tyranny to extremities, and was upon the point of re-eſtabliſhing them in the full poſſeſſion of their liberty: In return for ſuch great ſervices, they ſhamefully expel him the city, accompanied with an handful of foreign ſoldiers, whoſe fidelity they had not been able to corrupt; they load him with injuries, and add to their baſe perfidy, the moſt cruel outrages and indignity: To puniſh thoſe ungrateful traytors, he had only a ſignal to give, and to leave the reſt to the indignation of his ſoldiers: Maſter of theirs, as well as his own, temper, he ſtops their impetuoſity, and without diſarming their hands, reſtrains their juſt rage; ſuffering them, in the very height and ardor of an attack, only to terrify, and not kill, his enemies, becauſe he could not forget that they were his fellow-citizens and brethren.

There ſeems to be only one defect that can be objected to Dion, which is, his having ſomething rigid and auſtere in his humour, that made him leſs acceſſible and ſociable than he ſhould have been, and kept even perſons of worth and his beſt friends at a kind of diſtance. Plato, and thoſe who had his glory ſincerely at heart, had often animadverted upon this turn of mind in him: But notwithſtanding the reproaches which were made him upon his too auſtere gravity, and the inflexible ſeverity, with which he treated the people, he ſtill piqued himſelf upon abating nothing of them: whether his genius was entirely averſe to the arts of inſinuation and perſuaſion; or that from the view of correcting and reforming the Syracuſans, vitiated and corrupted by the flattering and complai-

ſant

ſant diſcourſes of their orators, he choſe that rough and manly manner of behaving to them.

Dion was miſtaken in the moſt eſſential point of governing. From the throne to the loweſt office in the ſtate, whoever is charged with the care of ruling and conducting others, ought particularly to ſtudy the *art of managing men's tempers, and of giving them that bent and turn of mind that may beſt ſuit his meaſures; which cannot be done by aſſuming the ſevere maſter, by commanding haughtily, and contenting one's-ſelf with laying down the rule and the duty with inflexible rigour. There is in the right itſelf, in virtue, and the exerciſe of all functions, an exactitude and ſteadineſs, or rather a kind of ſtiffneſs, which frequently degenerates into a vice, when carried into extremes. I know it is never allowable to break through rules; but it is always laudable, and often neceſſary, to ſoften and make them more convertible; which is beſt effected by a kindneſs of manners, and an inſinuating behaviour; not always exacting the diſcharge of a duty in its utmoſt rigour; over-looking abundance of ſmall faults, that do not merit much notice, and obſerving upon thoſe which are more conſiderable, with favour and goodneſs; in a word, in endeavouring by all poſſible means to acquire people's affection, and to render virtue and duty amiable.

Dion's permiſſion to kill Heraclides, which was obtained with difficulty, or rather forced from him contrary to his natural diſpoſition as well as principles, coſt him dear, and brought the trouble and anguiſh upon him, that laſted to the day of his death, and of which they were the principal cauſe.

* *Which art, an antient poet called,* flexanima, atque omnium regina rerum oratio. *Cic.* l. 1. *de divin.* n. 80.

SECT. V. *Dionyſius the Younger re-aſcends the throne. Syracuſe implores aid of the Corinthians, who ſend Timoleon. That general enters Syracuſe notwithſtanding all the endeavours of Nicetas to prevent him. Dionyſius ſurrenders himſelf to him, and retires to Corinth.*

(*d*) CALLIPPUS, who had cauſed Dion to be murdered, and had ſubſtituted himſelf in his place, did not poſſeſs his power long. Thirteen months after, Hipparinus, Dionyſius's brother, arriving unexpectedly at Syracuſe with a numerous fleet, expelled him from the city, and recovered his paternal ſovereignty, which he held during two years.

(*e*) Syracuſe and all Sicily, being harraſſed by different factions and inteſtine war, were in a miſerable condition. Dionyſius, taking the advantage of thoſe troubles, ten years after he had been obliged to quit the throne, had aſſembled ſome foreign troops, and having overcome Nypſæus, who had made himſelf maſter of Syracuſe, he re-inſtated himſelf in the poſſeſſion of his dominions.

(*f*) It was perhaps to thank the gods for his re-eſtabliſhment, and to expreſs his gratitude to them, that he ſent ſtatues of gold and ivory to Olympia and Delphos of very great value. The gallies which carried them were taken by Iphicrates, who was at that time near (*g*) Corcyra with a fleet. He wrote to Athens to know in what manner he ſhould diſpoſe of his ſacred booty, and was anſwered, not to examine ſcrupulouſly for what it was deſigned, but to make uſe of it for the ſubſiſtance of his troops. Dionyſius complained exceſſively of ſuch treatment to the Athenians, in a letter which he wrote them, wherein he reproached with great warmth and juſtice their avarice and ſacrilegious impiety.

(*d*) A. M. 3647. Ant. J. C. 357. Diod. l. 16. p. 432—436.
(*e*) A. M. 3654. Ant. J. C. 350. (*f*) Diod. l. 16. p. 453.
(*g*) *Corfu.*

A com-

(*b*) A commander of pirates had acted much more nobly and more religiously in regard to the Romans about fifty years before. After the taking of Veii, which had been ten years besieged, they sent a golden cup to Delphos. The deputies who carried that present were taken by the pirates of Lipara, and carried to that island. It was the * custom to divide all the prizes they took as a common stock. The island at that time was under the government of a magistrate more like the Romans in his manners than those he governed. He was called Timasitheus †, and his behaviour agreed well with the signification of his name. Full of regard for the envoys, the sacred gift they carried, the motive of their offering, and more for the majesty of the god for whom it was designed, he inspired the multitude, that generally follow the example of those who rule them, with the same sentiments of respect and religion. The envoys were received therefore with all the marks of distinction, and their expences born by the public. Timasitheus convoyed them with a good squadron to Delphos, and brought them back in the same manner to Rome. It is easy to judge how sensibly the Romans were affected with so noble a proceeding. By a decree of the senate they rewarded Timasitheus with great presents, and granted him the right of hospitality. And fifty years after, when the Romans took Lipara from the Carthaginians with the same gratitude as if the action had been but lately done, they thought themselves obliged to do further honour to the family of

(*b*) Tit. Liv. Decad. 1. l. 5. c. 28. Diod. l. 14. p. 307.

* Mos erat civitatis, velut publico latrocinio partam prædam dividere. Fortè eo anno in summo magistratu erat Timasitheus quidam, Romanis vir similior quam suis: qui legatorum nomen, donumque, et deum cui mitteretur, et doni causam veritus ipse, multitudinem quoque, quæ semper fermè regenti est similis, religionis justæ implevit; adductosque in publicum hospitium legatos, cum præsidio etiam navium Delphos prosecutus, Romam inde sospites restituit. Hospitium cum eo senatus-consulto est factum, donaque publicè data. *Tit. Liv.*

† *Timasitheus signifies one who honours the gods.*

their

their benefactor, and resolved that all his descendants should be for ever exempted from the tribute imposed upon the other inhabitants of that island.

This was certainly great and noble on both sides: but the contrast does no honour to the Athenians.

To return to Dionysius, though he expressed some regard for the gods, his actions argued no humanity for his subjects. His past misfortunes, instead of correcting and softening his disposition, had only served to inflame it, and to render him more savage and brutal than before.

(*i*) The most worthy and considerable of the citizens, not being able to support so cruel a servitude, had recourse to Icetas, king of the Leontines, and abandoning themselves to his conduct, elected him their general; not that they believed he differed in any thing from the mo declared tyrants, but because they had no other resource.

During these transactions, the Carthaginians, who were almost always at war with the Syracusans, arrived in Sicily with a great fleet, and having made a great progress there, the Sicilians and the people of Syracuse resolved to send an embassy into Greece, to demand aid of the Corinthians, from whom the Syracusans were descended, and who had always openly declared against tyrants in favour of liberty. Icetas, who proposed no other end from his command, than to make himself master of Syracuse, and had no thoughts of setting it free, treated secretly with the Carthaginians, though in public he affected to praise the wise measures of the Syracusans, and even sent his deputies along with theirs.

(*k*) Corinth received the ambassadors perfectly well, and immediately appointed Timoleon their general. He had led a retired life for twenty years, without interfering in public affairs, and was far from believ-

(*i*) Diod. l. 16. p. 459 & 464. Plut. in Timol. p. 236 & 243.
(*k*) A. M. 3655. Ant. J. C. 349.

ing

ing, that at his age, and in the circumſtances he then was, he ſhould be thought on upon ſuch an occaſion.

He was deſcended from one of the nobleſt families of Corinth, loved his country paſſionately, and diſcovered upon all occaſions a ſingular humanity of temper, except againſt tyrants, and bad men. He was an excellent captain, and as in his youth he had all the maturity of age, in age he had all the fire and courage of the moſt ardent youth.

He had an elder brother called Timophanes, whom he tenderly loved, as he had demonſtrated in a battle, in which he covered him with his body, and ſaved his life at the great danger of his own; but his country was ſtill dearer to him. That brother having made himſelf tyrant of it, ſo black a crime gave him the ſharpeſt affliction. He made uſe of all poſſible means to bring him back to his duty: kindneſs, friendſhip, affection, remonſtrances, and even menaces. But finding all his endeavours ineffectual, and that nothing could prevail upon an heart abandoned to ambition, he cauſed his brother to be aſſaſſinated in his preſence by two of his friends and intimates, and thought, that upon ſuch an occaſion, the laws of nature ought to give place to thoſe of his country.

That action was admired and applauded by the principal citizens of Corinth, and by moſt of the philoſophers, who looked upon it as the moſt noble effort of human virtue; and Plutarch ſeems to paſs the ſame judgment upon it. All the world were not of that opinion, and ſome people reproached him as an abominable parricide, who could not fail of drawing down the vengeance of the gods upon him. His mother eſpecially, in the exceſs of her grief, uttered the moſt dreadful curſes and imprecations againſt him; and when he came to conſole her, not being able to bear the ſight of her ſon's murderer, ſhe thruſt him away with indignation, and ſhut her doors againſt him.

He was then ſtruck with all the horror of the moſt guilty,

guilty, and giving himſelf up to the cruelleſt remorſe, conſidered Timophanes no longer as a tyrant, but as a brother, and reſolved to put an end to his life, by abſtaining from all nouriſhment. It was with great difficulty his friends diſſuaded him from that fatal reſolution. Overcome by their prayers and inſtances, he was at length prevailed upon to live; but he condemned himſelf to paſs the reſt of his days in ſolitude. From that moment he renounced all public affairs; and for ſeveral years never came to the city, but wandered about in the moſt ſolitary and deſart places, abandoned to exceſs of grief and melancholy: ſo true it is, that neither the praiſes of flatterers, nor the falſe reaſonings of politicians, can ſuppreſs the cries of conſcience, which is at once the witneſs, judge, and executioner of thoſe, who preſume to violate the moſt ſacred rights and ties of nature!

He paſſed twenty years in this condition. He did indeed return to Corinth at the latter part of that time, but lived there always private and retired, without concerning himſelf with the adminiſtration of the government. It was not without great repugnance that he accepted the employment of general; but he did not think it allowable to refuſe the ſervice of his country, and his duty prevailed againſt his inclination.

Whilſt Timoleon aſſembled his troops, and was preparing to ſail, the Corinthians received letters from Icetas, in which he told them, "that it was not ne-
"ceſſary for them to make any farther levies, or to
"exhauſt themſelves in great expences to come to
"Sicily, and expoſe themſelves to evident danger;
"that the Carthaginians, apprized of their deſign,
"were waiting to intercept their ſquadron in its paſ-
"ſage with a great fleet; and that their ſlowneſs in
"ſending their troops had obliged him to call in the
"Carthaginians themſelves to his aid, and to make
"uſe of them againſt the tyrant." He had made a ſecret treaty with them, by which it was ſtipulated,

that

that after the expulſion of Dionyſius from Syracuſe, he ſhould take poſſeſſion of it in his place.

The reading of theſe letters, far from cooling the zeal of the Corinthians, only incenſed them more than at firſt, and haſtened the departure of Timoleon. He embarked on board ten gallies, and arrived ſafe upon the coaſt of Italy, where the news that came from Sicily extremely perplexed him, and diſcouraged his troops. It brought an account, that Icetas had defeated Dionyſius, and having made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of Syracuſe, had obliged the tyrant to ſhut himſelf up in the citadel, and in that quarter called the *Iſle*, where he beſieged him; and that he had given orders to the Carthaginians to prevent Timoleon's approach, and to come on ſhore, that they might make a peaceable partition of Sicily between them, when they ſhould have reduced that general to retire.

The Carthaginians in conſequence had ſent twenty gallies to Rhegium. The Corinthians, upon their arrival at that port, found ambaſſadors from Icetas, who declared to Timoleon, that he might come to Syracuſe, and would be well received there, provided he diſmiſſed his troops. The propoſal was entirely injurious, and at the ſame time more perplexing. It ſeemed impoſſible to beat the veſſels, which the Barbarians had cauſed to advance to intercept them in their paſſage, being twice their force; and to retire, was to abandon all Sicily to extreme diſtreſs, which could not avoid being the reward of Icetas's treachery, and of the ſupport which the Carthaginians ſhould give the tyranny.

In this delicate conjuncture, Timoleon demanded a conference with the ambaſſadors, and the principal officers of the Carthaginian ſquadron, in the preſence of the people of Rhegium. It was only, he ſaid, to diſcharge himſelf, and for his own ſecurity, that his country might not accuſe him of having diſobeyed its orders, and betrayed its intereſts. The governor and magiſtrates

magiſtrates of Rhegium were of intelligence with him. They deſired nothing more than to ſee the Corinthians in poſſeſſion of Sicily, and apprehended nothing ſo much as the neighbourhood of the Barbarians. They ſummoned therefore an aſſembly, and ſhut the gates of the city, upon pretence of preventing the citizens from going abroad, in order to their applying themſelves ſolely to the preſent affair.

The people being aſſembled, long ſpeeches were made of little or no tendency, every body treating the ſame ſubject, and repeating the ſame reaſons, or adding new ones, only to protract the council, and to gain time. Whilſt this was doing, nine of the Corinthian gallies went off, and were ſuffered to paſs by the Carthaginian veſſels, believing that their departure had been concerted with their own officers, who were in the city, and that thoſe nine gallies were to return to Corinth, the tenth remaining to carry Timoleon to Icetas's army at Syracuſe. When Timoleon was informed in a whiſper, that his gallies were at ſea, he ſlipt gently through the crowd, which, to favour his going off, thronged exceedingly around the tribunal. He got to the ſea ſide, embarked directly, and having re-joined his gallies, they arrived together at Tauromenium, a city of Sicily, where they were received with open arms by Andromachus, who commanded it, and who joined his citizens with the Corinthian troops, to re-inſtate the Sicilian liberties.

It is eaſy to comprehend how much the Carthaginians were ſurprized and aſhamed of being ſo deceived: But, as ſome body told them, being Phœnicians (who paſſed for the greateſt cheats in the world) fraud and artifice ought not to give them ſo much aſtoniſhment and diſpleaſure.

Upon the news of Timoleon's arrival, Icetas was terrified, and made the greateſt part of the Carthaginian gallies advance. They had an hundred and fifty long ſhips, fifty thouſand foot, and three hundred armed chariots. The Syracuſans loſt all hope when they

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ſaw the Carthaginians in poſſeſſion of the port, Icetas maſter of the city, Dionyſius blocked up in the citadel, and Timoleon without any other hold in Sicily than by a nook of its coaſt, the ſmall city of Tauromenium, with little hope and leſs force; for his troops did not amount in all to more than a thouſand ſoldiers, and he had ſcarce proviſions for their ſubſiſtance. Beſides which the cities placed no confidence in him. The ills they had ſuffered from the extortion and cruelty, that had been practiſed amongſt them, had exaſperated them againſt all commanders of troops, eſpecially after the horrid treachery of Callippus and Pharax; who being both ſent, the one from Athens, and the other from Sparta, to free Sicily and expel the tyrants, made them conceive the tyranny gentle and deſirable, ſo ſevere were the vexations, with which they had oppreſſed them. They were afraid of experiencing the ſame treatment from Timoleon.

The inhabitants of Adranon, a ſmall city below mount Ætna, being divided amongſt themſelves, one party had called in Icetas and the Carthaginians, and the other had applied to Timoleon. The two chiefs arrived almoſt at the ſame time in the neighbourhood of Adranon; the former with five thouſand men, and the latter with only twelve hundred. Notwithſtanding this inequality, Timoleon, who juſtly conceived that he ſhould find the Carthaginians in diſorder, and employed in taking up their quarters, and pitching their tents, made his troops advance, and without loſing time to reſt them, as the officers adviſed him, he marched directly to charge the enemy, who no ſooner ſaw him, than they took to their heels. This occaſioned their killing only three hundred, and taking twice as many priſoners; but the Carthaginians loſt their camp, and all their baggage. The Adranites opened their gates at the ſame time, and received Timoleon. Other cities ſent their deputies to him ſoon after, and made their ſubmiſſion.

Dionyſius himſelf, who renounced his vain hopes,

and

and ſaw himſelf at the point of being reduced, as full of contempt for Icetas, who had ſuffered himſelf to be ſo ſhamefully defeated, as of admiration and eſteem for Timoleon, ſent ambaſſadors to the latter, to treat of ſurrendering himſelf and the citadel to the Corinthians. Timoleon, taking the advantage of ſo unexpected a good fortune, made Euclid and Telemachus, with four hundred ſoldiers, file off into the caſtle; not all at once, nor in the day time; that being impoſſible, the Carthaginians being maſters of the gate, but in platoons, and by ſtealth. Thoſe troops, having got ſucceſsfully into the citadel, took poſſeſſion of it with all the tyrant's moveables, and proviſions of war. For he had a conſiderable number of horſe, all ſorts of engines and darts, beſides ſeventy thouſand ſuits of armour, which had been laid up there long before. Dionyſius had alſo two thouſand regular troops, which with the reſt he ſurrendered to Timoleon. And for himſelf, taking with him his money, and ſome few of his friends, he embarked unperceived by the troops of Icetas, and repaired to the camp of Timoleon.

It was the firſt time of his life that he had appeared in the low and abject ſtate of a private perſon, and a ſuppliant; he who had been born and nurtured in the arms of the tyranny, and had ſeen himſelf maſter of the moſt powerful kingdom that had ever been uſurped by tyrants. He had poſſeſſed it ten years entire, before Dion took arms againſt him, and ſome years after, though always in the midſt of wars and battles. (*l*) He was ſent to Corinth with only one galley without convoy, and with very little money. He ſerved there for a ſight, every body running to gaze at him; ſome with a ſecret joy of heart to feed their eyes with the view of the miſeries of a man, whom the name of tyrant rendered odious; others with a kind of compaſſion, from comparing the ſplendid condition, from which he had fallen, with the inextri-

(*l*) A. M. 3657. Ant. J. C. 347.

cable

cable abyſs of diſtreſs, into which they beheld him plunged.

His manner of life at Corinth did not long excite any ſentiments in regard to him, but thoſe of contempt and indignation. He paſſed whole days in perfumers ſhops, in taverns, or with actreſſes and ſingers, diſputing with them upon the rules of muſic, and the harmony of airs. Some people have thought, that he behaved in ſuch a manner out of policy, not to give umbrage to the Corinthians, nor to diſcover any thought or deſire of recovering his dominions. But ſuch an opinion does him too much honour, and it ſeems more probable, that nurtured and educated as he was in drunkenneſs and debauchery, he only followed his inclination, and that he paſſed his life in the kind of ſlavery into which he was fallen as he had done upon the throne, having no other reſource or conſolation in his misfortunes.

(*m*) Some writers ſay, that the extreme poverty to which he was reduced at Corinth, obliged him to open a ſchool there, and to teach children to read; perhaps, ſays * Cicero without doubt jeſtingly, to retain a ſpecies of empire, and not abſolutely to renounce the habit and pleaſure of commanding. (*n*) Whether that were his motive or not, it is certain that Dionyſius, who had ſeen himſelf maſter of Syracuſe, and of almoſt all Sicily, who had poſſeſſed immenſe riches, and had numerous fleets and great armies of horſe and foot under his command; that the ſame † Dionyſius reduced now almoſt to beggary, and from a king become a ſchoolmaſter, was a good leſſon for perſons of exalted ſtations not to confide in their grandeur, nor to rely too much upon their fortune. The Lacedæmonians ſome time after gave Philip this admonition. (*o*) That prince, having wrote to them in very haughty

(*m*) Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 3. n. 27. (*n*) Val. Max. l. 6.
(*o*) Demet. Phaler. de Eloc. 11. l. 8.

* Dionyſius Corinthi pueros docebat, uſque adeo imperio carere non poterat.

† Tanta mutatione majores natu, nequis nimis fortunæ crederet, magiſter ludi factus ex tyranno docuit.

haughty and menacing terms, they made him no other anſwer, but *Dionyſius at Corinth.*

An expreſſion of Dionyſius, which has been preſerved, ſeems to argue, if it be true, that he knew how to make a good uſe of his adverſity, and to turn his misfortunes to his advantage; which would be very much to his praiſe, but contrary to what has been related of him before. (*p*) Whilſt he lived at Corinth, a ſtranger rallied him unſeaſonably, and with an indecent groſsneſs, upon his commerce with the philoſophers during his moſt ſplendid fortune, and aſked him by way of inſult, Of what conſequence all the wiſdom of Plato had been to him. *Can you believe then*, replied he, *that I have received no benefit from Plato, and ſee me bear ill fortune as I do?*

SECT. VI. *Timoleon, after ſeveral victories, reſtores liberty to Syracuſe, where he inſtitutes wiſe laws. He quits his authority, and paſſes the reſt of his life in retirement. His death. Honours paid to his memory.*

(*q*) AFTER the retreat of Dionyſius, Icetas preſs'd the ſiege of the citadel of Syracuſe with the utmoſt vigour, and kept it ſo cloſely blocked up, that the convoys ſent to the Corinthians could not enter it without great difficulty. Timoleon, who was at Catana, ſent them frequently thither. To deprive them of this relief, Icetas and Mago ſet out together with deſign to beſiege that place. During their abſence, Leon the Corinthian, who commanded in the citadel, having obſerved from the ramparts, that thoſe who had been left to continue the ſiege, were very remiſs in their duty, he made a ſudden furious ſally upon them, whilſt they were diſperſed, killed part of them, put the reſt to flight, and ſeized the quarter of the city called *Achradina*, which was the ſtrongeſt part of it, and had been leaſt injured by the enemy.

(*p*) Plut. in Timol. p. 243. (*q*) A. M. 3658. Ant. J. C. 346. Plut. in Timol. p. 243.—248. Dicd. l. 16. p. 465 & 474.

Leon

Leon fortified it in the beſt manner the time would admit, and joined it to the citadel by works of communication.

This bad news cauſed Mago and Icetas to return immediately. At the ſame time a body of troops from Corinth landed ſafe in Sicily, having deceived the vigilance of the Carthaginian ſquadron poſted to intercept them. When they were landed, Timoleon received them with joy, and after having taken poſſeſſion of Meſſina, marched in battle array againſt Syracuſe. His army conſiſted of only four thouſand men. When he approached the city, his firſt care was to ſend emiſſaries amongſt the ſoldiers that bore arms for Icetas. They repreſented to them, that it was highly ſhameful for Greeks, as they were, to labour that Syracuſe and all Sicily ſhould be given up to the Carthaginians, the wickedeſt and moſt cruel of all Barbarians. That Icetas had only to join Timoleon, and to act in concert with him againſt the common enemy. Thoſe ſoldiers, having ſpread theſe inſinuations throughout the whole camp, gave Mago violent ſuſpicions of his being betrayed; beſides which, he had already for ſome time ſought a pretext to retire. For theſe reaſons, notwithſtanding the intreaties and warm remonſtrances of Icetas, he weighed anchor, and ſet ſail for Africa, ſhamefully abandoning the conqueſt of Sicily.

Timoleon's army the next day appeared before the place in line of battle, and attacked it in three different quarters with ſo much vigour and ſucceſs, that Icetas's troops were univerſally overthrown, and put to flight. Thus by a good fortune that has few examples, he carried Syracuſe by force in an inſtant, which was at that time one of the ſtrongeſt cities in the world. When he had made himſelf maſter of it, he did not act like Dion, in ſparing the forts and public edifices for their beauty and magnificence. To avoid giving the ſame cauſe of ſuſpicion, which at firſt decry'd though without foundation, and at length

ruined,

ruined, that great man, he cauſed proclamation to be made by ſound of trumpet, that all Syracuſans who would come with their tools might employ themſelves in demoliſhing the forts of the tyrants. In conſequence of which, the Syracuſans conſidering that proclamation and day as the commencement of their liberty, ran in multitudes to the citadel, which they not only demoliſhed, but the palaces of the tyrants; breaking open their tombs at the ſame time, which they alſo threw down and deſtroyed.

The citadel being razed, and the ground made level, Timoleon cauſed tribunals to be erected upon it, for the diſpenſation of juſtice in the name of the people; that the ſame place, from whence, under the tyrants, every day ſome bloody edict had iſſued, might become the aſylum and bulwark of liberty and innocence.

Timoleon was maſter of the city; but it wanted people to inhabit it: For ſome having periſhed in the wars and ſeditions, and others being fled to avoid the power of the tyrants, Syracuſe was become a deſart, and the graſs was grown ſo high in the ſtreets, that horſes grazed in them. All the cities of Sicily were almoſt in the ſame condition. Timoleon and the Syracuſans therefore found it neceſſary to write to Corinth, to deſire that people might be ſent from Greece to inhabit Syracuſe; that otherwiſe the country could never recover itſelf, and was beſides threatened with a new war. For they had received advice, that Mago having killed himſelf, the Carthaginians, enraged at his having acquitted himſelf ſo ill of his charge, had hung up his body upon a croſs, and were making great levies to return into Sicily with a more numerous army than at the beginning of the year.

Thoſe letters being arrived with ambaſſadors from Syracuſe, who conjured the Corinthians to take compaſſion of their city, and to be a ſecond time the founders of it, the Corinthians did not conſider the calamity of that people as an occaſion of aggrandizing them-

themſelves, and of making themſelves maſters of the city, according to the maxims of a baſe and infamous policy, but ſending to all the ſacred games of Greece, and to all public aſſemblies, they cauſed proclamation to be made in them by heralds, that the Corinthians having aboliſhed the tyranny of Syracuſe, and expelled the tyrants, they declared free and independant the Syracuſans, and all the people of Sicily who ſhould return into their own country, and exhorted them to repair thither, to partake of an equal and juſt diſtribution of the lands amongſt them. At the ſame time they diſpatched couriers into Aſia, and into all the iſles, whither great numbers of fugitives had retired, to invite them to come as ſoon as poſſible to Corinth, which would provide them veſſels, commanders, and a ſafe convoy to tranſport them in-to their country at its own expences.

Upon this publication Corinth received univerſal praiſes and bleſſings, as it juſtly deſerved. It was every where proclaimed, that Corinth had delivered Syracuſe from the tyrants, had preſerved it from falling into the hands of the Barbarians, and reſtored it to its citizens. It is not neceſſary to inſiſt here upon the grandeur of ſo noble and generous an action: the mere relation of it muſt make the impreſſion that always reſults from the great and noble, and every body owned, that never conqueſt or triumph equalled the glory which the Corinthians then acquired by ſo perfect and magnanimous a diſintereſtedneſs.

Thoſe who came to Corinth, not being ſufficiently numerous, demanded an addition of inhabitants from that city and from all Greece to augment this kind of colony. Having obtained their requeſt, and finding themſelves increaſed to ten thouſand, they embarked for Syracuſe, where a multitude of people from all parts of Italy and Sicily had joined Timoleon. It was ſaid their number amounted to ſixty thouſand and upwards. Timoleon diſtributed the lands amongſt them *gratis*; but ſold them the houſes,

with

with which he raiſed a very great ſum; leaving it to the diſcretion of the old inhabitants to redeem their own; and by this means he collected a conſiderable fund for ſuch of the people as were poor, and unable to ſupport either their own neceſſities or the charges of the war.

The ſtatues of the tyrants, and of all the princes who had governed Sicily, were put up to ſale; but firſt they were cited, and ſentenced in the forms of law. One only eſcaped the rigour of this enquiry, and was preſerved; which was Gelon, who had gained a celebrated victory over the Carthaginians at Himera, and governed the people with lenity and juſtice; for which his memory was ſtill cheriſhed and honoured. If the ſame ſcrutiny were made into all ſtatues, I do not know whether many would continue in being.

(r) Hiſtory has preſerved another ſentence paſſed alſo in regard to a ſtatue, but of a very different kind. The fact is curious, and will excuſe a digreſſion. Nicon, a champion of * Thaſos, had been crowned fourteen hundred times victor in the ſolemn games of Greece. A man of that merit could not fail of being envied. After his death, one of his competitors inſulted his ſtatue, and gave it ſeveral blows; to revenge perhaps thoſe he had formerly received from him it repreſented. But the ſtatue, as if ſenſible of that outrage, fell from its height upon the perſon that inſulted it, and killed him. The ſon of him who had been cruſhed to death, proceeded juridically againſt the ſtatue, as guilty of homicide, and puniſhable by the law of Draco. That famous legiſlator of Athens, to inſpire a greater horror for the guilt of murder, had ordained that even the inanimate things ſhould be deſtroyed, which ſhould occaſion the death of a man by their fall. The Thaſians, conformably to this law, decreed that the ſtatue ſhould be thrown into the ſea. But ſome years after, being af-

(r) Suidas in Νίκων. Pauſan. l. 6. p. 364.

* *An iſle in the Egean ſea.*

flicted

flicted with a great famine, and having conſulted the oracle of Delphos, they cauſed it to be taken out of the ſea, and rendered new honours to it.

Syracuſe being raiſed in a manner from the grave, and people flocking from all parts to inhabit it, Timoleon, deſirous of freeing the other cities of Sicily, and finally to extirpate tyranny and tyrants out of it, began his march with his army. He compelled Icetas to renounce his alliance with the Carthaginians, obliged him to demolith his forts, and to live as a private perſon in the city of the Leontines. Leptinus, tyrant of Apollonia, and of ſeveral other cities and fortreſſes, ſeeing himſelf in danger of being taken by force, ſurrendered himſelf. Timoleon ſpared his life, and ſent him to Corinth. For he thought nothing more great and honourable, than to let all Greece ſee the tyrants of Sicily in a ſtate of humiliation, and living like exiles.

He returned afterwards to Syracuſe, to regulate the government, and to inſtitute ſuch laws as ſhould be moſt important and neceſſary, in conjunction with Cephalus and Dionyſius, two legiſlators ſent to him by the Corinthians: for he had not the weakneſs to deſire unlimited power, and ſole adminiſtration. But on his departure, that the troops in his pay might get ſomething for themſelves, and to keep them in exerciſe at the ſame time, he ſent them under the command of Dinarchus and Demaratus, into all the places ſubject to the Carthaginians. Thoſe troops brought over ſeveral cities from the Barbarians, lived always in abundance, made much booty, and returned with conſiderable ſums of money, which was of great ſervice in the ſupport of the war.

(s) About this time, the Carthaginians arrived at Lilybæum, under Aſdrubal and Amilcar, with an army of ſeventy thouſand men, two hundred ſhips of war, a thouſand tranſports laden with machines, armed chariots, horſes, ammunition, and proviſions. They

(s) Plut. in Timol. p. 248 & 255.

propoſed no leſs than the entire expulſion of the Greeks out of Sicily. Timoleon did not think fit to wait their advancing, and though he could raiſe only ſix or ſeven thouſand men, ſo great was the people's terror, he marched with that ſmall body of troops againſt the formidable army of the enemy, and obtained a celebrated victory near the river Crimeſus; an account of which may be found in the hiſtory of the Carthaginians (*t*). Timoleon returned to Syracuſe amidſt ſhouts of joy and univerſal applauſes.

He had before effected the conqueſt and reduction of the Sicilian tyrants, but had not changed them, nor taken from them their tyrannical diſpoſition. They united together, and formed a powerful league againſt him. Timoleon immediately took the field, and ſoon put a final end to their hopes. He made them all ſuffer the juſt puniſhment their revolt deſerved. Icetas, amongſt others, with his ſon were put to death as tyrants and traitors. His wife and daughters, having been ſent to Syracuſe and preſented to the people, were alſo ſentenced to die, and executed accordingly. The people, without doubt, deſigned to avenge Dion their firſt deliverer by that decree. For it was the ſame Icetas, who had cauſed Arete, Dion's wife, his ſiſter Ariſtomache, and his ſon an infant, to be thrown into the ſea.

Virtue is ſeldom or never without envy. Two accuſers ſummoned Timoleon to anſwer for his conduct before the judges, and having aſſigned him a certain day for his appearance, demanded ſureties of him. The people expreſſed great indignation againſt ſuch a proceeding, and would have diſpenſed with ſo great a man's obſerving the uſual formalities; which he ſtrongly oppoſed, giving for his reaſon, that all he had undertaken had no other principle, than that the laws might have their due courſe. He was accuſed of malverſation during his command of the army. Timoleon, without giving himſelf the trouble to refute thoſe

(*t*) Vol. I.

calumnies, only replied, "that he thanked the gods, "who had heard his prayers, and that he at length "saw the Syracusans enjoy an entire liberty of say-"ing every thing; a liberty absolutely unknown to "them under the tyrants, but which it was just to "confine within due bounds."

That great man had given Syracuse wise laws, had purged all Sicily of the tyrants which had so long infested it, had re-established peace and security universally, and supplied the cities ruined by the war with the means of re-instating themselves. After such glorious actions which had acquired him an unbounded credit, he quitted his authority to live in retirement. The Syracusans had given him the best house in the city in gratitude for his great services, and another very fine and agreeable one in the country, where he generally resided with his wife and children, whom he had sent for from Corinth; for he did not return thither, and Syracuse was become his country. He had the wisdom in resigning every thing to abstract himself entirely also from envy, which never fails to attend exalted stations, and pays no respect to merit, however great and substantial. He shunned the rock, on which the greatest men, through an insatiate lust of honours and power, are often shipwrecked; that is by engaging to the end of their lives in new cares and troubles, of which age renders them incapable, and by choosing rather to sink under, than to lay down, the weight of them *.

Timoleon, who knew all the value of a † noble and glorious leisure, acted in a different manner. He passed the rest of his life as a private person, enjoying the grateful satisfaction of seeing so many cities, and such a numerous people indebted to him for their happiness and tranquillity. But he was always respected and consulted as the common oracle of Sicily. Neither treaty of peace, institution of law, division of

* Malunt deficere quam desinere. *Quintil.*
† Otium cum dignitate. *Cic.*

land, nor regulation of government ſeemed well done, if Timoleon had not been conſulted, and put the laſt hand to it.

His age was tried with a very ſenſible affliction, which he ſupported with aſtoniſhing patience; it was the loſs of ſight. That accident, far from leſſening him in the conſideration and regard of the people, ſerved only to augment them. The Syracuſans did not content themſelves with paying him frequent viſits, they conducted all ſtrangers, both in town and country, to ſee their benefactor and deliverer. When they had any important affair to deliberate upon in the aſſembly of the people, they called him in to their aſſiſtance, who came thither in a chariot drawn by two horſes, which croſſed the public place to the theatre; and in that manner he was introduced into the aſſembly amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of joy of the whole people. After he had given his opinion, which was always religiouſly obſerved, his domeſtics re-conducted him croſs the theatre, followed by all the citizens beyond the gates with continual ſhouts of joy and clapping of hands.

He had ſtill greater honours paid to him after his death. Nothing was wanting that could add to the magnificence of the proceſſion, which followed his bier, of which the tears that were ſhed, and the bleſſings uttered, by every body in honour of his memory, were the nobleſt ornament. Thoſe tears were neither the effect of cuſtom and the formality of mourning, nor exacted by public decree, but flowed from a native ſource, ſincere affection, lively gratitude, and inconſolable ſorrow. A law was alſo made, that annually for the future upon the day of his death the muſic and gymnic games ſhould be celebrated with horſe-races in honour of him. But what was ſtill more honourable for the memory of that great man, was the decree of the Syracuſan people; that whenever Sicily ſhould be engaged in a war with foreigners, they ſhould ſend to Corinth for a general.

I do

I do not know, that hiſtory has any thing more great and accompliſhed than what it ſays of Timoleon. I ſpeak not only of his military exploits and the happy ſucceſs of all his undertakings. Plutarch obſerves a characteriſtic in them, which diſtinguiſhes Timoleon from all the great men of his times, and makes uſe, upon that occaſion, of a very remarkable compariſon. There is, ſays he, in painting and poetry, pieces which are excellent in themſelves, and which at the firſt view may be known to be the works of a maſter; but ſome of them denote their having coſt abundance of pains and application; whereas in others an eaſy and native grace is ſeen, which adds exceedingly to their value, and amongſt the latter, he places the poems of Homer. There is ſomething of this ſort occurs, when we compare the great actions of Epaminondas and Ageſilaus with thoſe of Timoleon. In the former, we find them executed with force and innumerable difficulties; but in the latter, there is an eaſineſs and facility, which diſtinguiſh them as the work, not of fortune, but of virtue, which fortune ſeems to have taken pleaſure in ſeconding. It is Plutarch who ſtill ſpeaks.

But not to mention his military actions; what I admire moſt in Timoleon, is his warm and diſintereſted paſſion for the public good, and his reſerving only for himſelf the pleaſure of ſeeing others happy by his ſervices; his extreme remoteneſs from ambition and haughtineſs; his honourable retirement into the country; his modeſty, moderation, and indifference for the honours paid him; and what is ſtill more uncommon, his averſion for all flattery, and even juſt praiſes. When * ſomebody extolled in his preſence, his wiſdom, valour, and glory in having expelled the tyrants, he made no anſwer, but that he thought him-

* Cum ſuas laudes audiret prædicari, nunquam aliud dixit, quam ſe in ea re maximas diis gratias agere et habere, quod, cum Siciliam recreare conſtituiſſent, tum ſe potiſſimùm ducem eſſe voluiſſent. Nihil enim rerum humanarum ſine deorum numine agi putabat. *Cor. Nep. in Timol.* c. 4.

ſelf obliged to expreſs his gratitude to the gods, who having decreed to reſtore peace and liberty to Sicily, had vouchſafed to make choice of him in preference to all others for ſo honourable a miniſtration: for he was fully perſuaded, that all human events are guided and diſpoſed by the ſecret decrees of divine providence. What a treaſure, what an happineſs for a ſtate, is ſuch a miniſter!

For the better underſtanding his value, we have only to compare the condition of Syracuſe under Timoleon, with its ſtate under the two Dionyſius's. It is the ſame city, inhabitants and people: but how different is it under the different governments we ſpeak of! The two tyrants had no thoughts but of making themſelves feared, and of depreſſing their ſubjects to render them more paſſive. They were terrible in effect, as they deſired to be, but at the ſame time deteſted and abhorred, and had more to fear from their ſubjects, than their ſubjects from them. Timoleon on the contrary, who looked upon himſelf as the father of the Syracuſan people, and who had no thoughts but of making them happy, enjoyed the refined pleaſure of being beloved and revered as a parent by his children: and he was remembred amongſt them with bleſſings, becauſe they could not reflect upon the peace and felicity they enjoyed, without calling to mind at the ſame time the wiſe legiſlator, to whom they were indebted for thoſe ineſtimable bleſſings.

BOOK

BOOK THE TWELFTH.

CHAPTER I.

THIS book contains principally the history of two very illuſtrious generals of the Thebans, Epaminondas and Pelopidas, the deaths of Ageſilaus king of Sparta, and of Artaxerxes Mnemon king of Perſia.

SECT. I. *State of Greece from the treaty of Antalcides. The Lacedæmonians declare war againſt the city of Olynthus. They ſeize by fraud and violence upon the citadel of Thebes. Olynthus ſurrenders.*

(*a*) THE peace of Antalcides, of which mention has been made in the third chapter of the ninth book, had given the Grecian ſtates great matter of diſcontent and diviſion. In effect of that treaty, the Thebans had been obliged to abandon the cities of Bœotia, and to let them enjoy their liberty; and the Corinthians to withdraw their garriſon from Argos, which by that means became free and independent. The Lacedæmonians, who were the authors and executors of this treaty, ſaw their power extremely augmented by it, and were induſtrious to make farther additions to it. They compelled the Mantinæans, againſt whom they pretended to have many cauſes of complaint in the laſt war, to demoliſh the walls of their city, and to inhabit four different places, as they had done before.

(*b*) The two kings of Sparta, Ageſipolis and Ageſilaus were of quite different characters, and as oppoſite in their opinions upon the preſent ſtate of affairs.

(*a*) A. M. 3617. Ant. J. C. 387. Xenoph. hiſt. Græc. l. 5. p. 550, 553. (*b*) Diod. l. 15. p. 341.

The firſt, who was naturally inclined to peace, and a ſtrict obſerver of juſtice, was for having Sparta, already much exclaimed againſt for the treaty of Antalcides, ſuffer the Grecian cities to enjoy their liberties, according to the tenor of that treaty, and not diſturb their tranquillity through an unjuſt deſire of extending their dominions. The other on the contrary, reſtleſs, active, and full of great views of ambition and conqueſt, breathed nothing but war.

(*c*) At the ſame time, deputies arrived at Sparta from Acanthus and Apollonia, two very conſiderable cities of Macedonia, in reſpect to Olynthus a city of Thrace, inhabited by Greeks, originally of Chalcis in Eubœa. (*d*) Athens, after the victories of Salamin and Marathon, had conquered many places on the ſide of Thrace, and even in Thrace itſelf. Thoſe cities threw off the yoke, as ſoon as Sparta, at the concluſion of the Peloponneſian war, had ruined the power of Athens. Olynthus was of this number. The deputies of Acanthus and Apollonia repreſented in the general aſſembly of the allies, that Olynthus, ſituate in their neighbourhood, daily improved in ſtrength in an extraordinary manner; that it perpetually extended its dominions by new conqueſts; that it obliged all the cities round about to ſubmit to it, and to enter into its meaſures; and was upon the point of concluding an alliance with the Athenians and Thebans. The affair being taken into conſideration, it was unanimouſly reſolved, that it was neceſſary to declare war againſt the Olynthians. It was agreed, that the allied cities ſhould furniſh ten thouſand troops, with liberty, to ſuch as deſired it, to ſubſtitute money, at the rate of three oboli (*e*) a day for each foot ſoldier, and four times as much for the horſe. The Lacedæmonians, to loſe no time, made their troops march directly, under the command of Eudamidas, who prevailed with the Ephori, that Phæbi-

(*c*) A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 383. (*d*) Diod. l. 15. p. 554, 556. (*e*) *Five-pence.*

das,

das, his brother, might have the leading of thoſe which were to follow, and join him ſoon after. When he arrived in that part of Macedonia, which is alſo called Thrace, he garriſoned ſuch places as applied to him for that purpoſe, ſeized upon Potidea, a city in alliance with the Olynthians, which ſurrendered without making any defence, and began the war againſt Olynthus, though ſlowly, as it was neceſſary for a general to act before his troops were all aſſembled.

(f) Phæbidas began his march ſoon after, and being arrived near Thebes, encamped without the walls near the Gymnaſium or public place of exerciſe. Iſmenius and Leontides, both Polemarchs, that is, generals of the army, and ſupreme magiſtrates of Thebes, were at the head of two different factions. The firſt, who had engaged Pelopidas in his party, was no friend to the Lacedæmonians, nor they to him; becauſe he publickly declared for popular government and liberty. The other on the contrary favoured an oligarchy, and was ſupported by the Lacedæmonians with their whole intereſt. I am obliged to enter into this detail, becauſe the event I am going to relate, and which was a conſequence of it, occaſions the important war between the Thebans and Spartans.

This being the ſtate of affairs at Thebes, Leontides applied to Phæbidas, and propoſed to him to ſeize the citadel, called Cadmæa, to expel the adherents of Iſmenius, and to give the Lacedæmonians poſſeſſion of it. He repreſented to him, that nothing could be more glorious for him, than to make himſelf maſter of Thebes, whilſt his brother was endeavouring to reduce Olynthus; that he would thereby facilitate the ſucceſs of his brother's enterprize; and that the Thebans, who had prohibited their citizens by decree to bear arms againſt the Olynthians, would not fail, upon his making himſelf maſter of the citadel, to ſupply

(f) A. M. 3622. Ant. J. C. 382. Xenoph. p. 556—558. Plut. in Ageſil. p. 608, 609. Id. in Pelop. p. 280. Diod. l. 15. p. 341, 342.

him with whatever number of horſe and foot he ſhould think proper, for the reinforcement of Eudamidas.

Phæbidas, who had much ambition and little conduct, and who had no other view than to ſignalize himſelf by ſome extraordinary action, without examining the conſequences, ſuffered himſelf to be eaſily perſuaded. Whilſt the Thebans, entirely ſecure under the treaty of peace lately concluded by the Grecian ſtates, celebrated the feaſts of Ceres, and expected nothing leſs than ſuch an act of hoſtility, Phæbidas, conducted by Leontides, took poſſeſſion of the citadel. The ſenate was then ſitting. Leontides went to them, and declared, that there was nothing to be feared from the Lacedæmonians, who had entered the citadel; that they were only the enemies of thoſe, who were for diſturbing the public tranquillity; that as for himſelf, by the power his office of Polemarch gave him of confining whoever caballed againſt the ſtate, he ſhould put Iſmenius into a place of ſecurity, who factiouſly endeavoured to break the peace. He was ſeized accordingly, and carried to the citadel. The party of Iſmenius ſeeing their chief a priſoner, and apprehending the utmoſt violence for themſelves, quitted the city with precipitation, and retired to Athens, to the number of four hundred and upwards. They were ſoon after baniſhed by a public decree. Pelopidas was of the number; but Epaminondas remained at Thebes unmoleſted; being diſregarded as a man entirely devoted to the ſtudy of philoſophy, who did not intermeddle in affairs of ſtate; and alſo from his poverty, which left no room to fear any thing from him. A new Polemarch was nominated in the room of Iſmenius, and Leontides went to Lacedæmon.

The news of Phæbidas's enterprize, who at a time of general peace had taken poſſeſſion of a citadel by force, upon which he had no claim or right, had occaſioned great murmurings and complaints. Such eſpecially as oppoſed Ageſilaus, who was ſuſpected of having ſhared in the ſcheme, demanded by whoſe or-

ders

ders Phæbidas had committed ſo ſtrange a breach of public faith. Ageſilaus, who well knew that thoſe warm reproaches were aimed at him, made no difficulty of juſtifying Phæbidas, and declared openly, and before all the world, "That the action ought to be "conſidered in itſelf, in order to underſtand whether "it were uſeful or not; that whatever was expedi-"ent for Sparta, he was not only permitted, but "commanded to act upon his own authority, and "without waiting the orders of any body." Strange principles to be advanced by a perſon, who upon other occaſions had maintained, *that juſtice was the ſupreme of virtues, and that without it, valour itſelf, and every other great quality, were uſeleſs and unavailing.* It is the ſame man that made anſwer, when ſomebody in his preſence magnified the king of Perſia's grandeur; *He, whom you call the great king, in what is he greater than me, unleſs he be more juſt?* A truly noble and admirable maxim, THAT JUSTICE MUST BE THE RULE OF WHATEVER EXCELS AND IS GREAT! But a maxim that he had only in his mouth, and which all his actions contradicted; conformable to the principle of the generality of politicians, who imagine, that a ſtateſman ought always to have juſtice in his mouth, but never loſe an occaſion of violating it for the advantage of his country.

But let us now hear the ſentence, which the auguſt aſſembly of Sparta, ſo renowned for the wiſdom of its counſels and the equity of its decrees, is about to pronounce. The affair being maturely conſidered, the whole diſcuſſed at large, and the manner of it ſet in its full light, the aſſembly reſolved, that Phæbidas ſhould be deprived of his command, and fined an hundred thouſand drachma's (*g*); but that they ſhould continue to hold the citadel, and keep a good garriſon in it. What a ſtrange contradiction was this, ſays Polybius (*h*), what

(*g*) *About* 2020 *pound ſterling.* (*h*) Lib. 4. p. 196.

a diſ-

a diſregard of all juſtice and reaſon! to puniſh the criminal, and approve the crime; and not only to approve the crime tacitly, and without having any ſhare in it, but to ratify it by the public authority, and continue it in the name of the ſtate for the advantages ariſing from it! But this was not all; commiſſioners, appointed by all the cities in alliance with Sparta, were diſpatched to the citadel of Thebes to try Iſmenius, upon whom they paſſed ſentence of death, which was immediately executed. Such flagrant injuſtice ſeldom remains unpuniſhed. To act in ſuch a manner, ſays Polybius again, is neither for one's country's intereſt, nor one's own.

(*i*) Teleutias, Ageſilaus's brother, had been ſubſtituted in the place of Phæbidas to command the reſt of the troops of the allies deſigned againſt Olynthus; whither he marched with all expedition. The city was ſtrong, and furniſhed with every thing neceſſary to a good defence. Several ſallies were made with good ſucceſs, in one of which Teleutias was killed. The next year king Ageſipolis had the command of the army. The campaign paſſed in ſkirmiſhing; without any thing deciſive. Ageſipolis died ſoon after of a diſeaſe, and was ſucceeded by his brother Cleombrotus (*k*), who reigned nine years. About that time began the hundredth olympiad. Sparta made freſh efforts to terminate the war with the Olynthians. Polybidas their general preſs'd the ſiege with vigour. The place being in want of proviſions, was at laſt obliged to ſurrender, and was received by the Spartans into the number of their allies.

(*i*) Xenoph. l. 5. p. 559—565. Diod. l. 15. p. 342, 343.
(*k*) A. M. 3624. Ant. J. C. 380.

SECT.

SECT. II. *Sparta's prosperity. Character of two illustrious Thebans, Epaminondas and Pelopidas. The latter forms the design of restoring the liberty of his country. Conspiracy against the tyrants wisely conducted, and happily executed. The citadel is retaken.*

(*l*) THE fortune of the Lacedæmonians never appeared with great splendor, nor their power more strongly established. All Greece was subjected to them either by force or alliance. They were in possession of Thebes, a most powerful city, and with that, of all Bœotia. They had found means to humble Argos, and to hold it in dependance. Corinth was entirely at their devotion, and obeyed their orders in every thing. The Athenians, abandoned by their allies, and reduced almost to their own strength, were in no condition to make head against them. If any city, or people in their alliance, attempted to abstract themselves from their power, an immediate punishment reduced them to their former obedience, and terrified all others from following their example. Thus, masters by sea and land, all trembled before them; and the most formidable princes, as the king of Persia and the tyrant of Sicily, seemed to emulate each other in courting their friendship and alliance.

A prosperity, founded in injustice, can be of no long duration. The greatest blows that were given the Spartan power, came from the quarter, where they had acted the highest injuries, and from whence they did not seem to have any thing to fear, that is to say, from Thebes. Two illustrious citizens of that state will make a glorious appearance upon the theatre of Greece, and for that reason deserve our notice in this place.

(*m*) These are Pelopidas and Epaminondas; both

(*l*) Xenoph. p. 565. Diod. p. 334. (*m*) Plut. in Pelop. p. 279.

descended

deſcended from the nobleſt families of Thebes. Pelopidas, nurtured in the greateſt affluence, and whilſt young, ſole heir of a very rich flouriſhing family, employed his wealth from the firſt poſſeſſion of it in the relief of ſuch as had occaſion for it, and merited his favour; ſhewing in that wiſe uſe of his riches, that he was really their maſter, and not their ſlave. For according to Ariſtotle's remark repeated by Plutarch, * moſt men either make no uſe at all of their fortunes out of avarice, or abuſe them in bad or trifling expences. As for Epaminondas, poverty was all his inheritance, in which his honour, and one might almoſt ſay his joy and delight, conſiſted. He was born of poor parents, and conſequently familiarized from his infancy with poverty, which he made more grateful and eaſy to him by his taſte for philoſophy. Pelopidas, who ſupported a great number of citizens, never being able to prevail on him to accept his offers, and to make uſe of his fortune, reſolved to ſhare in the poverty of his friend by making him his example, and became the model as well as admiration of the whole city, from the modeſty of his dreſs, and the frugality of his table.

(*n*) If Epaminondas was poor as to the goods of fortune, thoſe of the head and heart made him a moſt ample amends. Modeſt, prudent, grave, happy in improving occaſions, poſſeſſing in a ſupreme degree the ſcience of war, equally valiant and wiſe, eaſy and complaiſant in the commerce of the world, ſuffering with incredible patience the people's, and even his friends, ill treatment, uniting with the ardor for military exerciſes a wonderful taſte for ſtudy and the ſciences, piquing himſelf eſpecially ſo much upon truth and ſincerity, that he made a ſcruple of telling a lie even in jeſt, or for diverſion. *Adeo veritatis diligens, ut ne joco quidem mentiretur.*

(*n*) C r. Nep. in Epam. c. 3.

* Τῶν πολλῶν, οἱ μὲν ἀ χρῶνται τῷ πλέτῳ δι᾽ μικρολογίαν, οἱ δὲ πανηχρῶνται δι᾽ ἀσωτίαν.

(*o*) They

(o) They were both equally inclined to virtue. But Pelopidas was beſt pleaſed with the exerciſes of the body, and Epaminondas with the cultivation of the mind. For which reaſon, they employed their leiſure, the one in the palæſtra and the chaſe, the other in converſation and the ſtudy of philoſophy.

But what perſons of ſenſe and judgment muſt principally admire in them, and which is rarely found in their high rank, is the perfect union and friendſhip, that always ſubſiſted between them during the whole time they were employed together in the adminiſtration of the public affairs, whether in war or peace. If we examine the government of Ariſtides and Themiſtocles, that of Cimon and Pericles, of Nicias and Alcibiades, we ſhall find them full of trouble, diſſention, and debate. The two friends we ſpeak of held the firſt offices in the ſtate; all great affairs paſſed through their hands; every thing was confided to their care and authority. In ſuch delicate conjunctures what occaſions of pique and jealouſy generally ariſe? But neither difference of ſentiment, diverſity of intereſt, nor the leaſt emotion of envy, ever altered their union and good underſtanding. The reaſon of which was, their being founded upon an unalterable principle, that is, upon virtue; which in all their actions, ſays Plutarch, occaſioned their having neither glory nor riches, fatal ſources of ſtrife and diviſion, in view, but ſolely the public good, and made them deſire not the advancement or honour of their own families, but to render their country more powerful and flouriſhing. Such are the two illuſtrious men who are about to make their appearance, and to give a new face to the affairs of Greece, by the great events, in which they have a principal ſhare.

(p) Leontides, being apprized that the exiles had retired to Athens, where they had been well received

(o) Plut. in Pelop. p. 279. (p) A. M. 3626. Ant. J. C. 378. Xenoph. Hiſt. Gr. l. 5. p. 566—563. Plut. in Pelop. p. 280—284. Id. de Socrat. gen. p. 586—583, & 594—598. Diod. l. 15. p. 344—346. Cor. Nep. in Pelop. c. 1—4.

by

by the people, and were in great eſteem with all people of worth and honour, ſent thither certain unknown perſons to aſſaſſinate the moſt conſiderable of them. Only Androclildes was killed, all the reſt eſcaping the contrivances of Leontides.

At the ſame time, the Athenians received letters from Sparta, to prohibit their receiving or aſſiſting the exiles, and with orders to expel them their city, as they were declared common enemies by all the allies. The humanity and virtue, peculiar and natural to the Athenians, made them reject ſo infamious a propoſal with horror. They were tranſported with the occaſion of expreſſing their gratitude to the Thebans for a previous obligation of the ſame nature. For the Thebans had contributed moſt to the re-eſtabliſhment of the popular government at Athens, having declared in their favour by a public decree, contrary to the prohibition of Sparta; and it was from Thebes, Thraſybulus ſet out to deliver Athens from the tyranny of the Thirty.

Pelopidas, though at that time very young, went to all the exiles one after another, of whom Melon was the moſt conſiderable. He repreſented to them, "That it was unworthy of honeſt men, to content "themſelves with having ſaved their own lives, and "to look with indifference upon their country, en-"ſlaved and miſerable: That whatever good will the "people of Athens might expreſs for them, it was not "fit that they ſhould ſuffer their fate to depend upon "the decrees of a people, which their natural incon-"ſtancy, and the malignity of orators that turned "them any way at will, might ſoon alter: That it was "neceſſary to hazard every thing after the example "of Thraſybulus, and to ſet before them his intrepid "valour and generous fortitude as a model: That, "as he ſet out from Thebes to ſuppreſs and deſtroy "the tyrants of Athens, ſo they might go from A-"thens to reſtore Thebes its antient liberty."

This diſcourſe made all the impreſſion upon the exiles

iles that could be expected. They ſent privately to inform their friends at Thebes of their reſolution, who extremely approved their deſign. Charon, one of the principal perſons of the city, offered to receive the conſpirators into his houſe. Philidas found means to get himſelf made ſecretary to Archidas and Philip, who were then Polemarchs or ſupreme magiſtrates of the city. As for Epaminondas, he had for ſome time diligently endeavoured to inſpire the younger Thebans by his diſcourſe with a paſſionate deſire to throw off the Spartan yoke. (q) He was ignorant of nothing that had been projected, but he believed, that he ought not to have any ſhare in it, becauſe, as he ſaid, he could not reſolve to imbrew his hands in the blood of his country; foreſeeing that his friends would not keep within the due bounds of the enterprize, however lawful in itſelf, and that the tyrants would not periſh alone; and convinced beſides, that a citizen, who ſhould not appear to have taken either party, would have it in his power to influence the people with better effect.

The day for the execution of the project being fixed, the exiles thought proper, that Pherenicus, with all the conſpirators, ſhould ſtop at Thriaſium, a little town not far from Thebes, and that a ſmall number of the youngeſt of them ſhould venture into the city. Twelve perſons of the beſt families of Thebes, all united by a ſtrict and faithful friendſhip with each other, though competitors for glory and honour, offered themſelves for this bold enterprize. Pelopidas was of this number. After having embraced their companions, and diſpatched a meſſenger to Charon to give him notice of their coming, they ſet out dreſt in mean habits, carrying hounds with them, and poles in their hands for pitching of nets, that ſuch as they met on the way might have no ſuſpicion of them, and take them only for hunters, that had wandered after their game.

(q) Plut. de gen. Socrat. p. 594.

Their

Their meſſenger being arrived at Thebes, and having informed Charon, that they were ſet out, the approach of danger did not alter his ſentiments, and as he wanted neither courage nor honour, he prepared his houſe for their reception.

One of the conſpirators, who was no bad man, loved his country, and would have ſerved the exiles with all his power, but had neither the reſolution nor conſtancy neceſſary for ſuch an enterprize, and could think of nothing but difficulties and obſtacles, that preſented themſelves in crowds to his imagination: much diſordered with the proſpect of danger, this perſon retired into his houſe without ſaying any thing, and diſpatched one of his friends to Melon and Pelopidas, to deſire them to defer their enterprize, and return to Athens till a more favourable opportunity. Happily that friend, not finding his horſe's bridle, and loſing a great deal of time in quarrelling with his wife, was prevented from going.

Pelopidas and his companions, diſguiſed like peaſants, and having ſeparated from each other, entered the city at different gates towards the cloſe of day. It was then early in the winter, the North wind blew, and the ſnow fell; which contributed to conceal them, every body keeping within doors upon account of the cold weather; beſides which, it gave them an opportunity of covering their faces. Some, who were in the ſecret, received and conducted them to Charon's houſe; where, of exiles and others, their whole number amounted to forty-eight.

Philidas, ſecretary to the * Bœotarchs, who was in the plot, had ſometime before invited Archias and his companions to ſupper, promiſing them an exquiſite repaſt, and the company of ſome of the fineſt women in the city. The gueſts being met at the appointed time, they ſate down to table. They had been free

* *The magiſtrates and generals, who were charged with the government of Thebes, were called Bœotarchs, that is to ſay, commanders or governors of Bœotia.*

with

with the glaſs, and were almoſt drunk, when it was whiſpered about, but not known where the report began, that the exiles were in the city. Philidas, without ſhewing any concern, did his utmoſt to change the diſcourſe. Archias however ſent one of his officers to Charon, with orders to come to him immediately. It was now late, and Pelopidas and the conſpirators were preparing to ſet out, and had put on their armour and ſwords, when, on a ſudden, they heard a knocking at the door. Some body went to it, and being told by the officer, that he was come from the magiſtrates with orders for Charon to attend them immediately; he ran to him half out of his wits to acquaint him with that terrible meſſage. They all concluded, that the conſpiracy was diſcovered, and believed themſelves loſt, before it would be poſſible to execute any thing worthy their cauſe and valour. However, they were all of opinion that Charon ſhould obey the order, and preſent himſelf with an air of aſſurance to the magiſtrates, as void of fear, and unconſcious of offence.

Charon was a man of intrepid courage in dangers which threatned only himſelf; but at that time, terrified for his friends, and apprehending alſo, that he ſhould be ſuſpected of ſome treachery, if ſo many brave citizens, whom he had received into his houſe ſhould be deſtroyed, he went to his wife's apartment, and fetched his only ſon of fifteen years old at moſt, who in beauty and ſtrength excelled all the youths of his age, and put him into the hands of Pelopidas, ſaying at the ſame time, "If you diſcover that I "have betrayed you, and have been guilty of trea-"chery upon this occaſion, revenge yourſelves on "me in this my only ſon, whom, as dear as he is "to me, I abandon to you, and let him fall a vic-"tim without mercy to his father's perfidy."

Theſe expreſſions wounded them to the heart; but what gave them the moſt ſenſible pain, was his imagining there was any one amongſt them ſo mean and

ungrateful

ungrateful to form to himſelf the leaſt ſuſpicion in regard to him. They conjured him unanimouſly not to leave his ſon with them, but to put him into ſome place of ſafety; that his friends and country might not want an avenger, if he ſhould be ſo fortunate to eſcape the tyrants. "No," replied the father, "he "ſhall ſtay with you, and ſhare your fate. If he "muſt periſh, what nobler end can he make, than "with his father and beſt friends? For you, my ſon, "exert yourſelf beyond your years, and ſhew a cou-"rage, worthy of you and of me. You ſee here "the moſt excellent of the Thebans. Make under "ſuch maſters a noble eſſay of glory, and learn to "fight, or if it muſt be ſo, to die like them, for "liberty. For the reſt, I am not without hopes, for "I believe, that the juſtice of our cauſe will draw "down the favour and protection of the gods upon "us." He concluded with a prayer for them, and after embracing the conſpirators went out.

He took pains on his way to recover himſelf, and to compoſe his looks and voice, that he might not appear under any concern. When he came to the door of the houſe where the feaſt was kept, Archias and Philidas came out to him, and aſked the meaning of a report, that diſaffected people were arrived in the city, and were concealed in ſome houſe. He ſeemed aſtoniſhed, and finding by their anſwers to his queſtions, that they had no preciſe information of any thing, he aſſumed a bolder tone, and ſaid; "It is "very likely the report you ſpeak of is only a falſe "alarm intended to interrupt your mirth: However, "as it ought not to be neglected, I'll go immediate-"ly and make the ſtricteſt enquiry poſſible into it." Philidas praiſed his prudence and zeal; and carrying Archias back into the company, he plunged him again in the debauch, and continued the entertainment, by keeping the gueſts in perpetual expectation of the women he had promiſed them.

Charon, on his return home, found his friends all prepared,

prepared, not to conquer or to ſave their lives, but to die glorioufly, and to ſell themſelves as dear as they could. The ſerenity and joy of his looks explained beforehand, that they had nothing to fear. He repeated all that had paſs'd; after which, they had no thoughts but of the inſtant execution of a deſign, to which the leaſt delay might occaſion a thouſand obſtacles.

In effect, at that very inſtant, happened a ſecond ſtorm, far more violent than the firſt, and which ſeemed as if it could not poſſibly fail of making the enterprize miſcarry. A courier from Athens arrived in great haſte with a packet, which contained a circumſtantial account of the whole conſpiracy, as was afterwards diſcovered. That courier was brought firſt to Archias, who was far gone in wine, and breathed nothing but pleaſure and the bottle. In giving him his diſpatches, he ſaid, "My lord, the perſon who "writes you theſe letters, conjures you to read them "immediately, being ſerious affairs." Archias replied laughing, * *Serious affairs to morrow*, which words were afterwards uſed by the Greeks as a proverb; and taking the letters, he put them under † his pillow, and continued the converſation and debauch.

The conſpirators were at that time in the ſtreets, divided into two parties; the one, with Pelopidas at their head, marched againſt Leontides, who was not at the feaſt; the other againſt Archias, under the command of Charon. Theſe had put on women's habits over their armour, and crowned themſelves with pine and poplar wreaths, which entirely covered their faces. When they came to the door of the apartment, where the feaſt was kept, the gueſts made a great noiſe, and ſet up loud ſhouts of joy. But they were told, that the women would not come in, till the ſervants were all diſmiſſed, which was done immediately. They were ſent to neighbouring houſes,

* Οὐκοῦν εἰς ἄυριον, ἔφη, τὰ σπουδαῖα.

† *The Greeks eat lying on beds.*

where

where there was no want of wine for their entertainment. The conſpirators, by this ſtratagem, having made themſelves maſters of the field of battle, entered ſword in hand, and ſhewing themſelves in their true colours, put all the gueſts to the ſword, and with them the magiſtrates, who were full of wine, and in no condition to defend themſelves. Pelopidas met with more reſiſtance. Leontides, who was aſleep in bed, awaked with the noiſe that was made, and riſing immediately, armed himſelf with his ſword, and laid ſome of the conſpirators at his feet, but was at laſt killed himſelf.

This grand affair being executed in this manner with ſo much diſpatch and ſucceſs, couriers were immediately diſpatched to Thriaſium. The doors of the priſons were broke open, and five hundred priſoners let out. The Thebans were called upon to reſume their liberty, and arms were given to all they met. The ſpoils affixed to the portico's were taken down, and the armourers and cutlers ſhops broke open for that purpoſe. Epaminondas and Gorgidas came in arms to join them, with ſome old perſons of great eſtimation, whom they had got together.

The whole city was in great terror and confuſion; the houſes all illuminated with torches, and the ſtreets thronged with the multitude paſſing to and fro. The people, in a conſternation at what had happened, and for want of ſufficient information, waited impatiently for the day to know their deſtiny. The Lacedæmonian captains were therefore thought guilty of a very great error in not falling upon them during their diſorder; for the garriſon conſiſted of fifteen hundred men, beſides three thouſand, who had taken refuge in the citadel. Alarmed by the cries they heard, the illuminations they ſaw in the houſes, and the tumult of the multitude running backwards and forwards, they lay ſtill, and contented themſelves with guarding the citadel, after having ſent couriers to Sparta with

the

the news of what had happened, and to demand an immediate reinforcement.

The next day at ſun-riſe the exiles arrived with their arms, and the people were ſummoned to aſſemble. Epaminondas and Gorgidas conducted Pelopidas thither, ſurrounded with all their ſacrificers, carrying in their hands the ſacred bandages and fillets, and exhorting the citizens to aſſiſt their country, and to join with their gods. At this ſight, the whole aſſembly roſe up with loud acclamations and clapping of hands, and received the conſpirators as their benefactors and deliverers. The ſame day, Pelopidas, Melon, and Charon were elected Bœotarchs.

Soon after the exiles, arrived five thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, ſent by the Athenians to Pelopidas, under the command of Demophoon. Thoſe troops, with others which joined them from all the cities of Bœotia, compoſed an army of twelve thouſand foot, and as many horſe, and without loſs of time beſieged the citadel, that it might be taken before relief could come from Sparta.

The beſieged made a vigorous defence in hopes of a ſpeedy ſuccour, and ſeemed reſolved rather to die than ſurrender the place; at leaſt, the Lacedæmonians were of that opinion: but they were not the greateſt number of the garriſon. When proviſions began to fall ſhort, and famine to preſs them, the reſt of the troops obliged the Spartans to ſurrender. The garriſon had their lives granted them, and were permitted to retire whither they thought fit. They were ſcarce marched out, when the aid arrived. The Lacedæmonians found Cleombrotus at Megara, at the head of a powerful army, which, with a little more expedition might have ſaved the citadel. But this was not the firſt time the natural ſlowneſs of the Lacedæmonians had occaſioned the miſcarriage of their enterprizes. The three commanders who had capitulated were tried. Two of them were puniſhed with death, and the third had ſo great a fine laid upon him,

him, that, not being able to pay it, he baniſhed himſelf from Peloponneſus.

Pelopidas had all the honour of this great exploit, the moſt memorable that ever was executed by ſurprize and ſtratagem. Plutarch with reaſon compares it to that of Thraſybulus. Both exiles, deſtitute in themſelves of all reſource, and reduced to implore a foreign ſupport, form the bold deſign of attacking a formidable power with an handful of men; and overcoming all obſtacles to their enterprize ſolely by their valour, had each of them the good fortune to deliver their country, and to change the face of its affairs entirely. For the Athenians were indebted to Thraſybulus for that ſudden and happy change, which freeing them from the oppreſſion they groaned under, not only reſtored their liberty, but with it their antient ſplendor, and put them into a condition to humble, and make Sparta tremble in their turn. We ſhall ſee in like manner, that the war which reduced the pride of Sparta, and deprived it of the empire by ſea and land, was the work of this ſingle night, in which Pelopidas, without taking either citadel or fortreſs, and entering only one of twelve into a private houſe, * unlooſed and broke the chains impoſed by the Lacedæmonians on all the other ſtates of Greece, though it appeared impracticable ever to produce ſuch an effect.

SECT. III. *Sphodrias the Lacedæmonian forms a deſign againſt the Piræus without ſucceſs. The Athenians declare for the Thebans. Skirmiſhes between the latter and the Lacedæmonians.*

(r) THE Lacedæmonians, after the injury they pretended to have received by the enterprize

(r) A. M. 3627. Ant. J. C. 377. Xenoph. l. 5. p. 568—572. Plut. in Ageſ. p. 609, 610. Id. in Pelop. p. 284, 285.

* Πελοπίδας, εἰ δεῖ μεταφορᾷ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἥλυσε καὶ διέκοψε τοὺς δεσμοὺς τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἡγεμονίας, ἀλύτους καὶ ἀῤῥήκτους εἶναι δοκοῦντας.

of

of Pelopidas, did not continue quiet, but applied themſelves in earneſt to their revenge. Ageſilaus, rightly judging an expedition of that kind, of which the end was to ſupport tyrants, would not reflect much honour upon him, left it to Cleombrotus, who had lately ſucceeded king Ageſipolis; under pretence that his great age diſpenſed with his undertaking it. Cleombrotus entered Bœotia with his army. The firſt campaign was not vigorous, and terminated in committing ſome ravages in the country; after which, the king retired, and detaching part of his troops to Sphodrias, who commanded at Theſpiæ, returned to Sparta.

The Athenians, who did not think themſelves in a condition to make head againſt the Lacedæmonians, and were afraid of the conſequences, in which their league with the Thebans was likely to engage them, repented their having entered into it, and renounced it. Thoſe, who perſiſted to adhere to the Theban party, were ſome impriſoned, ſome put to death, others baniſhed, and the rich ſeverely fined. The Theban affairs ſeemed almoſt deſperate; not having any alliance to ſupport them. Pelopidas and Gorgidas were then at the head of them, and were ſtudious of finding means to embroil the Athenians with the Lacedæmonians; and this was the ſtratagem they contrived.

Sphodrias the Spartan had been left at Theſpiæ with a body of troops, to receive and protect ſuch of the Bœotians as ſhould revolt againſt Thebes. He had acquired ſome reputation amongſt the ſoldiery, and wanted neither courage nor ambition; but he was raſh, ſuperficial, full of himſelf, and conſequently apt to entertain vain hopes. Pelopidas and Gorgidas ſent privately a merchant of his own acquaintance to him, with the offer, as from himſelf, of a conſiderable ſum of money, and with inſinuations ſtill more agreeable to him than money, as they flattered his vanity. "After having repreſented to him, that "one of his meritand reputation ought to form ſome

" great enterprize to immortalize his name; he pro-
" posed to him the seizing of the Piræus by surprize,
" when the Athenians had no expectation of such an
" attempt: He added, that nothing could be more
" grateful to the Lacedæmonians, than to see them-
" selves masters of Athens; and that the Thebans, en-
" raged at the Athenians, whom they considered as
" traytors and deserters, would lend them no assist-
" ance."

Sphodrias, fond of acquiring a great name, and envying the glory of Phæbidas, who, in his sense, had rendered himself renowned and illustrious by his unjust attempt upon Thebes, conceived it would be a much more shining and glorious exploit to seize the Piræus of his own accord, and deprive the Athenians of their great power at sea, by an unforeseen attack by land. He undertook the enterprize therefore with great joy; which was neither less unjust nor less horrid than that of the Cadmea, but not executed with the same boldness and success. For having set out in the night from Thespiæ, with the view of surprizing the Piræus before light, the day-break overtook him in the plain of Thriasium near Eleusis, and finding himself discovered, he returned shamefully to Thespiæ with some booty which he had taken.

The Athenians immediately sent ambassadors with their complaints to Sparta. Those ambassadors found, that the Lacedæmonians had not waited their arrival to accuse Sphodrias, but had already cited him before the council to answer for his conduct. He was afraid to obey that summons, having just reason to apprehend the issue of a trial, and the resentment of his country. He had a son, who had contracted a strict and tender friendship with the son of Agesilaus. The latter sollicited his father so earnestly, or rather tormented him with such extreme importunity and perseverance, that he could not refuse Sphodrias his protection, and got him fully absolved. Agesilaus was little delicate, as we have seen already, in point of

justice,

juſtice, when the ſervice of his friends was in queſtion. He was beſides, of all mankind, the moſt tender and indulgent father to his children. It is reported of him, that when they were little, he would play with them, and divert himſelf with riding upon a ſtick amongſt them; and that having been ſurprized by a friend in that action, he deſired him not to tell any body of it till he himſelf was a father.

(s) The unjuſt ſentence paſſed in favour of Sphodrias by the Spartans, exceedingly incenſed the Athenians, and determined them to renew their alliance with Thebes immediately, and to aſſiſt them with all their power. They fitted out a fleet, and gave the command of it to Timotheus, ſon of the illuſtrious Conon, whoſe reputation he well ſuſtained by his own valour and exploits. It was he, whom his enemies, in envy of the glory he had acquired by his great actions, painted ſleeping with the goddeſs Fortune at his feet taking towns in nets for him (t): But upon this occaſion he proved that he was not aſleep. After having ravaged the coaſt of Laconia, he attacked the iſle of Corcyra (u), which he took. He treated the inhabitants with great humanity, and made no alteration in their liberty or laws, which very much inclined the neighbouring cities in favour of Athens. The Spartans on their ſide made powerful preparations for the war, and were principally intent upon retaking Corcyra. Its happy ſituation between Sicily and Greece rendered that iſland very important. They therefore engaged Dionyſius the tyrant in the expedition, and demanded aid of him. In the mean time they diſpatched their fleet under Mnaſippus. The Athenians ſent ſixty ſail againſt them to the relief of Corcyra, under Timotheus at firſt; but ſoon after, upon his ſeeming to act too ſlowly, Iphicrates was ſubſtituted in his place. Mnaſippus having made himſelf odious to his troops by his haughtineſs, rigour and

(s) Xenoph. l. 5. p. 584—589. Plut. in Ageſ. p. 610, 611. Id. in Pelop. p. 285--288. (t) Plut. in Syl. p. 454. (u) *Corfu.*

 avarice,

avarice, was very ill obeyed by them, and loſt his life in an engagement. Iphicrates did not arrive till after his death, when he received advice, that the Syracuſan ſquadron of ten gallies approached, which he attacked ſo ſucceſsfully, that not one of them eſcaped. He had demanded, that the orator Calliſtratus, and Chabrias one of the moſt renowned captains of his time, ſhould be joined in commiſſion with him. Xenophon admires his wiſdom and greatneſs of ſoul upon that account, in being ſatisfied with appearing to have occaſion for counſel, and not apprehending to ſhare the glory of his victories with others.

Ageſilaus had been prevailed upon to take upon him the command of the troops againſt Thebes. He entered Bœotia, where he did abundance of damage to the Thebans, not without conſiderable loſs on his own ſide. The two armies came every day to blows, and were perpetually engaged, though not in formal battle, yet in ſkirmiſhes, which ſerved to inſtruct the Thebans in the trade of war, and to inſpire them with valour, boldneſs, and experience. It is reported that the Spartan Antalcides told Ageſilaus very juſtly upon this head, when he was brought back from Bœotia much wounded, *My lord Ageſilaus, you have a fine reward for the leſſons you have given the Thebans in the art of war, which, before you taught it them, they neither would, nor could learn.* It was to prevent this inconvenience, that Lycurgus, in one of the three laws which he calls *Rhetræ*, forbad the Lacedæmonians to make war often upon the ſame enemy, leſt they ſhould make them too good ſoldiers, by obliging them to the frequent defence of themſelves.

Several campaigns paſſed in this manner without any thing deciſive on either ſide. It was prudent in the Theban generals not to hazard a battle hitherto, and to give their ſoldiers time to inure and imbolden themſelves. When the occaſion was favourable, they let them looſe like generous hounds, and after having given them a taſte of victory by way of reward, they

called them off, contented with their courage and alacrity. The principal glory of their ſucceſs and this wiſe conduct was due to Pelopidas.

The engagement at Tegyra, which was a kind of prelude to the battle of Leuctra, added much to his reputation. Having failed in his enterprize againſt Orchomenos, which had joined the Lacedæmonians, at his return he found the enemy poſted to intercept him near Tegyra. Aſſoon as the Thebans perceived them from the defiles, ſomebody run in all haſte to Pelopidas and told him, *We are fallen into the enemy's hands.* *Ah!* replied he, *why ſhould we not rather ſay, that they are fallen into ours?* At the ſame time he ordered his cavalry, which were his rear-guard, to advance to the front, that they might begin the fight. He was aſſured, that his foot, which were only three hundred men, and were called the *ſacred battalion*, would break through the enemy, wherever they charged, though ſuperior in number, as they were by at leaſt two thirds. The aſſault began where the generals of each party were poſted, and was very rude. The two generals of the Lacedæmonians, who had charged Pelopidas, were preſently killed; all that were with them being either ſlain or diſperſed. The reſt of the Lacedæmonian troops were ſo daunted, that they opened a paſſage for the Thebans, who might have marched on to ſave themſelves if they had thought fit: But Pelopidas, diſdaining to make uſe of that opening for his retreat, advanced againſt thoſe who who were ſtill drawn up in battle, and made ſo great a ſlaughter of them, that they were all diſmayed, and fled in diſorder. The Thebans did not purſue them far, leſt they ſhould be ſurprized. They contented themſelves with having broken them, and with making a glorious retreat not inferior to a victory, becauſe through the enemy diſperſed and defeated.

This little encounter, for it can be called no more, was in a manner the ſource of the great actions and events we are about to treat of. It had never hap-

pened till then in any war, either againſt the Barbarians or Greeks, that the Lacedæmonians had been defeated with the ſuperiority of number on their ſide, nor even with equal forces in battle array. For which reaſon they were inſupportably proud, and their reputation alone kept their enemies in awe, who never durſt ſhew themſelves in the field before them unleſs ſuperior in number. They now loſt that glory, and the Thebans in their turn became the terror and dread even of thoſe, who had rendered themſelves ſo univerſally formidable.

(x) The enterprize of Artaxerxes Mnemon againſt Egypt, and the death of Evagoras king of Cyprus, ſhould naturally come in here. But I ſhall defer thoſe articles, to avoid breaking in upon the Theban affairs.

SECT. IV. *New troubles in Greece. The Lacedæmonians declare war againſt Thebes. They are defeated and put to flight in the battle of Leuctra. Epaminondas ravages Laconia, and marches to the gates of Sparta.*

(y) WHILST the Perſians were engaged in the Egyptian war, great troubles aroſe in Greece. In that interval the Thebans, having taken Platæa (z) and afterwards Theſpiæ, entirely demoliſhed thoſe cities, and expelled the inhabitants. The Platæans retired to Athens with their wives and children, where they were received with the utmoſt favour, and adopted into the number of the citizens.

(a) Artaxerxes, being informed of the ſtate of the Grecian affairs, ſent a new embaſſy thither to perſuade the ſeveral cities and republics at war to lay down their arms, and accommodate their differences upon the plan of the treaty of Antalcides. By that

(x) A. M. 3627. A. M. 3630. (y) Diod. l. 51. p. 361, 362. (z) *Platæa, a city of Bœotia. Theſpiæ of Achaia.*
(a) A. M. 3633. Ant. J. C. 371. Xenoph. hiſt. Græc. l. 6. p. 590--593. Dion. p. 365, 366.

peace,

peace, as has been obſerved in its place, it was concluded, that all the cities of Greece ſhould enjoy their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. In virtue of this article, the Lacedæmonians preſs'd the Thebans to reſtore their liberty to all the cities of Bœotia, to rebuild Platæa and Theſpiæ which they had demoliſhed, and to reſtore them with their dependences to their antient inhabitants. The Thebans on their ſide inſiſted alſo, that the Lacedæmonians ſhould give liberty to all thoſe of Laconia, and that the city of Meſſene ſhould be reſtored to its antient poſſeſſors. This was what equity required; but the Lacedæmonians believing themſelves much ſuperior to the Thebans, were for impoſing a law upon them, which they would not ſubmit to themſelves.

All Greece being weary of a war, which had already laſted ſeveral campaigns, and had no other cauſe but the Spartan ambition and injuſtice, nor any other end than the aggrandizing of that ſtate, was ſeriouſly intent upon a general peace, and, with that view, had ſent deputies to Lacedæmon, to concert together the means of attaining ſo deſirable an effect. (*b*) Amongſt thoſe deputies Epaminondas was of the firſt rank. He was at that time celebrated for his great erudition and profound knowledge in philoſophy; but he had not yet given any very diſtinguiſhed proofs of his great capacity for the command of armies, and the adminiſtration of public affairs. Seeing that all the deputies, out of reſpect for Ageſilaus who declared openly for the war, were afraid to contradict him, or to differ from his opinion in any thing, a very common effect of too imperious a power on one ſide, and too ſervile a ſubmiſſion on the other; he was the only one that ſpoke with a wiſe and noble boldneſs, as became a ſtateſman who had no other view but the public good. He made a ſpeech not for the Thebans alone, but for Greece in general; in which he proved, that the war augmented only the power

(*b*) Plut. in Ageſil. p. 611.

of Sparta, whilſt the reſt of Greece was reduced, and ruined by it. He inſiſted principally upon the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing the peace in equality and juſtice, becauſe no peace could be ſolid and of long duration, but that wherein all parties ſhould find an equal advantage.

A diſcourſe like this, founded evidently upon reaſon and juſtice, and pronounced with a grave and ſerious tone, never fails of making impreſſion. Ageſilaus plainly diſtinguiſhed, from the attention and ſilence with which it was heard, that the deputies were extremely affected with it, and would not fail to act conformably to his opinion. To prevent that effect, he demanded of Epaminondas, *Whether he thought it juſt and reaſonable, that Bœotia ſhould be free and independent*, that is to ſay, whether he agreed, that the cities of Bœotia ſhould depend no longer upon Thebes. Epaminondas immediately aſked in his turn with great vivacity, *Whether he thought it juſt and reaſonable, that Laconia ſhould enjoy the ſame independence and liberty.* Upon which Ageſilaus riſing from his ſeat in great rage, inſiſted upon his declaring plainly, *whether he would conſent that Bœotia ſhould be free?* Epaminondas retorted his queſtion again, and aſked, *Whether, on his ſide, he would conſent that Laconia ſhould be free?* Ageſilaus, who wanted only a pretext for breaking with the Thebans, ſtruck them directly out of the treaty of alliance, which they were about to conclude. The reſt of the allies ſigned it, leſs out of inclination, than not to offend the Lacedæmonians, whoſe power they dreaded.

(*c*) In conſequence of this treaty, all troops in the field were to be diſbanded. Cleombrotus, one of the kings of Sparta, was then at Phocis, at the head of the army. He wrote to the Ephori to know the republic's reſolutions. Prothous, one of the principal ſenators, repreſented, that there was no room for de-

(*c*) Xenoph. l, 6. p. 593—597. Diod. l. 15. p. 365—371. Plut. in Ageſil. p. 611, 612. Id. in Pelop. p. 288, 289.

liberations,

liberations, for that Sparta, by the late agreement, had made the recal of the troops indiſpenſible. Ageſilaus was of a different opinion. Angry with the Thebans, and particularly with Epaminondas, he was abſolutely bent on the war for an opportunity of revenge, and the preſent ſeemed moſt favourable, when all Greece was free and united, and only the Thebans excluded the treaty of peace. The advice of Prothous was therefore rejected by the whole council, * who treated him as an honeſt well-meaning dotard that knew nothing of the matter; the Divinity, from thenceforth, as Xenophon obſerves, promoting their downfal. The Ephori wrote immediately to Cleombrotus to march againſt the Thebans with his troops, and ſent orders at the ſame time to all their allies to aſſemble their forces, who were very averſe to this war, and did not join in it but with great reluctance, and out of fear of contradicting the Lacedæmonians, whom they did not yet dare to diſobey. Though no happy conſequences could be expected from a war, viſibly undertaken contrary to all reaſon and juſtice, and from the ſole motive of reſentment and revenge; the Lacedæmonians however, from the ſuperiority of their numbers, aſſured themſelves of ſucceſs, and imagined that the Thebans, abandoned by their allies, were in no condition to oppoſe them.

(*d*) The Thebans were much alarmed at firſt. They ſaw themſelves alone, without allies or ſupport, whilſt all Greece looked upon them as utterly loſt; not knowing that in a ſingle man they had more than armies. This was Epaminondas. He was appointed general, and had ſeveral collegues joined in commiſſion with him. He immediately raiſed all the troops he could, and began his march. His army did not amount to ſix thouſand men, and the enemy had above four times that number. As ſeveral bad omens

(*d*) A. M. 3634. Ant. J. C. 370.

* Ἐκεῖνον μὲν φλυαρεῖν ἡγήσατο· ἤδη γὰρ ὡς ἔοικε τὸ δαιμόνιον ἦγε.

were told him to prevent his ſetting out, he replied only by a verſe of Homer's, of which the ſenſe is, * *There is but one good omen, to fight for one's country.* However, to re-aſſure the ſoldiers, by nature ſuperſtitious, and whom he obſerved to be diſcouraged, he inſtructed ſeveral perſons to come from different places, and report auguries and omens in his favour, which revived the ſpirit and hopes of the troops.

Pelopidas was not then in office, but commanded *the ſacred battalion.* When he left his houſe to go to the army, his wife, in taking her laſt adieu, conjured him with a flood of tears to take care of himſelf; *That,* ſaid he, *ſhould be recommended to young people; but for generals, they have no occaſion for ſuch advice; the care of others ſhould be recommended to them.*

Epaminondas had wiſely taken care to ſecure a paſs, by which Cleombrotus might have ſhortened his march conſiderably. The latter, after having taken a large compaſs, arrived at Leuctra, a ſmall town of Bœotia, between Platæa and Theſpiæ. Both parties conſulted whether they ſhould give battle; which Cleombrotus reſolved by the advice of all his officers, who repreſented to him, that if he declined fighting with ſuch a ſuperiority of troops, it would confirm the current report, that he ſecretly favoured the Thebans. The latter had an eſſential reaſon for haſtening a battle before the arrival of the troops, which the enemy daily expected. However the ſix generals, who formed the council of war, differed in their ſentiments. The ſeventh, who was Epaminondas, came in very good time to join the three, that were for fighting, and his opinion carrying the queſtion, the battle was reſolved upon. This was in the ſecond year of the 102d olympiad.

The two armies were very unequal in number. That of the Lacedæmonians, as has been ſaid, conſiſted of twenty four thouſand foot, and ſixteen hundred horſe. The Thebans had only ſix thouſand foot

* Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος, ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης. Iliad. xi. v. 423.

and

and four hundred horſe; but all of them choice troops, animated by their experience of the war, and determined to conquer or die. The Lacedæmonian cavalry, compoſed of men picked up by chance, without valour, and ill diſciplined, was as much inferior to their enemies in courage, as ſuperior in number. The infantry could not be depended on, except the Lacedæmonians; the allies, as has been ſaid, having engaged in the war with reluctance, becauſe they did not approve the motive of it, and were beſides diſſatisfied with the Lacedæmonians.

The ability of the generals on either ſide ſupplied the place of numerous armies, eſpecially of the Theban, who was the moſt accompliſhed captain of his times. He was ſupported by Pelopidas at the head of *the ſacred battalion*, compoſed of three hundred Thebans, united in a ſtrict friendſhip and affection, and engaged under a particular oath never to fly, but to defend each other to the laſt drop of their blood.

Upon the day of battle the two armies drew up on a plain. Cleombrotus was upon the right, conſiſting of Lacedæmonians, on whom he confided moſt, and whoſe files were twelve deep. To take the advantage, which his ſuperiority of horſe gave him, in an open country, he poſted them in the front of his Lacedæmonians. Archidamus, Ageſilaus's ſon, was at the head of the allies, who formed the left wing.

Epaminondas, who reſolved to charge with his leſt, which he commanded in perſon, ſtrengthened it with the choice of his heavy-armed troops, whom he drew up fifty deep. *The ſacred battalion* was upon his left, and cloſed the wing. The reſt of his infantry were poſted upon his right in an oblique line, which, the farther it extended, was the more diſtant from the enemy. By this uncommon diſpoſition, his deſign was to cover his flank on the right, to keep off his right wing as a kind of reſerved body, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon the weakeſt part of his army; and to begin the action with his

left wing, where his beſt troops were poſted, to turn the whole weight of the battle upon king Cleombrotus and the Spartans. He was aſſured, that if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian Phalanx, the reſt of the army would ſoon be put to the rout. As for his horſe, he diſpoſed them after the enemy's example in the front of his left.

The action began by the cavalry. As that of the Thebans were better mounted and braver troops than the Lacedæmonian horſe, the latter were not long before they were broke, and driven upon the infantry, which they put into ſome confuſion. Epaminondas following his horſe cloſe, marched ſwiftly up to Cleombrotus, and fell upon his Phalanx with all the weight of his heavy battalion. The latter, to make a diverſion, detached a body of troops with orders to take Epaminondas in flank, and to furround him. Pelopidas upon the ſight of that movement, advanced with incredible ſpeed and boldneſs at the head of *the ſacred battalion* to prevent the enemy's deſign, and flanked Cleombrotus himſelf, who, by that ſudden and unexpected attack, was put into diſorder. The battle was very rude and obſtinate, and whilſt Cleombrotus could act, the victory continued in ſuſpenſe, and declared for neither party. When he fell dead with his wounds, the Thebans, to compleat the victory, and the Lacedæmonians, to avoid the ſhame of abandoning the body of their king, redoubled their efforts, and a great ſlaughter enſued on both ſides. The Spartans fought with ſo much fury about the body, that at length they gained their point, and carried it off. Animated by ſo glorious an advantage, they prepared to return to the charge, which would perhaps have proved ſucceſsful, had the allies ſeconded their ardor. But the left wing, ſeeing the Lacedæmonian Phalanx had been broke, and believing all loſt, eſpecially when they heard that the king was dead, took to flight, and drew off the reſt of the army along with them. Epaminondas followed them vigorouſly,

vigorouſly, and killed a great number in the purſuit. The Thebans remained maſters of the field of battle, erected a trophy, and permitted the enemy to bury their dead.

The Lacedæmonians had never received ſuch a blow. The moſt bloody defeats till then had ſcarce ever coſt them more than four or five hundred of their citizens. They had been ſeen, however animated, or rather violently incenſed againſt Athens, to ranſom by a truce of thirty years eight hundred of their citizens, who had ſuffered themſelves to be ſhut up in the little iſland of Sphacteria. Here they loſt four thouſand men, of whom one thouſand were Lacedæmonians, and four hundred * Spartans, out of ſeven hundred who were in the battle. The Thebans had only three hundred men killed, among whom were few of their citizens.

The city of Sparta celebrated at that time the Gymnic games, and was full of ſtrangers, whom curioſity had brought thither. When the couriers arrived from Leuctra with the terrible news of their defeat, the Ephori, though perfectly ſenſible of all the conſequences, and that the Spartan empire had received a mortal wound, would not permit the repreſentations of the theatre to be ſuſpended, nor any changes in the celebration of the feſtival. They ſent to every family the names of their relations, who were killed, and ſtayed in the theatre to ſee that the dances and games were continued without interruption to the end.

The next day in the morning the loſs of each family being known, the fathers and relations of thoſe who had died in the battle, met in the public place, and ſaluted and embraced each other with great joy and ſerenity in their looks; whilſt the others kept themſelves cloſe in their houſes, or if neceſſity obliged them to go abroad, it was with a ſadneſs and dejection

* *Thoſe were properly called Spartans, who inhabited Sparta; the Lacedæmonians were ſettled in the country.*

of

of aſpect, which ſenſibly expreſſed their profound anguiſh and affliction. That difference was ſtill more remarkable in the women. Grief, ſilence, tears, diſtinguiſhed thoſe who expected the return of their ſons; but ſuch as had loſt their ſons were ſeen hurrying to the temples to thank the gods, and congratulating each other upon their glory and good fortune. It cannot be denied, but ſuch ſentiments argue great courage and reſolution; but I would not have them entirely extinguiſh natural tenderneſs, and ſhould have been better pleaſed, had there been leſs of * ferocity in them.

Sparta was under no ſmall difficulty to know how to act in regard to thoſe who had fled from the battle. As they were numerous, and of the moſt powerful families in the city, it was not ſafe to inflict upon them the puniſhments aſſigned by the laws, leſt their deſpair ſhould induce them to take ſome violent reſolution fatal to the ſtate. For ſuch as fled were not only excluded from all offices and employments, but it was a diſgrace to contract any alliance with them by marriage. Any body that met them in the ſtreets might buffet them, which they were obliged to ſuffer. They were beſides to wear dirty and ragged habits, full of patches of different colours. And laſtly, they were to ſhave half their beards, and to let the other half grow. It was a great loſs to the Spartans to be deprived of ſo many of their ſoldiery, at a time when they had ſuch preſſing occaſion for them. To remove this difficulty, they choſe Ageſilaus Legiſlator, with abſolute power to make ſuch alterations in the laws as he ſhould think fit. Ageſilaus, without adding, retrenching, or changing any thing, found means to ſave the fugitives without prejudice to the

* *Mr. Rollin ſeems to ſpeak here en François. The ſentiments of the Spartans have no exception, and are ſtrictly conſiſtent with true greatneſs of ſoul. None but ſlaves will deny, that the next glory and good fortune to defending their country againſt its enemies, when its ruin is at ſtake, is to die in its defence. Slaves have no country. That and themſelves are the tyrants.*

ſtate. In a full aſſembly of the Lacedæmonians, he decreed, *That for the preſent day, the laws ſhould be ſuſpended, and of no effect; but ever after to remain in full force and authority.* By thoſe few words he preſerved the Spartan laws entire, and at the ſame time, reſtored to the ſtate that great number of its members, in preventing their being for ever degraded, and conſequentially uſeleſs to the republic.

(*e*) After the battle of Leuctra the two parties were induſtriouſly employed, the one in retrieving, and the other in improving their victory.

(*f*) Ageſilaus, to revive the courage of his troops, marched them into Arcadia; but with a full reſolution, carefully to avoid a battle. He confined himſelf to attacking ſome ſmall towns of the Mantinæans, which he took, and laid the country waſte. This gave Sparta ſome joy, and they began to take courage from believing their condition not entirely deſperate.

The Thebans, ſoon after their victory, ſent an account of it to Athens, and to demand aid at the ſame time againſt the common enemy. The ſenate was then ſitting, which received the courier with great coldneſs, did not make him the uſual preſents, and diſmiſſed him without taking any notice of aid. The Athenians, alarmed at the conſiderable advantage which the Thebans had gained over the Lacedæmonians, could not diſſemble the umbrage and diſſatisfaction which ſo ſudden and unexpected an increaſe of a neighbouring power gave them, which might ſoon render itſelf formidable to all Greece.

At Thebes, Epaminondas and Pelopidas had been elected joint governors of Bœotia. Having aſſembled all the troops of the Bœotians and their allies, whoſe number daily increaſed, they entered Peloponneſus, and made abundance of places and people revolt from the Lacedæmonians; Elis, Argos, Arcadia, and the

(*e*) Xenoph. l. 6. p. 598. Diod. l. 15. p. 375—378. (*f*) Plut. in Ageſil. p. 613—615. Id. in Pelop. p. 290.

greateſt

greateſt part of Laconia itſelf. It was then about the winter-ſolſtice, and towards the end of the laſt month of the year, ſo that in a few days they were to quit their offices; the firſt day of the next month being aſſigned by law, for their reſigning them to the perſons appointed to ſucceed them, upon pain of death, if they held them beyond that term. Their collegues, apprehending the badneſs of the ſeaſon, and more, the dreadful conſequences of infringing that law, were for marching back the army immediately to Thebes. Pelopidas was the firſt, who, entering into the opinion of Epaminondas, animated the citizens, and engaged them to take the advantage of the enemy's alarm, and to purſue their enterprize in neglect of a formality, from the obſervance of which they might juſtly believe themſelves diſpenſed by the ſtate itſelf, as the ſervice of the ſtate, when founded in juſtice, is the ſovereign law and rule of the people's obedience.

They entered Laconia therefore at the head of an army of ſeventy thouſand good ſoldiers, of which, the twelfth part were not Thebans. The great reputation of the two generals was the cauſe, that all the allies, even without order or public decree, obeyed them with reſpectful ſilence, and marched with entire confidence and courage under their command. It was ſix hundred years ſince the Dorians had eſtabliſhed themſelves at Lacedæmon, and in all that time, they had never ſeen an enemy upon their lands; none daring till then to ſet foot in them, and much leſs to attack their city, though without walls. The Thebans and their allies, finding a country hitherto untouched by an enemy, ran through it with fire and ſword, deſtroying and plundering as far as the river Eurotas, without any oppoſition whatſoever.

Parties had been poſted to defend ſome important paſſes. Iſcholas the Spartan, who commanded one of theſe detachments, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a peculiar manner. Finding it impoſſible, with his ſmall body of troops, to ſupport the enemy's attack, and

think-

thinking it below a Spartan to abandon his poſt, he ſent back the young men, who were of age and condition to ſerve their country effectually, and kept none with him but ſuch as were advanced in years. With theſe dovoting himſelf after the example of Leonidas to the public good, they ſold their lives dear; and after having defended themſelves a long time, and made a great ſlaughter of their enemies, they all periſhed to a man.

Ageſilaus acted upon this occaſion with great addreſs and wiſdom. He looked upon this irruption of the enemy as an impetuous torrent, which it was not only in vain, but dangerous, to oppoſe, whoſe rapid courſe would be but of ſhort duration, and after ſome ravages ſubſide of itſelf. He contented himſelf with diſtributing his beſt troops into the middle, and all the moſt important parts of the city, ſtrongly ſecuring all the poſts. He was determined not to quit the town, nor to hazard a battle, and perſiſted in that reſolution, without regard to all the raillery, inſults, and menaces of the Thebans, who defied him by name, and called upon him to come out and defend his country, who had alone been the cauſe of all its ſufferings, in kindling the war.

But far greater afflictions to Ageſilaus were the commotions and diſorders excited within the city, the murmurs and complaints of the old men in the higheſt affliction and deſpair from being witneſſes of what they ſaw, as well as of the women, who ſeemed quite diſtracted with hearing the threatning cries of the enemy, and ſeeing the neighbouring country all on fire, whilſt the flames and ſmoke, which drove almoſt upon them, ſeemed to denounce a like misfortune to themſelves. Whatever courage Ageſilaus might expreſs in his outward behaviour, he could not fail of being ſenſibly affected with ſo mournful an object, to which was added, the grief of loſing his reputation; who, having found the city in a moſt flouriſhing and potent condition, when he came to the government, now ſaw it

fallen

fallen to such a degree, and all its antient glory lost under him! He was besides, secretly mortified at so mournful a contradiction of a boast he had often made, *That no woman of Sparta had ever seen the smoke of an enemy's camp.*

Whilst he was giving different orders in the city, he was informed, that a certain number of mutineers had seized an important post, with a resolution to defend themselves in it. Agesilaus ran immediately thither, and as if he had been entirely unacquainted with their bad design, he said to them, *Comrades, it is not there I sent you.* At the same time he pointed to different posts to divide them; to which they went, believing their enterprize had not been discovered. This order, which he gave without emotion, argues a great presence of mind in Agesilaus, and shews, that in times of trouble it is not proper to see too much, that the culpable may not want time to reflect and repent. He thought it more advisable to suppose that small troop innocent, than to urge them to a declared revolt by a too rigorous enquiry.

The Eurotas was at that time very much swoln by the melting of the snows, and the Thebans found more difficulty in passing it than they expected, as well from the extreme coldness of the water, as its rapidity. As Epaminondas passed at the head of his infantry, some of the Spartans shewed him to Agesilaus; who, after having attentively considered and followed him with his eyes a long time, said only, * *Wonderful man!* in admiration of the valour that could undertake such great things. Epaminondas would have been glad to have given battle in Sparta, and to have erected a trophy in the midst of it. He did not however think proper to attempt the forcing of the city, and not being able to induce Agesilaus to quit it, chose to retire. It would have been difficult for Sparta, without aid, and unfortified, to have

* Ω τῦ μεγαλοπρέπειας ἀνθρώπε, *the Greek expression is not easy to be translated. It signifies,* Oh the actor of great deeds!

defended

defended itſelf long againſt a victorious army. But the wiſe captain who commanded it, apprehended, that he ſhould draw upon his hands the whole force of Peloponneſus, and ſtill more, that he ſhould excite the jealouſy of the Greeks, who would never have pardoned his deſtroying ſo potent a republic, and *pulling out*, as Leptinus ſays, *one of the eyes of Greece*, as a proof of his ſkill (*g*). He confined himſelf therefore to the glory of having humbled the proud, whoſe Laconic language added new haughtineſs to their commands, and of having reduced them to the neceſſity, as he boaſted himſelf, of enlarging their ſtile, and lengthening their * monoſyllables. At his return he again waſted the country.

(*b*) In this expedition the Thebans re-inſtated Arcadia into one body, and took Meſſenia from the Spartans, who had been in poſſeſſion of it † very long, after having expelled all its inhabitants. It was a country equal in extent to Laconia, and as fertile as the beſt in Greece. Its antient inhabitants, who were diſperſed in different regions of Greece, Italy and Sicily, on the firſt notice given them, returned with incredible joy; animated by the love of their country natural to all men, and almoſt as much by their hatred of the Spartans, which the length of time had only increaſed. They built themſelves a city, which, from the antient name, was called Meſſene. Amongſt the bad events of this war, none gave the Lacedæmonians more ſenſible diſpleaſure, or rather more lively grief; becauſe from immemorial time an irreconcileable enmity had ſubſiſted between Sparta and Meſſene, which ſeemed incapable of being extinguiſhed but by the final ruin of the one or the other.

(*g*) Ariſt. Rhet. l. 3. c. 10.

(*b*) Pauſ. l. 4. p. 267, 268.

* *The Lacedæmonians ſometimes anſwered the moſt important diſpatches by a ſingle monoſyllable. Philip having wrote to them*, If I enter your country, I ſhall put all to fire and ſword; *they replied*, It: *to ſignify they ſhould take all poſſible care to put it out of his power.*

† *The Meſſenians had been driven out of their country two hundred and eighty-seven years.*

(*i*) Polybius

(*i*) Polybius reflects upon an antient error in the conduct of the Meſſenians with regard to Sparta, which was the cauſe of all their misfortunes. This was their too great ſollicitude for the preſent tranquillity, and through an exceſſive love of peace, their neglecting the means of making it ſure and laſting. Two of the moſt powerful ſtates of Greece were their neighbours, the Arcadians and Lacedæmonians. The latter, from their firſt ſettlement in the country, had declared open war againſt them: the others on the contrary always joined with them, and entered into all their intereſts. But the Meſſenians had neither the courage to oppoſe their violent and irreconcileable enemies with valour and conſtancy, nor the prudence to treat with due regard their faithful and affectionate allies. When the two ſtates were either at war with each other, or carried their arms elſewhere, the Meſſenians, little provident for the future, and regarding only their preſent repoſe, made it a rule with them never to engage in the quarrel on either ſide, and to obſerve an exact neutrality. On ſuch conjunctures they congratulated themſelves upon their wiſdom and ſucceſs in preſerving their tranquillity, whilſt their neighbours all around them were involved in trouble and confuſion. But this tranquillity was of no long duration. The Lacedæmonians, having ſubdued their enemies, fell upon them with all their forces; and finding them unſupported by allies, and incapable of defending themſelves, they reduced them to ſubmit, either to the yoke of a rigid ſlavery, or to baniſh themſelves from their country. And this was ſeveral times their caſe. They ought to have reflected, ſays Polybius, * that as there is nothing more deſireable or advantagious than peace, when founded in juſtice and honour; ſo there is nothing more ſhame-

(*i*) Polyb. l. 4. p. 299, 300.

* Εἰρήνη ἡ, μετὰ μὲν τοῦ δικαίου καὶ πρέποντος, κάλλιστόν ἐστι κτῆμα καὶ λυσιτελέσατον· μετὰ δὲ κακίας ἢ ἀδικίας ἐπονειδίστου, πάντων ἄισχιστον καὶ βλαβερώτατον.

ful,

ful, and at the ſame time more pernicious, when attained by bad meaſures, and purchaſed at the price of liberty.

SECT. V. *The two Theban generals, at their return, are accuſed, and abſolved. Sparta implores aid of the Athenians. The Greeks ſend ambaſſadors to Artaxerxes. Credit of Pelopidas at the court of Perſia.*

IT might be expected, that the two Theban captains, on their return to their country after ſuch memorable actions, ſhould have been received with the general applauſe, and all the honours, that could be conferred upon them. Inſtead of which, they were both ſummoned to anſwer as criminals againſt the ſtate; in having, contrary to the law, whereby they were obliged to reſign their command to new officers, retained it four months beyond the appointed term; during which they had executed in Meſſenia, Arcadia, and Laconia, all thoſe great things we have related.

A behaviour of this kind is ſurprizing, and the relation of it cannot be read without a ſecret indignation: But ſuch a conduct had a very plauſible foundation. The zealous aſſertors of a liberty lately regained, were apprehenſive that the example might prove very pernicious, in authorizing ſome future magiſtrate to maintain himſelf in command beyond the eſtabliſhed term, and in conſequence to turn his arms againſt his country. It is not to be doubted, but the Romans would have acted in the ſame manner; and if they were ſo ſevere, to put an officer to death, though victorious, for giving battle without his general's orders; how would they have behaved to a general, who ſhould have continued four months in the ſupreme command, contrary to the laws, and upon his own authority?

(*k*) Pelopidas was the firſt cited before the tribunal. He defended himſelf with leſs force and greatneſs of

(*k*) Plut. de ſui laude, p. 540.

mind

mind than was expected from a man of his character, by nature warm and fiery. That valour, haughty and intrepid in fight, forsook him before the judges. His air and discourse, which had something timid and creeping in it, denoted a man who was afraid of death, and did not in the least incline the judges in his favour, who acquitted him not without difficulty. Epaminondas appeared and spoke with a quite different air and tone. He seemed, if I may be allowed the expression, to charge danger in front without emotion. Instead of justifying himself, he made a panegyric upon his actions, and repeated in a lofty stile, in what manner he had ravaged Laconia, re-established Messenia, and re-united Arcadia in one body. He concluded with saying, that he should die with pleasure, if the Thebans would renounce the sole glory of those actions to him, and declare that he had done them by his own authority, and without their participation. All the voices were in his favour; and he returned from his trial, as he used to return from battle, with glory and universal applause. Such dignity has true valour, that it in a manner seizes the admiration of mankind by force.

He was by nature designed for great actions, and every thing he did, had an air of grandeur in it. (*l*) His enemies, jealous of his glory, and with design to affront him, got him elected *Telearch*; an office very unworthy of a person of his merit. He however thought it no dishonour to him, and said, that he would demonstrate, that * *the office did not only shew the man, but the man the office.* He accordingly raised that employment to very great dignity, which before consisted only in taking care, that the streets were kept clean, the dirt carried away, and the drains and common shores in good order.

(*m*) The Lacedæmonians, having every thing to

(*l*) Plut. de præcept. reip. ger. p. 811. (*m*) Xenoph. l. 6. p. 609—613.

* Οὐ μόνον ἀρχὴ ἀνδρα δείκνυσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀρχήν.

fear

fear from an enemy, whom the late ſucceſſes had rendered ſtill more haughty and enterprizing than ever, and ſeeing themſelves expoſed every moment to a new irruption, had recourſe to the Athenians, and ſent deputies to them to implore their aid. The perſon who ſpoke, began with deſcribing in the moſt pathetic terms the deplorable condition, and extreme danger to which Sparta was reduced. He enlarged upon the inſolent haughtineſs of the Thebans, and their ambitious views, which tended to nothing leſs than the empire of all Greece. He inſinuated what Athens in particular had to fear, if they were ſuffered to extend their power by the increaſe of allies, who every day went over to their party, and augmented their forces. He called to mind the happy times, in which the ſtrict union betwixt Athens and Sparta, had preſerved Greece to the equal glory of both ſtates; and concluded with ſaying, how great an addition it would be to the Athenian name, to aid a city, its antient friend and ally, which more than once had generouſly ſacrificed itſelf for the common intereſt and ſafety.

The Athenians could not deny all that the deputy advanced in his diſcourſe, but at the ſame time they had not forgot the bad treatment, which they had ſuffered from the Spartans on more than one occaſion, and eſpecially after the defeat of Sicily. However their compaſſion of the preſent miſfortunes of Sparta carried it againſt the ſenſe of the former injuries, and determined them to aſſiſt the Lacedæmonians with all their forces. (*n*) Sometime after, the deputies of ſeveral ſtates being aſſembled at Athens, a league and confederacy was concluded againſt the Thebans, conformably to the late treaty of Antalcides, and the intention of the king of Perſia, who continually made inſtances for its execution.

(*o*) A ſlight advantage gained by the Spartans over their enemies, raiſed them from the dejection of ſpi-

(*n*) Xenoph. l. 7. p. 613—616. (*o*) Plut. in Ageſil. p. 614, 615. Xenoph. l. 7. p. 619, 620.

rit

rit in which they had hitherto remained, as it generally happens, when in a mortal diſtemper the leaſt glimpſe of a recovery enlivens hope and recals joy. Archidamus, ſon of Ageſilaus, having received aid from Dionyſius the Younger, tyrant of Sicily, put himſelf at the head of his troops, and defeated the Arcadians in a battle, called *the battle without tears* (*p*), becauſe he did not loſe a man, and killed a great number of the enemy. The Spartans before had been ſo much accuſtomed to conquer, that they became inſenſible to the pleaſure of victory: but when the news of this battle arrived, and they ſaw Archidamus return victorious, they could not contain their joy, nor keep within the city. His father was the firſt that went out to meet him, weeping with joy and tenderneſs. He was followed by the great officers and magiſtrates. The crowd of old men and women came down as far as the river, lifting up their hands to heaven, and returning thanks to the gods, as if this action had obliterated the ſhame of Sparta, and they began to ſee thoſe happy days again, in which the Spartan glory and reputation had roſe ſo high.

(*q*) Philiſcus, who had been ſent by the king of Perſia to reconcile the Grecian ſtates, was arrived at Delphos, whither he ſummoned their deputies to repair. The god was not at all conſulted in the affair diſcuſſed in that aſſembly. The Spartans demanded, that Meſſene and its inhabitants ſhould return to their obedience to them. Upon the Thebans refuſal to comply with that demand, the aſſembly broke up, and Philiſcus retired, after having left conſiderable ſums of money with the Lacedæmonians for levying troops and carrying on the war. Sparta, reduced and humbled by its loſſes, was no longer the object of the Perſian's fear or jealouſy; but Thebes, victorious and triumphant, gave them juſt cauſe of inquietude.

(*r*) To form a league againſt Thebes with greater

(*p*) Diod. l. 15. p. 383. (*q*) Xenoph. p. 619. Diod. p. 381.
(*r*) Xenoph. l. 7. p. 620—622. Plut. in Pelop. p. 294.

certainty,

certainty, the allies had ſent deputies to the great king. The Thebans on their ſide deputed Pelopidas; an extremely wiſe choice, from the great reputation of the ambaſſador, which is no indifferent circumſtance in reſpect to the ſucceſs of a negotiation. The battle of Leuctra had ſpread his fame into the remoteſt provinces of Aſia. When he arrived at the court, and appeared amongſt the princes and nobility, they cried out in admiration of him, *This is he, who deprived the Lacedæmonians of their empire by ſea and land, and reduced Sparta to confine itſelf between the Eurotas and Taygetus, that not long ſince, under its king Ageſilaus, threatened no leſs than to invade us in Suſa and Ecbatana.*

Artaxerxes, extremely pleaſed with his arrival, paid him extraordinary honours, and piqued himſelf upon extolling him highly before the lords of his court; in eſteem indeed of his great merit, but much more out of vanity and ſelf-love, and to inſinuate to his ſubjects, that the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious perſons made their court to him, and paid homage to his power and good fortune. But after having admitted him to audience, and heard his diſcourſe, in his opinion more nervous than that of the Athenian ambaſſadors, and more ſimple than that of the Lacedæmonians, which was ſaying a great deal, he eſteemed him more than ever; and as it is * common with kings, who are but little accuſtomed to conſtraint, he did not diſſemble his extreme regard for him, and his preference of him to all the reſt of the Grecian deputies.

Pelopidas, as an able politician, had apprized the king, how important it was to the intereſt of his crown to protect an infant power, which had never borne arms againſt the Perſians, and which, in forming a kind of ballance between Sparta and Athens, might be able to make an uſeful diverſion againſt thoſe republics, the perpetual and irreconcileable enemies of Perſia, that had lately coſt it ſo many loſſes and in-

* Πάθος βασιλικὸν παθών.

quietudes. Timagoras, the Athenian, was the beſt received after him; becauſe, being paſſionately deſirous of humbling Sparta, and at the ſame time of pleaſing the king, he did not appear averſe to the views of Pelopidas.

The king having preſſed Pelopidas to explain what favours he had to aſk of him, he demanded, "That "Meſſene ſhould continue free and exempt from the "yoke of Sparta; that the Athenian gallies, which "were ſailed to infeſt the coaſt of Bœotia, ſhould "be recalled, or that war ſhould be declared againſt "Athens; that thoſe who would not come into the "league, or march againſt ſuch as ſhould oppoſe it, "ſhould be attacked firſt." All which was decreed, and the Thebans declared friends and allies of the king. Leon, Timagoras's collegue ſaid loud enough to be heard by Artaxerxes, *Athens has nothing now to do but to find ſome other ally.*

Pelopidas, having obtained all he deſired, left the court, without accepting any more of the king's many preſents, than what was neceſſary to carry home as a token of his favour and good will; and this aggravated the complaints which were made againſt the other Grecian ambaſſadors, who were not ſo reſerved and delicate in point of intereſt. One of thoſe from the Arcadians ſaid on his return home, that he had ſeen many ſlaves at the king's court, but no men. He added, that all his magnificence was no more than vain oſtentation, and that the ſo much boaſted * Plantain of gold, which was valued at ſo high a price, had not ſhade enough under it for a graſs-hopper.

Of all the deputies, Timagoras had received the moſt preſents. He did not only accept of gold and ſilver, but of a magnificent bed, and ſlaves to make it, the Greeks not ſeeming to him expert enough in that office; which ſhews that ſloth and luxury were little in faſhion at Athens. He received alſo twenty-

* *It was a tree of gold, of exquiſite workmanſhip and great value, which people went to ſee as of curioſity.*

four cows, with ſlaves to take care of them; as having occaſion to drink milk for ſome indiſpoſition. Laſtly, at his departure, he was carried in a chair to the ſea-ſide at the king's expence, who gave four talents (*s*) for that ſervice. His collegue Leon, on their arrival at Athens, accuſed him of not having communicated any thing to him, and of having joined with Pelopidas in every thing. He was brought to a trial in conſequence, and condemned to ſuffer death.

It does not appear, that the acceptance of preſents incenſed the Athenians moſt againſt Timagoras. For Epicrates, a ſimple porter, who had been at the Perſian court, and had alſo received preſents, having ſaid, in a full aſſembly, that he was of opinion a decree ought to paſs, by which, inſtead of the nine Archons annually elected, nine ambaſſadors ſhould be choſen out of the pooreſt of the people to be ſent to the king, in order to their being enriched by the voyage; the aſſembly only laughed, and made a jeſt of it. But what offended them more, was the Thebans having obtained all they demanded. In which, ſays Plutarch, they did not duly conſider the great reputation of Pelopidas, nor comprehend how much ſtronger and more efficacious that was in perſuading, than all the harangues and rhetorical flouriſhes of the other ambaſſadors; eſpecially with a prince, accuſtomed to careſs, and comply with, the ſtrongeſt, as the Thebans undoubtedly were at that time, and who beſides was not ſorry to humble Sparta and Athens, the antient and mortal enemies of his throne.

The eſteem and regard of the Thebans for Pelopidas were not a little augmented by the good ſucceſs of this embaſſy, which had procured the freedom of Greece, and the re-eſtabliſhment of Meſſene; and he was extremely applauded for his conduct at his return.

But Theſſalia was the theatre, where the valour of Pelopidas made the greateſt figure, in the expedition

(*s*) *Four thouſand crowns.*

of the Thebans againſt Alexander tyrant of Pheræ. I ſhall relate it entire, and unite in one point of view all which relates to that great event, without any other interruption than the journey of Pelopidas into Macedonia, to appeaſe the troubles of that court.

SECT. VI. *Pelopidas marches againſt Alexander tyrant of Pheræ, and reduces him to reaſon. He goes to Macedonia, to appeaſe the troubles of that court, and brings Philip to Thebes as an hoſtage. He returns into Theſſaly, is ſeized by treachery, and made a priſoner. Epaminondas delivers him. Pelopidas gains a victory againſt the tyrant, and is killed in the battle. Extraordinary honours paid to his memory. Tragical end of Alexander.*

(t) THE reduced condition of Sparta and Athens, which for many years had lorded it over all Greece, either in conjunction or ſeparately, had inſpired ſome of their neighbours with the deſire of ſupplanting thoſe cities, and given birth to the hope of ſucceeding them in the pre-eminence. A power had roſe up in Theſſaly, which began to grow formidable. Jaſon, tyrant of Pheræ, had been declared generaliſſimo of the Theſſalians by the conſent of the people of that province; and it was to his merit, univerſally known, he owed that dignity. He was at the head of an army of above eight thouſand horſe, and twenty thouſand heavy-armed foot, without reckoning the light-armed ſoldiers, and might have undertaken any thing with ſuch a body of diſciplined and intrepid troops, who had an entire confidence in the valour and conduct of their general. But death prevented his deſigns. He was aſſaſſinated by perſons who had conſpired his deſtruction.

His two brothers, Polydorus and Polyphron, were ſubſtituted in his place, the latter of whom killed the other for the ſake of reigning alone, and was ſoon

(t) Xenoph. l. 6. p. 579—583 & 598—601. Diod. l. 15. p. 371—373. A. M. 3634. Ant. J. C. 370.

after killed himself by Alexander of Pheræ (*u*) who seized the tyranny, under the pretence of revenging the death of Polydorus his father. Against him Pelopidas was sent.

As the tyrant made open war against several people of Thessaly, and was secretly intriguing to subject them all, the citizens sent ambassadors to Thebes to demand troops and a general. Epaminondas being employed in Peloponnesus, Pelopidas took upon himself the charge of this expedition. He set out for Thessaly with an army, made himself master of Lariſſa, and obliged Alexander to make his submission to him. He there endeavoured by mild usage and friendship to change his disposition, and from a tyrant, to make him become a just and humane prince; but finding him incorrigible, and of unexampled brutality, and hearing new complaints every day of his cruelty, debauched life, and insatiable avarice, he began to treat him with warm reproofs and menaces. The tyrant, alarmed at such usage, withdrew secretly with his guard; and Pelopidas, leaving the Thessalians in security from any attempts of his, and in good understanding with each other, set out for Macedonia, where his presence had been desired.

Amyntas II. was lately dead, and had left issue three legitimate children, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, and one natural son, called Ptolemy. Alexander reigned but one year, and was succeeded by * Perdiccas, with whom his brother Ptolemy disputed the crown. The two brothers invited Pelopidas either to be the arbitrator and judge of their quarrel, or to espouse the side on which he should see most right.

Pelopidas was no sooner arrived, than he put an

(*u*) A. M. 3635. Ant. J. C. 369.

* *Plutarch makes this quarrel between Alexander and Ptolemy, which cannot agree with Æschines's account* (de fals. legat. p. 400) *of the affairs of Perdiccas after Alexander's death, which I shall relate in the history of Philip. As Æschines was their cotemporary, I thought it proper to substitute Perdiccas to Alexander.*

end to all diſputes, and recalled thoſe who had been baniſhed by either party. Having taken Philip, the brother of Perdiccas, and thirty other children of the nobleſt families of Macedonia for hoſtages, he carried them to Thebes; to ſhew the Greeks how far the authority of the Thebans extended, from the reputation of their arms, and an entire confidence in their juſtice and fidelity. It was this Philip, who was father of Alexander the Great, and afterwards made war againſt the Greeks to ſubject them to his power.

The troubles and factions aroſe again in Macedonia ſome years after, occaſioned by the death of Perdiccas, who was killed in a battle. The friends of the deceaſed called in Pelopidas. Being deſirous to arrive before Ptolemy had time to execute his projects, who made new efforts to eſtabliſh himſelf upon the throne; and not having an army, he raiſed ſome mercenary troops in haſte, with whom he marched againſt Ptolemy. When they were near each other, Ptolemy found means to corrupt thoſe mercenary ſoldiers by preſents of money, and to bring them over to his ſide. At the ſame time awed by the reputation and name of Pelopidas, he went to meet him as his ſuperior and maſter, had recourſe to careſſes and entreaties, and promiſed in the moſt ſolemn manner to hold the crown only as guardian to the ſon of the deceaſed, to acknowledge as friends and enemies all thoſe who were ſo to the Thebans; and in ſecurity of his engagements, he gave his ſon Philoxenus and fifty other children, who were educated with him, as hoſtages. Theſe Pelopidas ſent to Thebes.

The treachery of the mercenary ſoldiers ran very much in his thoughts. He was informed, that they had ſent the greateſt part of their effects, with their wives and children, into the city * Pharſalus, and conceived that a fair opportunity for being revenged of them for their perfidy. He therefore drew together ſome Theſſalian troops, and marched to Pharſalus,

* *A city of Theſſaly.*

where

where he was ſcarce arrived, before Alexander the tyrant came againſt him with a powerful army. Pelopidas, who had been appointed ambaſſador to him, believing that he came to juſtify himſelf, and to anſwer the complaints of the Thebans, went to him with only Iſmenias in his company, without any precaution. He was not ignorant of his being an impious wretch, as void of faith as of honour; but he imagined, that reſpect for Thebes, and regard to his dignity and reputation, would prevent him from attempting any thing againſt his perſon. He was miſtaken; for the tyrant, ſeeing them alone and unarmed, made them both priſoners, and ſeized Pharſalus.

Polybius exceedingly blames the imprudence of Pelopidas upon this occaſion (*x*). There is in the commerce of ſociety, ſays he, certain aſſurances, and as it were ties, of mutual faith, upon which one may reaſonably rely: Such are the ſanctity of oaths, the pledge of wives and children delivered as hoſtages, and above all, the conſiſtency of the paſt conduct of thoſe with whom one treats: When, notwithſtanding theſe motives for our confidence, we are deceived, it is a misfortune, but not a fault: But to truſt one's ſelf to a known traitor, a reputed villain, is certainly an unpardonable inſtance of error and temerity.

(*y*) So black a perfidy filled Alexander's ſubjects with terror and diſtruſt, who very much ſuſpected, that after ſo flagrant an injuſtice, and ſo daring a crime, the tyrant would ſpare no body, and would look upon himſelf upon all occaſions, and with all ſorts of people, as a man in deſpair, that needed no farther regard to his conduct and actions. When the news was brought to Thebes, the Thebans, incenſed at ſo vile an inſult, immediately ſent an army into Theſſaly; and as they were diſpleaſed with Epaminondas, upon the groundleſs ſuſpicion of his having been too favourable to the Lacedæmonians upon a certain oc-

(*x*) Lib. 8. p. 512.

(*y*) Plut. in Pelop. p. 292, 293. Diod. l. 15. 382, 383.

caſion, they nominated other generals; ſo that he ſerved in this expedition only as a private man. The love of his country and of the public good extinguiſhed all reſentment in the heart of that great man, and would not permit him, as is too common, to abandon its ſervice through any pique of honour, or perſonal diſcontent.

The tyrant however carried Pelopidas to Pheræ, and made a ſhew of him to all the world at firſt, imagining that ſuch a treatment would humble his pride, and abate his courage. But Pelopidas, ſeeing the inhabitants of Pheræ in great conſternation, perpetually conſoled them, adviſing them not to deſpair, and aſſuring them that it would not be long before the tyrant would be puniſhed. He cauſed him to be told, that it was as imprudent as unjuſt to torture and put to death every day ſo many innocent citizens, that had never done him any wrong, and to ſpare his life, who, he well knew, would no ſooner be out of his hands, than he would puniſh him as his crimes deſerved. The tyrant, aſtoniſhed at his greatneſs of ſoul, ſent to aſk him why he took ſo much pains for death: *It is*, returned the illuſtrious priſoner, *that thou mayeſt periſh the ſooner, by being ſtill more deteſtable to the gods and men.*

From that time the tyrant gave orders that nobody ſhould ſee or ſpeak to him. But Thebé his wife, the daughter of Jaſon who had alſo been tyrant of Pheræ, having heard of the conſtancy and courage of Pelopidas from thoſe who guarded him, had a curioſity to ſee and converſe with him; and Alexander could not refuſe her his permiſſion (y). He loved her tenderly, (if a tyrant may be ſaid to love any body:) but notwithſtanding that tenderneſs, he treated her very cruelly, and was in perpetual diſtruſt even of her. He never went to her apartment without a ſlave before him with a naked ſword in his hand, and ſending ſome of his guard to ſearch every coffer for concealed po-

(y) Cic. de offic. l. 2. n. 25.

niards,

niards. Wretched prince, cries Cicero, who could confide more in a ſlave and a Barbarian, than in his own wife!

Thebé therefore deſiring to ſee Pelopidas, found him in a melancholy condition, dreſs'd in a poor habit, his hair and beard neglected, and void of every thing that might conſole him in his diſtreſs. Not being able to refrain from tears at ſuch a ſight, *Ah unfortunate Pelopidas*, ſaid ſhe, *how I lament your poor wife! No Thebé*, replied he, *it is yourſelf you ſhould lament, who can ſuffer ſuch a monſter as Alexander without being his priſoner.* Thoſe words touched Thebé to the quick; for it was with extreme reluctance ſhe bore the tyrant's cruelty, violence, and infamous way of living. Hence going often to ſee Pelopidas, and frequently bewailing before him the injuries ſhe ſuffered, ſhe daily conceived new abhorrence for her huſband, whilſt hatred and the deſire of revenge grew ſtrong in her heart.

The Theban generals, who had entered Theſſaly, did nothing there of any importance, and were obliged, by their incapacity and ill conduct, to abandon the country. The tyrant purſued them in their retreat, harraſſed them ſhamefully, and killed abundance of their troops. The whole army had been defeated, if the ſoldiers had not obliged Epaminondas, who ſerved as a private man amongſt them, to take upon him the command. Epaminondas, at the head of the cavalry and light-armed foot, poſted himſelf in the rear; where, ſometimes ſuſtaining the enemy's attacks, and ſometimes charging them in his turn, he compleated the retreat with ſucceſs, and preſerved the Bœotians. The generals, upon their return were each of them fined ten thouſand drachma's *, and Epaminondas ſubſtituted in their place. As the public good was his ſole view, he overlooked the injurious treatment and kind of affront which he had received, and had a full amends in the

* *About 225 l. ſterling.*

glory that attended ſo generous and diſintereſted a conduct.

Some days after, he marched at the head of the army into Theſſaly; whither his reputation had preceded him. It had ſpread already both terror and joy through the whole country; terror amongſt the tyrant's friends, whom the very name of Epaminondas diſmayed, and joy amongſt the people, from the aſſurance of being ſpeedily delivered from the yoke of the tyranny, and the tyrant puniſhed for all his crimes. But Epaminondas, preferring the ſafety of Pelopidas to his own glory, inſtead of carrying on the war with vigour, as he might have done, choſe rather to protract it; from the apprehenſion, that the tyrant, if reduced to deſpair, like a wild beaſt, would turn his whole rage upon his priſoner. For he knew the violence and brutality of his nature, which would hearken neither to reaſon nor juſtice; and that he took delight in burying men alive; that ſome he covered with the ſkins of bears and wild boars, that his dogs might tear them in pieces, or he ſhoot them to death with arrows. Theſe were his frequent ſports and diverſions. In the cities of Meliboea and Scotuſa *, which were in alliance with him, he called an aſſembly of the citizens, and cauſing them to be ſurrounded by his guards, he ordered the throats of all their youth to be cut in his preſence.

Hearing one day a famous actor perform a part in the Troades of Euripides, he ſuddenly went out of the theatre, and ſent to the actor to tell him, not to be under any apprehenſion upon that account; for that his leaving the place was not from any diſcontent in regard to him, but becauſe he was aſhamed to let the citizens ſee him weep the misfortunes of Hercules and Andromache, who had cut ſo many of their throats without any compaſſion.

Though he was little ſuſceptible of pity, he was much ſo of fear at this time. Amazed at the ſudden

* *Cities of Magneſia.*

arrival

arrival of Epaminondas, and dazzled with the majesty that surrounded him, he made haste to dispatch persons to him with apologies for his conduct. Epaminondas could not suffer that the Thebans should make either peace or alliance with so wicked a man. He only granted him a truce for thirty days, and after having got Pelopidas and Ismenias out of his hands, he retired with his troops.

(a) Fear is not a master whose lessons make any deep and lasting impression upon the mind of man. The tyrant of Pheræ soon returned to his natural disposition. He ruined several cities of Thessaly, and put garrisons into those of Phthia, Achæa, and Magnesia. Those cities sent deputies to Thebes to demand a succour of troops, praying that the command of them might be given to Pelopidas; which was granted. He was upon the point of setting out, when there happened a sudden eclipse of the sun, by which the city of Thebes was darkened at noon day. The dread and consternation was general. Pelopidas knew very well that this accident had nothing more than natural in it; but he did not think it proper for him to expose seven thousand Thebans against their will, nor to compel them to march in the terror and apprehension with which he perceived they were seized. He therefore gave himself to the Thessalians alone, and taking with him three hundred horse of such Thebans and strangers as would follow him, he departed contrary to the prohibition of the soothsayers, and the opinion of the most wise and judicious.

He was personally incensed against Alexander, in resentment of the injuries he had received from him. What Thebé his wife had said, and he himself knew, of the general discontent in regard to the tyrant, gave him hopes of finding great divisions in his court, and an universal dispolition to revolt. But his strongest motive was the beauty and grandeur of the action in it-

(a) Plut. in Pelop. p. 295——298. Xenoph. l. 6. p. 601.

self.

ſelf. For his ſole deſire and ambition was to ſhew all Greece, that at the ſame time the Lacedæmonians ſent generals and officers to Dionyſius the tyrant, and the Athenians on their part were in a manner in the pay of Alexander, to whom they had erected a ſtatue of braſs, as to their benefactor, the Thebans were the only people, that declared open war againſt tyranny, and endeavoured to exterminate from amongſt the Greeks all unjuſt and violent government.

After having aſſembled his army at Pharſalus, he marched againſt the tyrant; who, being apprized that Pelopidas had but few Thebans, and knowing that his own infantry was twice as ſtrong as that of the Theſſalians, advanced to meet him. Pelopidas being told by ſomebody, that Alexander approached with a great army: *So much the better*, replied he, *we ſhall beat the greater number.*

Near a place called Cynocephalus, there were very high and ſteep hills, which lay in the midſt of the plain. Both armies were in motion to ſeize that poſt with their foot, when Pelopidas ordered his cavalry to charge that of the enemy. The horſe of Pelopidas broke Alexander's, and whilſt they purſued them upon the plain, Alexander appeared ſuddenly upon the tops of the hills, having outſtript the Theſſalians; and charging rudely ſuch as endeavoured to force thoſe heights and retrenchments, he killed the foremoſt and repulſed the others, whom their wounds obliged to give way. Pelopidas, ſeeing this, recalled his horſe, and giving them orders to attack the enemy's foot, he took his buckler, and ran to thoſe who fought upon the hills.

He preſently made way through his infantry, and paſſing in a moment from the rear to the front, revived his ſoldiers vigour and courage in ſuch a manner, as made the enemies believe themſelves attacked by freſh troops. They ſupported two or three charges with great reſolution: but finding Pelopidas's in-

fantry

fantry continually gained ground, and that his cavalry were returned from the purſuit to ſupport them, they began to give way, and retired ſlowly, ſtill making head in their retreat. Pelopidas, ſeeing the whole army of the enemy from the top of the hills, which, though it was not yet actually put to flight, began to break, and was in great diſorder, he ſtopt for ſome time, looking about every where for Alexander.

Aſſoon as he perceived him upon his right wing, rallying and encouraging his mercenary ſoldiers, he could contain himſelf no longer, but fired with that view, and abandoning to his ſole reſentment the care of his life, and the conduct of the battle, he got a great way before his battalions, and ran forwards with all his force, calling upon and defying Alexander. The tyrant made no anſwer to his defiance, and not daring to wait his coming up, withdrew to hide himſelf amongſt his guards. That battalion ſtanding firm for ſome time, Pelopidas broke the firſt ranks, and killed the greateſt part of the guards upon the ſpot. The reſt continuing the fight at diſtance, pierced his arms and breaſt at length with their javelins. The Theſſalians, alarmed at the danger in which they ſaw him, made all the haſte they could from the tops of the hills to his aſſiſtance; but he was fallen dead when they arrived. The infantry and the Theban horſe, returning to the fight againſt the enemy's main body, put them to flight, and purſued them a great way. The plain was covered with the dead; for more than three thouſand of the tyrants troops were killed.

This action of Pelopidas, though it appears the effect of a conſummate valour, is inexcuſable, and has been generally condemned, becauſe there is no true valour without wiſdom and prudence. The greateſt courage is cool and ſedate. It ſpares itſelf where it ought, and expoſes itſelf when occaſion makes it neceſſary. A general ought to ſee every thing, and to have every thing in his thoughts. To be in a con-

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dition to apply the proper remedy on all occaſions, he muſt not precipitate himſelf to the danger of being cut off, and of cauſing the loſs of his army by his his death.

(*b*) Euripides, after having ſaid in one of his pieces, that it is highly glorious for the general of an army to obtain the victory by taking care of his own life, adds, *that if it be neceſſary for him to die, it muſt be when he reſigns his life into the hands of virtue*; to ſignify that only virtue, not paſſion, anger, or revenge, has a right over the life of a general, and that the firſt duty of valour is to preſerve him who preſerves others.

(*c*) It is in this ſenſe the ſaying of Timotheus is ſo juſt and eſtimable. When Chares ſhewed the Athenians the wounds he had received whilſt he was their general, and his ſhield pierced through with a pike: *And for me*, ſaid Timotheus, *when I beſieged Samos, I was much aſhamed to ſee a dart fall very near me, as having expoſed myſelf like a young man without neceſſity, and more than was conſiſtent for the general of ſo great an army.* Hannibal certainly cannot be ſuſpected of fear, and yet it has been obſerved, that in the great number of battles which he fought, he never received any wound, except only at the ſiege of Saguntum.

It is therefore not without reaſon, that Pelopidas is reproached with having ſacrificed all his other virtues to his valour by ſuch a prodigality of his life, and with having died rather for himſelf than his country.

Never was captain more lamented than him. His death changed the victory ſo lately gained into mourning. A profound ſilence and univerſal affliction reigned throughout the whole army, as if it had been entirely defeated. When his body was carried to Thebes, from every city by which it paſſed, the people of all ages and ſexes, the magiſtrates and prieſts, came out to meet the bier, and to march in proceſſion before it,

(*b*) Plut. in Pelop. p. 317. (*c*) Ibid. 278.

carry-

carrying crowns, trophies, and armour of gold. The Theſſalians, who were at the ſame time highly afflicted for his death, and equally ſenſible of their obligations to him, made it their requeſt, that they might be permitted to celebrate at their ſole expence the obſequies of a general, who had devoted himſelf for their preſervation; and that honourable privilege could not be refuſed to their grateful zeal.

His funeral was magnificent, eſpecially in the ſincere affliction of the Thebans and Theſſalians. For, ſays Plutarch, the external pomp of mourning, and thoſe marks of ſorrow, which may be impoſed by the public authority upon the people, are not always certain proofs of their real ſentiments. The tears which flow in private as well as public, the regret expreſſed equally by great and ſmall, the praiſes given by the general and unanimous voice to a perſon who is no more, and from whom nothing farther is expected, are an evidence not to be queſtioned, and an homage never paid but to virtue. Such were the obſequies of Pelopidas, and in my opinion, nothing more great and magnificent could be imagined.

Thebes was not contented with lamenting Pelopidas, but reſolved to avenge him. A ſmall army of ſeven thouſand foot and ſeven hundred horſe were immediately ſent againſt Alexander. The tyrant, who had not yet recovered the terror of his defeat, was in no condition to defend himſelf. He was obliged to reſtore to the Theſſalians the cities he had taken from them, to give the Magneſians, Phthians, and Achæans their liberty, to withdraw his garriſons from their country, and to ſwear that he would always obey the Thebans, and march at their orders againſt all their enemies.

Such a puniſhment was very gentle. Nor, ſays Plutarch, did it appear ſufficient to the gods, or proportioned to his crimes: they had reſerved one for him worthy of a tyrant. Thebé his wife, who ſaw with horror and deteſtation the cruelty and perfidy of her

her husband, and had not forgot the lessons and advice which Pelopidas had given her, whilst in prison, entered into a conspiracy with her three brothers to kill him. The tyrant's whole palace was full of guards, who kept watch in the night; but he placed little confidence in them, and as his life was in some sort in their hands, he feared them the most of all men. He lay in a high chamber, to which he ascended by a ladder that was drawn up after his entrance. Near this chamber a great dog was chained to guard it. He was exceeding fierce, and knew no body but his master, Thebé, and the slave who fed him.

The time pitched upon for the execution of the plot being arrived, Thebé shut up her brothers during the day time, in an apartment near the tyrant's. When he entered it at night, as he was full of meat and wine, he fell into a deep sleep immediately. Thebé went out presently after, and ordered the slave to take away the dog, that he might not disturb her husband's repose; and least the ladder should make a noise when her brothers came up by it, she covered the steps of it with wool. All things being thus prepared, she made her brothers ascend, armed with daggers; who, when they came to the door, were seized with terror, and would go no further. Thebé, quite out of her wits, threatened to awake the tyrant if they did not proceed immediately, and to discover the plot to him. Their shame and fear re-animated them: she made them enter, led them to the bed, and held the lamp herself, whilst they killed him with repeated wounds. The news of his death was immediately spread through the city. His dead body was exposed to all sort of outrages, trampled under foot by the people, and given for a prey to the dogs and vultures; a just reward for his violent oppressions and detestable cruelties.

SECT.

SECT. VII. *Epaminondas is chosen general of the Thebans. His second attempt against Sparta. His celebrated victory at Mantinea. His death and character.*

(*d*) THE extraordinary prosperity of Thebes was no small subject of alarm to the neighbouring states. Every thing was at that time in motion in Greece. A new war had sprung up between the Arcadians and the Eleans, which had occasioned another between the Arcadians themselves. The people of Tegea had called in the Thebans to their aid, and those of Mantinea, the Spartans and Athenians. There were besides several other allies on each side. The former gave Epaminondas the command of their troops, who immediately entered Arcadia, and encamped at Tegea, with design to attack the Mantineans, who had quitted their alliance with Thebes to attach themselves to Sparta.

Being informed that Agesilaus had begun his march with his army, and advanced towards Mantinea, he formed an enterprize, which, he believed, would immortalize his name, and entirely reduce the power of the enemy. He left Tegea in the night with his army, unknown to the Mantineans, and marched directly to Sparta by a different rout from that of Agesilaus. He would undoubtedly have taken the city by surprize, as it had neither walls, defence nor troops: But happily for Sparta, a Cretan having made all possible haste to apprize Agesilaus of his design, he immediately dispatched one of his horse to advise the city of the danger that threatened it, and arrived there soon after in person.

He had scarce entered the town, when the Thebans were seen passing the Eurotas, and coming on against the city. Epaminondas, who perceived that his design was discovered, thought it incumbent on

(*d*) A. M. 3641. Ant. J. C. 363. Xenoph. *l.* 7. p. 642—644. Plut. in Agesil. p. 615. Diod. p. 391, 392.

him

him not to retire without ſome attempt. (e) He therefore made his troops advance, and making uſe of valour inſtead of ſtratagem, he attacked the city at ſeveral quarters, penetrated as far as the public place, and ſeized that part of Sparta which lay upon the ſide of the river. Ageſilaus made head every where, and defended himſelf with much more valour than could be expected from his years. He ſaw well, that it was not now a time, as before, to ſpare himſelf, and to act only upon the defenſive; but that he had need of all his courage and daring, and to fight with all the vigour of deſpair; means, which he had never uſed, nor placed his confidence in before, but which he employed with great ſucceſs in the preſent dangerous emergency. For by this happy deſpair and prudent audacity, he in a manner ſnatched the city out of the hands of Epaminondas. His ſon Archidamus, at the head of the Spartan youth, behaved with incredible valour wherever the danger was greateſt, and with his ſmall troop, ſtopt the enemy, and made head againſt them on all ſides.

A young Spartan, named Iſadas, diſtinguiſhed himſelf particularly in this action. He was very handſom in the face, perfectly well ſhaped, of an advantagious ſtature, and in the flower of his youth. He had neither armour nor cloaths upon his body, which ſhone with oil, and held a ſpear in one hand, and a ſword in the other. In this condition he quitted his houſe with the utmoſt eagerneſs, and breaking through the preſs of the Spartans that fought, he threw himſelf upon the enemy, gave mortal wounds at every blow, and laid all at his feet who oppoſed him, without receiving any hurt himſelf; whether the enemy were diſmayed at ſo aſtoniſhing a ſight, or, ſays Plutarch, the gods took pleaſure in preſerving him upon account of his extraordinary valour. It is ſaid, the Ephori decreed him a crown after the battle in honour of his exploits, but afterwards fined him a thouſand

(e) Polyb. l. 9. p. 547.

drachma's

drachma's (*f*) for having expoſed himſelf to ſo great a danger without arms.

Epaminondas having failed of his aim, foreſeeing that the Arcadians would certainly haſten to the relief of Sparta, and not being willing to have them with all the Lacedæmonian forces upon his hands at the ſame time, he returned with expedition to Tegea. The Lacedæmonians and Athenians, with their allies, followed him cloſe in the rear.

(*g*) That general, conſidering his command was upon the point of expiring, that if he did not fight, his reputation might ſuffer extremely, and that immediately after his retreat, the enemy would fall upon the Theban allies, and entirely ruin them, he gave orders to his troops to hold themſelves in readineſs for battle.

The Greeks had never fought amongſt themſelves with more numerous armies. The Lacedæmonians conſiſted of more than twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe; the Thebans, of thirty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe. Upon the right wing of the former, the Mantineans, Arcadians, and Lacedæmonians were poſted in one line; the Eleans and Achæans, who were the weakeſt of their troops, had the center, and the Athenians alone compoſed the left wing. In the other army, the Thebans and Arcadians were on the left, the Argives on the right, and the other allies in the center. The cavalry on each ſide were diſpoſed in the wings.

The Theban general marched in the ſame order of battle, in which he intended to fight, that he might not be obliged, when he came up with the enemy, to loſe in the diſpoſition of his army, a time which cannot be too much ſaved in great enterprizes.

He did not march directly, and with his front to the enemy, but in a column upon the hills with his left wing foremoſt, as if he did not intend to fight that day. When he was over-againſt them at a quar-

(*f*) *Five hundred livres.*

(*g*) Xenoph. l. 7. p. 645—647.

ter

ter of a league's diſtance, he made his troops halt and lay down their arms, as if he deſigned to encamp there. The enemy in effect were deceived by that ſtand, and reckoning no longer upon a battle, they quitted their arms, diſperſed themſelves about the camp, and ſuffered that ardor to extinguiſh, which the near approach of a battle is wont to kindle in the hearts of the ſoldiers.

Epaminondas however by ſuddenly wheeling his troops to the right, having changed his column into a line, and having drawn out the choice troops, whom he had expreſsly poſted in front upon his march, he made them double their files upon the front of his left wing, to add to its ſtrength, and to put it into a condition to attack in a point the Lacedæmonian phalanx, which, by the movement he had made, faced it directly. He ordered the center and right wing of his army to move very ſlow, and to halt before they came up with the enemy, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon troops, of which he had no great opinion.

He expected to decide the victory by that body of choſen troops, which he commanded in perſon, and which he had formed in a column to attack the enemy in a point like a galley, ſays Xenophon. He aſſured himſelf, that if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian phalanx, in which the enemy's principal force conſiſted, he ſhould not find it difficult to rout the reſt of their army, by charging upon the right and left with his victorious troops.

But that he might prevent the Athenians in the left wing from coming to the ſupport of their right againſt his intended attack, he made a detachment of his horſe and foot advance out of the line, and poſted them upon the riſing ground in a readineſs to flank the Athenians; as well to cover his right, as to alarm them, and give them reaſon to apprehend being taken in flank and rear themſelves, if they advanced to ſuſtain their right.

After

After having diſpoſed his whole army in this manner, he moved on to charge the enemy with the whole weight of his column. They were ſtrangely ſurprized when they ſaw Epaminondas advance towards them in this order, and reſumed their arms, bridled their horſes, and made all the haſte they could to their ranks.

Whilſt Epaminondas marched againſt the enemy, the cavalry that covered his flank on the left, the beſt at that time in Greece, entirely compoſed of Thebans and Theſſalians, had orders to attack the enemy's horſe. The Theban general, whom nothing eſcaped, had artfully beſtowed bowmen, ſlingers and dartmen, in the intervals of his horſe; in order to begin the diſorder of the enemy's cavalry, by a previous diſcharge of a ſhower of arrows, ſtones, and javelins, upon them. The other army had neglected to take the ſame precaution, and had made another fault, not leſs conſiderable, in giving as much depth to the ſquadrons, as if they had been a phalanx. By this means, their horſe were incapable of ſupporting long the charge of the Thebans. After having made ſeveral ineffectual attacks with great loſs, they were obliged to retire behind their infantry.

In the mean time, Epaminondas with his body of foot, had charged the Lacedæmonian phalanx. The troops fought on both ſides with incredible ardour; both the Thebans and Lacedæmonians being reſolved to periſh rather than yield the glory of arms to their rivals. They began by fighting with the ſpear, and thoſe firſt arms being ſoon broken in the fury of the combat, they charged each other ſword in hand. The reſiſtance was equally obſtinate, and the ſlaughter very great on both ſides. The troops deſpiſing danger, and deſiring only to diſtinguiſh themſelves by the greatneſs of their actions, choſe rather to die in their ranks, than to loſe a ſtep of their ground.

The furious ſlaughter on both ſides having continued a great while without the victory's inclining to either,

either, Epaminondas, to force it to declare for him, thought it his duty to make an extraordinary effort in perſon, without regard to the danger of his own life. He formed therefore a troop of the braveſt and moſt determinate about him, and putting himſelf at the head of them, he made a vigorous charge upon the enemy, where the battle was moſt warm, and wounded the general of the Lacedæmonians with the firſt javelin he threw. His troop, by his example, having wounded or killed all who ſtood in their way, broke and penetrated the phalanx. The Lacedæmonians, diſmayed by the preſence of Epaminondas, and overpowered by the weight of that intrepid party, were reduced to give ground. The groſs of the Theban troops, animated by their general's example and ſucceſs, drove back the enemy upon his right and left, and made a great ſlaughter of them. But ſome troops of the Spartans, perceiving that Epaminondas abandoned himſelf too much to his ardor, ſuddenly rallied, and returning to the fight, charged him with a ſhower of javelins. Whilſt he kept off part of thoſe darts, ſhunned ſome of them, fenced off others, and was fighting with the moſt heroic valour, to aſſure the victory to his army, a Spartan, named Callicrates, gave him a mortal wound with a javelin in the breaſt acroſs his cuiraſs. The wood of the javelin being broke off, and the iron head continuing in the wound, the torment was inſupportable, and he fell immediately. The battle began around him with new fury, the one ſide uſing their utmoſt endeavours to take him alive, and the other to ſave him. The Thebans gained their point at laſt, and carried him off, after having put the enemy to flight. They did not purſue them far, and returning immediately, contented themſelves with remaining maſters of the field and of the dead, without making any advantage of their victory, or undertaking any thing farther, as if they ſtayed for the orders of their general.

The cavalry, diſmayed by the accident of Epaminondas,

nondas, whom they believed to be dead, and ſeeming rather vanquiſhed than victorious, neglected to purſue their ſucceſs in the ſame manner, and returned to their former poſt.

Whilſt this paſſed on the left wing of the Thebans, the Athenian horſe attacked their cavalry on the right. But as the latter, beſides the ſuperiority of number, had the advantage of being ſeconded by the light infantry poſted in their intervals, they charged the Athenians rudely, and having galled them extremely with their darts, they were broke and obliged to fly. After having diſperſed and repulſed them in this manner, inſtead of purſuing them, they thought proper to turn their arms againſt the Athenian foot, which they took in flank, put into diſorder, and puſhed with great vigour. Juſt as they were ready to turn tail, the general of the Elean cavalry, who commanded a body of reſerve, ſeeing the danger of that phalanx, came upon the ſpur to its relief, charged the Theban horſe, who expected nothing ſo little, forced them to retreat, and regained from them their advantage. At the ſame time, the Athenian cavalry, which had been routed at firſt, finding they were not purſued, rallied themſelves, and inſtead of going to the aſſiſtance of their foot, which was roughly handled, they attacked the detatchment poſted by the Thebans upon the heights without the line, and put it to the ſword.

After theſe different movements, and this alternative of loſſes and advantages, the troops on both ſides ſtood ſtill and reſted upon their arms, and the trumpets of the two armies, as if by conſent, ſounded the retreat at the ſame time. Each party pretended to the victory, and erected a trophy; the Thebans, becauſe they had defeated the right wing, and remained maſters of the field of battle; the Athenians, becauſe they had cut the detachment in pieces. And from this point of honour, both ſides refuſed at firſt to aſk leave to bury their dead, which, with the antients, was confeſſing their defeat. The Lacedæmo-

nians

nians however ſent firſt to demand that permiſſion; after which, the reſt had no thoughts but of paying the laſt duties to the ſlain.

Such was the event of the famous battle of Mantinea. Xenophon, in his relation of it, recommends the diſpoſition of the Theban troops, and the order of battle, to the reader's attention, which he deſcribes as a man of knowledge and experience in the art of war. And Monſieur Follard, who juſtly looks upon Epaminondas as one of the greateſt generals Greece ever produced, in his deſcription of the ſame battle, ventures to call it the maſterpiece of that great captain.

Epaminondas had been carried into the camp. The ſurgeons, after having examined the wound, declared that he would expire as ſoon as the head of the dart was drawn out of it. Thoſe words gave all that were preſent the utmoſt ſorrow and affliction, who were inconſolable on ſeeing ſo great a man about to die, and to die without iſſue. For him, the only concern he expreſſed was about his arms, and the ſucceſs of the battle. When they ſhewed him his ſhield, and aſſured him that the Thebans had gained the victory; turning towards his friends with a calm and ſerene air; "Do not regard," ſaid he, "this day as "the end of my life, but as the beginning of my "happineſs, and the completion of my glory. I "leave Thebes triumphant, proud Sparta humbled, "and Greece delivered from the yoke of ſervitude. "For the reſt, I do not reckon that I die without "iſſue; Leuctra and Mantinea are two illuſtrious "daughters, that will not fail to keep my name alive, "and to tranſmit it to poſterity." Having ſpoke to this effect, he drew the head of the javelin out of his wound, and expired.

It may be truly ſaid, that the Theban power expired with this great man; whom Cicero * ſeems to rank above all the illuſtrious men Greece ever produ-

* Epaminondas, princeps, meo judicio, Græciæ. *Acad. Quæſt.* l. 1. n. 4.

ced.

ced. * Juſtin is of the ſame opinion, when he ſays, That as a dart is no longer in a condition to wound when the point of it is blunted; ſo Thebes, after having loſt its general, was no longer formidable to its enemies, and its power ſeemed to have loſt its edge, and to be annihilated by the death of Epaminondas. Before him, that city was not diſtinguiſhed by any memorable action, and afterwards, it was not famous for its virtues but misfortunes, till it ſunk into its original obſcurity; ſo that it ſaw its glory take birth, and expire with this great man.

It has been † doubted, whether he was a more excellent captain or good man. He ſought not power for himſelf, but for his country; and was ſo perfectly void of ſelf-intereſt, that at his death, he was not worth the expences of his funeral. Truly a philoſopher, and poor out of taſte, he deſpiſed riches, without affecting any reputation from that contempt; and if Juſtin may be believed, he coveted glory as little as he did money. It was always againſt his will that commands were conferred upon him, and he behaved himſelf in them in ſuch a manner, as did more honour to dignities, than dignities to him.

Though poor himſelf, and without any eſtate, his very poverty, by drawing upon him the eſteem and confidence of the rich, gave him the opportunity of doing good to others. One of his friends being in great neceſſity, Epaminondas ſent him to a very rich citizen, with orders to aſk him for a thouſand crowns (*b*)

(*b*) *A talent.*

* Nam ſicuti telo, ſi primam aciem præfregeris, reliquo ferro vim nocendi ſuſtuleris; ſic illo velut mucrone teli ablato duce Thebanorum, rei quoque publicæ vires hebetatæ ſunt: ut non tam illum amiſiſſe, quam cum illo omnes interiiſſe viderentur. Nam neque hunc ante ducem ullum memorabile bellum geſſere, nec poſtea virtutibus, ſed cladibus, inſignes fuere: ut manifeſtum ſit, patriæ gloriam et natam et extinctam cum eo fuiſſe. *Juſtin.* l. 6. c. 8.

† Fuit incertum, vir melior an dux eſſet. Nam imperium non ſibi ſemper ſed patriæ quæſivit; et pecuniæ adeo parcus fuit, ut ſumptus funeri defuerit. Gloriæ quoque non cupidior, quam pecuniæ: quippe recuſanti omnia imperia ingeſta ſunt, honoreſque ita geſſit, ut ornamentum non acciperet, ſed dare ipſi dignitati videretur. *Juſtin.*

in his name. That rich man coming to his houſe, to know his motives for directing his friend to him upon ſuch an errand; (*i*) *Why*, replied Epaminondas, *it is becauſe this honeſt man is in want, and you are rich* *.

He had † cultivated thoſe generous and noble ſentiments in himſelf by the ſtudy of polite learning and philoſophy, which he had made his uſual employment and ſole delight from his earlieſt infancy; ſo that it was ſurprizing, and a queſtion frequently aſked, how, and at what time, it was poſſible for a man, always buſy amongſt books, to attain, or rather ſeize, the knowledge of the art military in ſo great a degree of perfection. Fond of leiſure, which he devoted to the ſtudy of philoſophy, his darling paſſion, he ſhunned public employments, and made no intereſts but to exclude himſelf from them. His moderation concealed him ſo well, that he lived obſcure, and almoſt unknown. His merit however diſcovered him. He was taken from his ſolitude by force to be placed at the head of armies; and he demonſtrated that philoſophy, though generally in contempt with thoſe who aſpire at the glory of arms, is wonderfully uſeful in forming heroes. For beſides its being a great advance towards conquering the enemy to know how to conquer one's ſelf, in this ſchool ‖ antiently were taught the great maxims of true policy, the rules of every kind of duty, the motives for a due diſcharge of them, what we owe our country, the right uſe of authority, wherein true courage conſiſts; in a word, the qualities that form the good citizen, ſtateſman, and great captain.

He poſſeſſed all the ornaments of the mind: he had the talent of ſpeaking in perfection, and was well

(*i*) Plut. de præcept. reipub. ger. p. 809.

* Ὅτι χρηστὸς, ἔιπεν, ὅτῳ ὢν πένης εἶ· σὺ δὲ πλουτεῖς.

† Jam literarum ſtudium, jam philoſophiæ doctrina tanta, ut mirabile videretur, unde tam inſignis militiæ ſcientia homini inter literas nato. *Juſtin.*

‖ *The works of Plato, Xenophon, and Ariſtotle are proofs of this.*

verſed in the moſt ſublime ſciences. But a modeſt reſerve threw a veil over all thoſe excellent qualities, which ſtill augmented their value, and of which, he knew not what it was to be oſtentatious. Spintharus, in giving his character, ſaid, (*k*) *that he never had met with a man, who knew more, and ſpoke leſs.*

It may be ſaid therefore of Epaminondas, that he falſified the proverb, which treated the Bœotians as groſs and ſtupid. This was their common * characteriſtic, and was imputed to the groſs air of the country, as the Athenian delicacy of taſte was attributed to the ſubtlety of the air they breathed. Horace ſays, that to judge of Alexander from his bad taſte of poetry, one would ſwear him a true Bœotian.

Bœtum in craſſo jurares aere natum. Epiſt. I. l. 2.

In thick Bœotian air you'd ſwear him born.

When Alcibiades was reproached with having little inclination for muſick, he thought fit to make this excuſe; *It is for Thebans* † *to ſing as they do, who know not how to ſpeak.* Pindar and Plutarch, who have very little of the ſoil in them, and who are proofs that genius is of all nations, do themſelves condemn the ſtupidity of their countrymen. Epaminondas did honour to his country, not only by the greatneſs of his military exploits, but by that ſort of merit, which reſults from elevation of genius, and the ſtudy of ſcience.

I ſhall conclude his portrait and character with a circumſtance, that gives place in nothing to all his other excellencies, and which may in ſome ſenſe be preferred to them, as it expreſſes a good heart, and a tender and ſenſible ſpirit; qualities, very rare amongſt the great, but infinitely more eſtimable than all thoſe ſplendid attributes, which the vulgar of mankind com-

(*k*) Plut. de audit. p. 39.

* Inter locorum naturas quantum interſit, videmus——Athenis tenue cœlum, ex quo acutiores etiam putantur Attici; craſſum Thebis, itaque pingues Thebani. *Cic. de Fato*, n. 7.

† *They were great magiſtrates,*

monly gaze at with admiration, and ſeem almoſt the only objects worthy either of being imitated or envied. The victory at Leuctra had drawn the eyes and admiration of all the neighbouring people upon Epaminondas, who looked upon him as the ſupport and reſtorer of Thebes, as the triumphant conqueror of Sparta, as the deliverer of all Greece; in a word, as the greateſt man, and the moſt excellent captain that ever was in the world. In the midſt of this univerſal applauſe, ſo capable of making the general of an army forget the man for the victor, Epaminondas little ſenſible to ſo affecting and ſo deſerved a glory, (*l*) *My joy*, ſaid he, *ariſes from my ſenſe of That, which the news of my victory will give my father and my mother.*

Nothing in hiſtory ſeems ſo valuable to me as ſuch ſentiments, which do honour to human nature, and proceed from a heart, which neither falſe glory, nor falſe greatneſs have corrupted. I confeſs it is with grief, I ſee theſe noble ſentiments daily expire amongſt us, eſpecially in perſons, whoſe birth and rank raiſe them above others, who, too frequently, are neither good fathers, good ſons, good huſbands, nor good friends, and who would think it a diſgrace to them to expreſs for a father and mother the tender regard, of which we have here ſo fine an example from a pagan.

'Till Epaminondas's time, two cities had exerciſed alternately a kind of empire over all Greece. The juſtice and moderation of Sparta had at firſt acquired it a diſtinguiſhed preheminence, which the pride and haughtineſs of its generals, and eſpecially of Pauſanias, ſoon loſt it. The Athenians, till the Peloponneſian war, held the firſt rank, but in a manner ſcarce diſcernible in any other reſpect, than their care in acquitting themſelves worthily, and in giving their inferiors juſt reaſon to believe themſelves their equals. They judged at that time, and very juſtly, that the

(*l*) Plut. in Coriol. p. 215.

true method of commanding, and of continuing their power, was to evidence their ſuperiority only by ſervices and benefactions. Thoſe times, ſo glorious for Athens, were of about forty five years continuance, and they retained a part of that preheminence during the twenty ſeven years of the Peloponneſian war, which make in all the ſeventy two, or ſeventy three years, which Demoſthenes gives to the duration of their empire (*m*): But for this latter ſpace of time, the Greeks, diſguſted by the haughtineſs of Athens, received no laws from that city without reluctance. Hence the Lacedæmonians became again the arbiters of Greece, and continued ſo from the time Lyſander made himſelf maſter of Athens, till the firſt war undertaken by the Athenians, after their re-eſtabliſhment by Conon, to withdraw themſelves and the reſt of the Greeks from the tyranny of Sparta, which was now grown more inſolent than ever. At length, Thebes diſputed the ſupremacy, and, by the exalted merit of a ſingle man, ſaw itſelf at the head of all Greece. But that glorious condition was of no long continuance, and the death of Epaminondas, as we have already obſerved, plunged it again into the obſcurity in which he found it.

Demoſthenes remarks, in the paſſage above cited, that the preheminence granted voluntarily either to Sparta or Athens, was a preheminence of honour, not of dominion, and that the intent of Greece was to preſerve a kind of equality and independance in the other cities. Hence, ſays he, when the governing city attempted to aſcribe to itſelf what did not belong to it, and aimed at any innovations contrary to the rules of juſtice, and eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, all the Greeks thought themſelves obliged to have recourſe to arms, and without any motive of perſonal diſcontent, to eſpouſe with ardor the cauſe of the injured.

I ſhall add here another very judicious reflection from Polybius (*n*). He attributes the wiſe conduct of

(*m*) Demoſt. Philip. 3. p. 89. (*n*) Polyb. l. 7. p. 488.

the Athenians, in the times I ſpeak of, to the ability of the generals, who were then at the head of their affairs; and he makes uſe of a compariſon, which explains, not unhappily, the character of that people. A veſſel without a maſter, ſays he, is expoſed to great dangers, when every one inſiſts upon its being ſteered according to his opinion, and will comply with no other meaſures. If then a rude ſtorm attacks it, the common danger conciliates and unites them, they abandon themſelves to the pilot's ſkill, and all the rowers doing their duty, the ſhip is ſaved, and in a ſtate of ſecurity. But if the tempeſt ceaſes, and when the weather grows calm again, the diſcord of the mariners revives; if they will hearken no longer to the pilot, and ſome are for continuing their voyage, whilſt others reſolve to ſtop in the midſt of the courſe; if on one ſide they looſe their ſails, and furl them on the other; it often happens, that after having eſcaped the moſt violent ſtorms, they are ſhipwrecked even in the port. This, ſays Polybius, is a natural image of the Athenian republic. As long as it ſuffered itſelf to be guided by the wiſe counſels of an Ariſtides, a Themiſtocles, a Pericles, it came off victorious, from the greateſt dangers. But proſperity blinded and ruined it; following no longer any thing but caprice, and being become too inſolent to be adviſed or governed, it plunged itſelf into the greateſt misfortunes.

SECT. VIII. *Death of Evagoras king of Salamin. Nicocles his ſon ſucceeds him. Admirable character of that prince.*

(o) THE third year of the 101ſt Olympiad, ſoon after the Thebans had deſtroyed Platææ and Theſpiæ, as has been obſerved before, Evagoras, king of Salamin in the iſle of Cyprus, of whom much has been ſaid in the preceding volume, was aſſaſſinated by one of his eunuchs. His ſon Nicocles ſuc-

(o) A. M. 3630. Ant. J. C. 374. Diod. l. 15. p. 363.

ceeded

ceeded him. He had a fine model before him in the perſon of his father; and he ſeemed to make it his duty to be entirely intent upon treading in his ſteps (*p*). When he took poſſeſſion of the throne, he found the public treaſures entirely exhauſted, by the great expences his father had been obliged to be at in the long war between him and the king of Perſia. He knew that the generality of princes, upon like occaſions, thought every means juſt for the re-eſtabliſhment of their affairs; but for him, he acted upon different principles. In his reign there was no talk of baniſhment, taxes, and confiſcation of eſtates. The public felicity was his ſole object, and juſtice his favourite virtue. He diſcharged the debts of the ſtate gradually, not by cruſhing the people with exceſſive impoſts, but by retrenching all unneceſſary expences, and by uſing a wiſe œconomy in the adminiſtration of his revenue. (*q*) "I am aſſured, ſaid he, that no "citizen can complain that I have done him the leaſt "wrong, and I have the ſatisfaction to know, that "I have enriched many with an unſparing hand." He believed this kind of vanity, if it be vanity, might be permitted in a prince, and that it was glorious for him to have it in his power to make his ſubjects ſuch a defiance.

(*r*) He piqued himſelf alſo in particular upon another virtue, which is the more admirable in princes, as very uncommon in their fortune; I mean temperance. It is moſt amiable, but very difficult, in an age and a fortune, to which every thing is lawful, and wherein pleaſure, armed with all her arts and attractions, is continually lying in ambuſh for a young prince, and preventing his deſires, to make a long reſiſtance againſt the violence and inſinuation of her ſoft aſſaults. Nicocles gloried in having never known any woman beſides his wife during his reign, and was amazed that all other contracts of civil ſociety ſhould

(*p*) Iſocrat. in Nicoc. p. 64. (*q*) Ibid. p. 65, 66. (*r*) Ibid. p. 67.

be treated with due regard, whilſt that of marriage, the moſt ſacred and inviolable of obligations, was broke through with impunity; and that men ſhould not bluſh to commit an infidelity in reſpect to their wives, of which ſhould their wives be guilty, it would throw them into the utmoſt anguiſh and deſpair.

What I have ſaid of the juſtice and temperance of Nicocles, Iſocrates puts into that prince's own mouth; and it is not probable that he ſhould make him ſpeak in ſuch a manner, if his conduct had not agreed with ſuch ſentiments. It is in a diſcourſe, ſuppoſed to be addreſſed by that king to his people, wherein he deſcribes to them the duties of ſubjects to their princes; love, reſpect, obedience, fidelity, and devotion to their ſervice; and to engage them more effectually to the diſcharge of thoſe duties, he does not diſdain to give them an account of his own conduct and ſentiments.

(s) In another diſcourſe, which precedes this, Iſocrates explains to Nicocles all the duties of the ſovereignty, and makes excellent reflections upon that ſubject, of which I can repeat here only a very ſmall part. He begins by telling him that the virtue of private perſons is much better ſupported than his own, by the mediocrity of their condition, by the employment and cares inſeparable from it, by the misfortunes to which they are frequently expoſed, by their diſtance from pleaſures and luxury, and particularly, by the liberty which their friends and relations have of giving them advice; whereas the generality of princes have none of theſe advantages. He adds, that a king, who would make himſelf capable of governing well, ought to avoid an idle and unactive life, ſhould ſet apart a proper time for buſineſs and the public affairs, ſhould form his council of the moſt able and experienced perſons in his kingdom, ſhould endeavour to make himſelf as much ſuperior to others by his merit and wiſdom, as he is by his dignity, and

(s) Iſocrat. ad Nicoc.

eſpecially

especially acquire the love of his subjects, and for that purpose love them sincerely, and look upon himself as their common father. "Persist, said he, in the "religion you have received from your fore-fathers, "but be assured that the most grateful adoration and "sacrifice that you can offer to the Divinity, is that "of the heart, in rendering yourself good and just. "Shew upon all occasions so high a regard for "truth, that a single word from you, may be "more confided in than the oath of others. Be a "warriour by your ability in military affairs, and by "such a warlike provision as may intimidate your "enemies; but let your inclinations be pacific, and "be rigidly exact in never pretending to, or under-"taking any thing unjustly. The only certain proof "that you have reigned well, will be the power of "bearing this testimony to yourself; that your peo-"ple are become both more happy, and more wise, "under your government."

What seems to me most remarkable in this discourse, is, that the advice which Isocrates gives the king is neither attended with praises, nor with those studied reservations and artificial turns, without which fearful and modest truth dares not venture to approach the throne. This is most worthy of applause, and more for the prince's than for the writer's praise. Nicocles, far from being offended at these counsel, received them with joy; and to express his gratitude to Isocrates, made him a present of twenty talents, that is to say, twenty thousand crowns (*t*).

(*u*) Plut. in vit. Isoc. p. 838.

SECT. IX. *Artaxerxes Mnemon undertakes the reduction of Egypt. Iphicrates the Athenian is appointed general of the Athenian troops. The enterprize miscarries by the ill conduct of Pharnabasus the Persian general.*

(*u*) ARTAXERXES, after having given his people a relaxation of several years, had formed the design of reducing Egypt, which had shaken off the Persian yoke long before, and made great preparations for war for that purpose. Achoris, who then reigned in Egypt, and had given Evagoras powerful aid against the Persians, foreseeing the storm, raised abundance of troops of his own subjects, and took into his pay a great body of Greeks, and other auxiliary soldiers, of whom Chabrias had the command (*x*). He had accepted that office without the authority of the republic.

Pharnabasus, having been charged with this war, sent to Athens to complain that Chabrias had engaged himself to serve against his master, and threatened the republic with the king's resentment, if he was not immediately recalled. He demanded at the same time Iphicrates, another Athenian, who was looked upon as one of the most excellent captains of his time, to give him the command of the body of Greek troops in the service of his master. The Athenians, who had a great interest in the continuance of the king's friendship, recalled Chabrias, and ordered him upon pain of death to repair to Athens by a certain day. Iphicrates was sent to the Persian army.

The preparations of the Persians went on so slowly, that two whole years elapsed before they entered upon action. (*y*) Achoris king of Egypt died in that time, and was succeeded by Psammuthis, who reigned but a year. Nephreritus was the next, and four

(*u*) A. M. 3627. Ant. J. C. 377. Diod. l. 15. p. 328 & 347.
(*x*) Cor. Nep. in Chab. & in Iphic. (*y*) Eusеb. in Chron.

months

months after Nectanebis, who reigned ten or twelve years.

(z) Artaxerxes, to draw more troops out of Greece, ſent ambaſſadors thither, to declare to the ſeveral ſtates, that the king's intent was they ſhould all live in peace with each other conformably to the treaty of Antalcides, that all garriſons ſhould be withdrawn, and all the cities ſuffered to enjoy their liberty under their reſpective laws. All Greece received this declaration with pleaſure except the Thebans, who refuſed to conform to it.

(a) At length, every thing being in a readineſs for the invaſion of Egypt, a camp was formed at Acæ, ſince called Ptolemais, in Paleſtine, the place appointed for the general rendezvous. In a review there, the army was found to conſiſt of two hundred thouſand Perſians, under the command of Pharnabaſus, and twenty thouſand Greeks under Iphicrates. The forces at ſea were in proportion to thoſe at land; their fleet conſiſting of three hundred galleys, beſides two hundred veſſels of thirty oars, and a prodigious number of barks to tranſport the neceſſary proviſions for the fleet and army.

The army and fleet began to move at the ſame time, and that they might act in concert, they ſeparated from each other as little as poſſible. The war was to open with the ſiege of Peluſium; but ſo much time had been given the Egyptians, that Nectanebis had rendered the approach to it impracticable both by ſea and land. The fleet therefore, inſtead of making a deſcent, as had been projected, ſailed forwards, and entered the mouth of the Nile called Mendeſium. The Nile at that time emptied itſelf into the ſea by ſeven different channels, of which only two * remain at this day; and at each of thoſe mouths there was a fort with a good garriſon to defend the entrance.

(z) A. M. 3630. Ant. J. C. 374. Diod. l. 15. p. 355.
(a) Diod. p. 358, 359.
* *Damietta and Roſetta.*

The Mendeſium not being ſo well fortified as that of Peluſium, where the enemy was expected to land, the deſcent was made with no great difficulty. The fort was carried ſword in hand, and no quarter given to thoſe who were found in it.

After this ſignal action, Iphicrates thought it adviſable to re-imbark upon the Nile without loſs of time, and to attack Memphis the capital of Egypt. If that opinion had been followed before the Egyptians had recovered the panic, into which ſo formidable an invaſion and the blow already received had thrown them, they had found the capital without any defence, it had inevitably fallen into their hands, and all Egypt been re-conquered. But the groſs of the army not being arrived, Pharnabaſus believed it neceſſary to wait its coming up, and would undertake nothing, till he had re-aſſembled all his troops; under pretext, that they would then be invincible, and that there would be no obſtacle capable of withſtanding them.

Iphicrates, who knew that in affairs of war eſpecially, there are certain favourable and deciſive moments, which it is abſolutely proper to ſeize, judged quite differently, and in deſpair to ſee an opportunity ſuffered to eſcape, that might never be retrieved, he made preſſing inſtances for permiſſion to go at leaſt with the twenty thouſand men under his command. Pharnabaſus refuſed to comply with that demand out of abject jealouſy; apprehending, that if the enterprize ſucceeded, the whole glory of the war would redound to Iphicrates. This delay gave the Egyptians time to look about them. They drew all their troops together into a body, put a good garriſon into Memphis, and with the reſt of their army kept the field, and harraſſed the Perſians in ſuch a manner, that they prevented their advancing farther into the country. After which came on the inundation of the Nile, which laying all Egypt under water, the Perſians were obliged to return into Phœnicia, having firſt loſt ineffectually the beſt part of their troops.

Thus

Thus this expedition, which had coſt immenſe ſums, and for which the preparations alone had given ſo much difficulty for upwards of two years, entirely miſcarried, and produced no other effect, than an irreconcileable enmity between the two generals, who had the command of it. Pharnabaſus, to excuſe himſelf, accuſed Iphicrates of having prevented its ſucceſs; and Iphicrates, with much more reaſon, laid all the fault upon Pharnabaſus. But well aſſured that the Perſian lord would be believed at his court in preference to him, and remembering what had happened to Conon, to avoid the fate of that illuſtrious Athenian, he choſe to retire ſecretly to Athens in a ſmall veſſel which he hired. Pharnabaſus cauſed him to be accuſed there, of having rendered the expedition againſt Egypt abortive. The people of Athens made anſwer, that if he could be convicted of that crime, he ſhould be puniſhed as he deſerved. But his innocence was too well known at Athens to give him any diſquiet upon that account. It does not appear that he was ever called in queſtion about it; and ſome time after, the Athenians declared him ſole admiral of their fleet.

(*b*) Moſt of the projects of the Perſian court miſcarried by their ſlowneſs in putting them in execution. Their generals hands were tied up, and nothing was left to their diſcretion. They had a plan of conduct in their inſtructions, from which they did not dare to depart. If any accident happened, that had not been foreſeen and provided for, they muſt wait for new orders from court, and before they arrived, the opportunity was entirely loſt. Iphicrates, having obſerved that Pharnabaſus took his reſolutions with all the preſence of mind and penetration, that could be deſired in an accompliſhed general (*c*), aſked him one day, how it happened that he was ſo quick in his views, and ſo ſlow in his actions: *It is,*

(*b*) Diod. p. 358. (*c*) Ibid. p. 357.

replied

replied Pharnabaſus, *becauſe my views depend only upon me, but their execution upon my maſter.*

SECT. X. *The Lacedæmonians ſend Ageſilaus to the aid of Tachos, who had revolted from the Perſians. The king of Sparta's actions in Egypt. His death. The greateſt part of the provinces revolt againſt Artaxerxes.*

(*d*) AFTER the battle of Mantinea, both parties, equally weary of the war, had entered into a general peace with all the other ſtates of Greece, upon the king of Perſia's plan, by which the enjoyment of its laws and liberties was ſecured to each city, and the Meſſenians included in it, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition and intrigues of the Lacedæmonians to prevent it. Their rage upon this occaſion ſeparated them from the other Greeks. They were the only people who reſolved to continue the war, from the hope of recovering the whole country of Meſſenia in a ſhort time. That reſolution, of which Ageſilaus was the author, occaſioned him to be juſtly regarded as a violent and obſtinate man, inſatiable of glory and command, who was not afraid of involving the republic again in inevitable misfortunes from the neceſſity to which the want of money expoſed them of borrowing great ſums and of levying great impoſts, inſtead of taking the favourable opportunity of concluding a peace, and of putting an end to all their evils.

(*e*) Whilſt this paſſed in Greece, Tachos, who had aſcended the throne of Egypt, drew together as many troops as he could, to defend himſelf againſt the king of Perſia, who meditated a new invaſion of Egypt, notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs of his paſt endeavours to reduce that kingdom.

For this purpoſe, Tachos ſent into Greece, and obtained a body of troops from the Lacedæmonians,

(*d*) Plut. in Ageſil. p. 616—618. Diod. l. 15. p. 397—401.
(*e*) A. M. 3641. Ant. J. C. 363. Xenoph. de reg. Ageſil. p. 665. Cor. Nep. in Ageſil. c. 8.

with

with Ageſilaus to command them, whom he promiſed to make generaliſſimo of his army. The Lacdæmonians were exaſperated againſt Artaxerxes, from his having forced them to include the Meſſenians in the late peace, and were fond of taking this occaſion to expreſs their reſentment. Chabrias went alſo into the ſervice of Tachos, but of his own head, and without the republic's participation.

This commiſſion did Ageſilaus no honour. It was thought below the dignity of a king of Sparta, and a great captain, who had made his name glorious throughout the world, and was then more than eighty years old, to receive the pay of an Egyptian, and to ſerve a Barbarian, who had revolted againſt his maſter.

When he landed in Egypt, the king's principal generals, and the great officers of his houſe, came to his ſhip to receive, and make their court to him. The reſt of the Egyptians were as ſollicitous to ſee him from the great expectation which the name and renown of Ageſilaus had excited in them, and came in multitudes to the ſhore for that purpoſe. But when inſtead of a great and magnificent prince, according to the idea his exploits had given them of him, they ſaw nothing ſplendid or majeſtic either in his perſon or equipage, and ſaw only an old man of a mean aſpect and ſmall body, without any appearance, and dreſt in a bad robe of very coarſe ſtuff, they were ſeized with an immoderate diſpoſition to laugh, and applied the fable of the mountain in labour to him.

When he met king Tachos, and had joined his troops with thoſe of Egypt, he was very much ſurprized at not being appointed general of the whole army, as he expected, but only of the foreign troops; that Chabrias was made general of the ſea-forces, and that Tachos retained the command in chief to himſelf, which was not the only mortification he had to experience.

Tachos came to a reſolution to march into Phœnicia, thinking it more adviſeable to make that country

the

the ſeat of the war, than to expect the enemy in Egypt. Ageſilaus, who knew better, repreſented to him in vain, that his affairs were not ſufficiently eſtabliſhed to admit his removing out of his dominions; that he would do much better to remain in them, and content himſelf with acting by his generals in the enemy's country. Tachos deſpiſed this wiſe counſel, and expreſſed no leſs diſregard for him on all other occaſions. Ageſilaus was ſo much incenſed at ſuch conduct, that he joined the Egyptians, who had taken arms againſt him during his abſence, and had placed Nectanebis his * couſin upon the throne. Ageſilaus, abandoning the king, to whoſe aid he had been ſent, and joining the rebel, who had dethroned him, alledged in juſtification of himſelf, that he was ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Egyptians; and that they, having taken up arms againſt Tachos, he was not at liberty to ſerve againſt them without new orders from Sparta. He diſpatched expreſſes thither, and the inſtructions he received, were to act as he ſhould judge moſt advantagious for his country. He immediately declared for Nectanebis. Tachos, obliged to quit Egypt, retired to Sidon, from whence he went to the court of Perſia. Artaxerxes not only forgave him his fault, but added to his clemency the command of his troops againſt the rebels.

Ageſilaus covered ſo criminal a conduct with the veil of the public utility. But, ſays Plutarch, remove that deluſive blind, the moſt juſt and only true name, which can be given the action, is that of perfidy and treaſon. It is true, the Lacedæmonians, making the Glorious and the Good conſiſt principally in the ſervice of their country, which they idolized, knew no other juſtice than what tended to the augmentation of the grandeur of Sparta, and the extending of its dominions. I am ſurprized ſo judicious an author as Xenophon ſhould endeavour to palliate a conduct of this kind, by ſaying only, that Ageſilaus attached

* *Diodorus calls him his ſon; Plutarch, his couſin.*

himſelf

himself to that of the two kings, who seemed the best affected to Greece.

At the same time, a third prince of the city of Mendes set up for himself, to dispute the crown with Nectanebis. This new competitor had an army of an hundred thousand men to support his pretensions. Agesilaus gave his advice to attack them, before they were exercised and disciplined. Had that counsel been followed, it had been easy to have defeated a body of people, raised in haste, and without any experience in war. But Nectanebis imagined, that Agesilaus only gave him this advice to betray him in consequence, as he had done Tachos. He therefore gave his enemy time to discipline his troops, who soon after reduced him to retire into a city, fortified with good walls, and of very great extent. Agesilaus was obliged to follow him thither; where the Mendesian prince besieged them. Nectanebis would then have attacked the enemy before his works which were begun were advanced, and pressed Agesilaus to that purpose; but he refused his compliance at first, which extremely augmented the suspicions conceived of him. At length, when he saw the work in a sufficient forwardness, and that there remained only as much ground between the two ends of the line, as the troops within the city might occupy, drawn up in battle, he told Nectanebis, that it was time to attack the enemy, that their own lines would prevent their surrounding him, and that the interval between them was exactly the space he wanted, for ranging his troops in such a manner, as they might all act together effectively. The attack was executed according to Agesilaus's expectation; the besiegers were beaten, and from thenceforth Agesilaus conducted all the operations of the war with so much success, that the enemy prince was always overcome, and at last taken prisoner.

(*f*) The following winter, after having well esta-

(*f*) A. M. 3643. Ant. J. C. 361.

blished

bliſhed Nectanebis, he embarked to return for Lacedæmon, and was driven by contrary winds upon the coaſt of Africa, into a place called the port of Menelaus, where he fell ſick and died, at the age of fourſcore and four years. He had reigned forty one of them at Sparta, and of thoſe forty one, he had paſſed thirty with the reputation of the greateſt, and moſt powerful of all the Greeks, and had been looked upon, as the leader and king of almoſt all Greece, till the battle of Leuctra. His latter years did not entirely ſupport the reputation he had acquired; and Xenophon, in his elogium of this prince, wherein he gives him the preference to all other captains, has been found to exaggerate his virtues, and extenuate his faults too much.

The body of Ageſilaus was carried to Sparta. Thoſe who were about him not having honey, with which it was the Spartan cuſtom to cover the bodies they would embalm, made uſe of wax in its ſtead. His ſon Archidamus ſucceeded to the throne, which continued in his houſe down to Agis, who was the fifth king of the line of Ageſilaus.

Towards the end of the Egyptian war, the greateſt part of the provinces, in ſubjection to Perſia, revolted.

Artaxerxes Mnemon had been the involuntary occaſion of this defection. That prince, of himſelf, was good, equitable, and benevolent. He loved his people, and was beloved by them. He had abundance of mildneſs, and ſweetneſs of temper in his character; but that caſineſs degenerated into ſloth and luxury, and particularly in the latter years of his life, in which he diſcovered a diſlike for all buſineſs and application, from whence, the good qualities, which he otherwiſe poſſeſſed, as well as his beneficent intentions, became uſeleſs, and without effect. The nobility and governours of provinces, abuſing his favour, and the infirmities of his great age, oppreſſed the people, treated them with inſolence and cruelty, loaded them with taxes,

taxes, and did every thing in their power to render the Perſian yoke inſupportable.

The diſcontent became general, and broke out, after long ſuffering, almoſt at the ſame time on all ſides. Aſia minor, Syria, Phœnicia, and many other provinces declared themſelves openly, and took up arms. The principal leaders of the conſpiracy were Ariobarzanes prince of Phrygia, Mauſolus king of Caria, Orontes governour of Myſia, and Autophradates governour of Lydia. Datames, of whom mention has been made before, and who commanded in Cappadocia, was alſo engaged in it. By this means, half the revenues of the crown were on a ſudden diverted into different channels, and the remainder did not ſuffice for the expences of a war againſt the revolters, had they acted in concert. But their union was of no long continuance, and thoſe, who had been the firſt, and moſt zealous in ſhaking off the yoke, were alſo the foremoſt in reſuming it, and in betraying the intereſts of the others, to make their peace with the king.

The provinces of Aſia minor, on withdrawing from their obedience, had entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence, and had choſen Orontes governour of Myſia for their general. They had alſo reſolved to add twenty thouſand foreign troops to thoſe of the country, and had charged the ſame Orontes with the care of raiſing them. But when he had got the money for that ſervice into his hands, with the addition of a year's pay, he kept it for himſelf, and delivered to the king the perſons who had brought it from the revolted provinces.

Rheomithras, another of the chiefs of Aſia minor, being ſent into * Egypt to negociate ſuccours, committed a treachery of a like nature. Having brought from that country five hundred talents and fifty ſhips of war, he aſſembled the principal revolters at Leucas,

* *Diodorus ſays he was ſent to Tachos, but it is more likely that it was to Nectanebis.*

a city

a city of Aſia minor, under pretence of giving the an account of his negotiation, ſeized them all, deli vered them to the king to make his peace, and kep the money he had received in Egypt for the confede racy. Thus this formidable revolt, which had brough the Perſian empire to the very brink of ruin, diſſol ved of itſelf, or to ſpeak more properly, was ſuſ pended for ſome time.

SECT. XI. *Troubles at the court of Artaxerxes concerning his ſucceſſor. Death of that prince.*

(g) THE end of Artaxerxes's reign abounded with cabals. The whole court were divided into factions in favour of one or other of his ſons, who pretended to the ſucceſſion. He had an hundred and fifty by his concubines, who were in number three hundred and ſixty, and three by his lawful wife Atoſſa; Darius, Ariaſpes, and Ochus. To put a ſtop to theſe practices, he declared Darius the eldeſt, his ſucceſſor. And to remove all cauſe of diſputing that prince's right after his death, he permitted him to aſſume from thenceforth the title of king, and to wear the royal * Tiara. But the young prince was for having ſomething more real. Beſides which, the refuſal of Artaxerxes to give him one of his concubines, whom he had demanded, had extremely incenſed him, and he formed a conſpiracy againſt his father's life, wherein he engaged fifty of his brothers.

It was Tiribaſus, of whom mention has been made ſeveral times in the preceding volume, who contributed the moſt to his taking ſo unnatural a reſolution, from a like ſubject of diſcontent againſt the king; who, having promiſed to give him firſt one of his daughters in marriage, and then another, broke

(g) Plut. in Artaxerx. p. 1024—1027. Diod. l. 15. p. 400. Juſtin. l. 10. c. 1 & 2.

* *This Tiara was a turbant, or kind of head-dreſs, with the plume of feathers ſtanding upright upon it. The ſeven counſellors had alſo plumes of feathers, which they wore aſlant, and before. All others wore them aſlant, and behind.*

his

his word both times, and married them himself: Such abominable incests being permitted at that time in Persia, the religion of the nation not prohibiting them.

The number of the conspirators were already very great, and the day fixed for the execution, when an eunuch, well informed of the whole plot, discovered it to the king. Upon that information, Artaxerxes thought it would be highly imprudent to despise so great a danger by neglecting a strict enquiry into it; but that it would be much more so, to give credit to it without certain and unquestionable proof. He assured himself of it with his own eyes. The conspirators were suffered to enter the king's apartment, and then seized. Darius and all his accomplices were punished as they deserved.

After the death of Darius, the cabals began again. Three of his brothers were competitors, Ariaspes, Ochus, and Arsames. The two first pretended to the throne in right of birth, being the sons of the queen. The third had the king's favour, who tenderly loved him, though only the son of a concubine. Ochus, prompted by his restless ambition, studied perpetually the means to rid himself of both his rivals. As he was equally cunning and cruel, he employed his craft and artifice against Ariaspes, and his cruelty against Arsames. Knowing the former to be extremely simple and credulous, he made the eunuchs of the palace, whom he had found means to corrupt, threaten him so terribly in the name of the king his father, that expecting every moment to be treated as Darius had been, he poisoned himself to avoid it. After this, there remained only Arsames to give him umbrage, because his father, and all the world, considered that prince as most worthy of the throne, from his ability and other excellent qualities. Him he caused to be assassinated by Harpates, son of Tiribasus.

This loss, which followed close upon the other, and

the exceeding wickedneſs with which both were attended, gave the old king a grief that proved mortal: nor is it ſurprizing, that at his age, he ſhould not have ſtrength enough to ſupport ſo great an affliction. (*b*) He ſunk under it into his tomb, after a reign of forty three years, which might have been called happy, if not interrupted by many revolts. That of his ſucceſſor will be no leſs diſturbed with them.

SECT XII. *Cauſes of the frequent inſurrections and revolts in the Perſian empire.*

I HAVE taken care in relating the ſeditions, that happened in the Perſian empire, to obſerve from time to time the abuſes which occaſioned them. But as theſe revolts were more frequent than ever in the latter years, and will be more ſo, eſpecially in the ſucceeding reign, I thought it would be proper to unite here under the ſame point of view, the different cauſes of ſuch inſurrections, which foretell the approaching decline of the Perſian empire.

I. After the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, the kings of Perſia abandoned themſelves more and more to the charms of voluptuouſneſs and luxury, and the delights of an indolent and inactive life. Shut up generally in their palaces amongſt women, and a crowd of flatterers, they contented themſelves with enjoying, in ſoft effeminate eaſe and idleneſs, the pleaſure of univerſal command, and made their grandeur conſiſt in the ſplendid glare of riches, and an expenſive magnificence.

II. They were beſides princes of no great talents for the conduct of affairs, of ſmall capacity to govern, and void of taſte for glory. Not having a ſufficient extent of mind to animate all the parts of ſo vaſt an empire, nor ability to ſupport the weight of it, they transferred to their officers the cares of public buſineſs, the fatigues of commanding armies, and

(*b*) A. M. 3643. Ant. J. C. 361.

the

the dangers which attend the execution of great enterprizes; confining their ambition to bearing alone the lofty title of the great king, and the king of kings.

III. The great offices of the crown, the government of the provinces, the command of armies, were generally beſtowed upon people without either ſervice or merit. It was the credit of the favourites, the ſecret intrigues of the court, the ſollicitations of the women of the palace, which determined the choice of the perſons, who were to fill the moſt important poſts of the empire; and appropriated the rewards due to the officers who had done the ſtate real ſervice to their own creatures.

IV. Theſe courtiers, often out of a baſe, mean jealouſy of the merit, that gave them umbrage and reproached their ſmall abilities, removed their rivals from public employments, and rendered their talents uſeleſs to the ſtate. * Sometimes they would even cauſe their fidelity to be ſuſpected by falſe informations, bring them to trial, as criminals againſt the ſtate, and force the king's moſt faithful ſervants, for their defence againſt their calumniators, to ſeek their ſafety in revolting, and in turning thoſe arms againſt their prince, which they had ſo often made triumph for his glory, and the ſervice of the empire.

V. The miniſters, to hold the generals in dependance, reſtrained them under ſuch limited orders, as obliged them to let ſlip the occaſions of conquering, and prevented them, by attending new orders, from puſhing their advantages. They alſo often made them reſponſible for their bad ſucceſs, after having let them want every thing neceſſary to the ſervice.

VI. The kings of Perſia had extremely degenerated from the frugality of Cyrus, and the antient Perſians, who contented themſelves with creſſes and ſallads for their food, and water for their drink. The whole nobility had been infected with the contagion

* *Pharnabaſus, Tiribaſus, Datames*, &c.

of

of this example. In retaining the ſingle meal of their anceſtors, they made it laſt during the greateſt part of the day, and prolonged it far into the night by drinking to exceſs; and far from being aſhamed of drunkenneſs, they made it their glory, as we have ſeen in the example of young Cyrus.

VII. The extreme remoteneſs of the provinces, which extended from the Caſpian and Euxine, to the Red-ſea and Æthiopia, and from the rivers Ganges and Indus to the Ægean ſea, was a great obſtacle to the fidelity and affection of the people, who never had the ſatisfaction to enjoy the preſence of their maſters; who knew them only by the weight of their taxations, and by the pride and avarice of their *Satraps* or governors; and who, in tranſporting themſelves to the court, to make their demands and complaints there, could not hope to find acceſs to princes, who believed it contributed to the majeſty of their perſons to make themſelves inacceſſible and inviſible.

VIII. The multitude of the provinces in ſubjection to Perſia did not compoſe an uniform empire, nor the regular body of a ſtate, whoſe members were united by the common ties of intereſts, manners, language, and religion, and animated with the ſame ſpirit of government, under the guidance of the ſame laws. It was rather a confuſed, disjointed, tumultuous, and even forced aſſemblage of different nations, formerly free and independant, of whom ſome, who were torn from their native countries and the ſepulchres of their fore-fathers, ſaw themſelves with pain tranſported into unknown regions, or amongſt enemies, where they perſevered to retain their own laws and cuſtoms, and a form of government peculiar to themſelves. Theſe different nations, who not only lived without any common tie or relation amongſt them, but with a diverſity of manners and worſhip, and often with antipathy of characters and inclinations, deſired nothing ſo ardently as their liberty, and re-eſtabliſhment in their own countries. All theſe people therefore

were

were unconcerned for the preſervation of an empire, which was the ſole obſtacle to their ſo warm and juſt deſires, and could not affect a government, that treated them always as ſtrangers and ſubjected nations, and never gave them any ſhare in its authority or privileges.

IX. The extent of the empire, and its remoteneſs from the court, made it neceſſary to give the viceroys of the frontier provinces a very great authority in every branch of government; to raiſe and pay armies; to impoſe tribute; to adjudge the differences of cities, provinces, and vaſſal kings; and to make treaties with the neighbouring ſtates. A power ſo extenſive and almoſt independent, in which they continued many years without being changed, and without collegues or council to deliberate upon the affairs of their provinces, accuſtomed them to the pleaſure of commanding abſolutely, and of reigning. In conſequence of which, it was with great repugnance they ſubmitted to be removed from their governments, and often endeavoured to ſupport themſelves in them by force of arms.

X. The governors of provinces, the generals of armies, and all the other officers and miniſters, thought it for their honour to imitate in their equipages, tables, moveables, and habits, the pomp and ſplendor of the court in which they had been educated. To ſupport ſo deſtructive a pride, and to furniſh out expences ſo much above the fortunes of private perſons, they were reduced to oppreſs the ſubjects under their juriſdiction with exorbitant taxes, flagrant extortions, and the ſhameful traffic of a public venality, that ſet thoſe offices to ſale for money, which ought to have been granted only to merit. All that vanity laviſhed, or luxury exhauſted, was made good by mean arts, and the violent rapaciouſneſs of an inſatiable avarice.

Theſe groſs irregularities, and abundance of others, which remained without remedy, and which were daily augmented by impunity, tired the people's patience, and occaſioned a general diſcontent amongſt

them, the uſual forerunner of the ruin of ſtates. Their juſt complaints, long time deſpiſed, were followed by an open rebellion of ſeveral nations, who endeavoured to do themſelves that juſtice by force, which was refuſed to their remonſtrances. In ſuch a conduct, they failed in the ſubmiſſion and fidelity which ſubjects owe to their ſovereigns; but Paganiſm did not carry its lights ſo far, and was not capable of ſo ſublime a perfection, which was reſerved for a religion that teaches that no pretext, no injuſtice, no vexation, can ever authorize the rebellion of a people againſt their prince.

BOOK

BOOK THE THIRTEENTH.

SECT. I.

Ochus aſcends the throne of Perſia. His cruelties. Revolt of ſeveral nations.

THE more the memory of Artaxerxes Mnemon was honoured and revered throughout the whole empire, the more Ochus believed he had reaſon to fear for himſelf; convinced, that in ſucceeding to him, he ſhould not find the ſame favourable diſpoſitions in the people and nobility, of whom he had made himſelf the horror by the murder of his two brothers. (*i*) To prevent that averſion from occaſioning his excluſion, he prevailed upon the eunuchs, and others about the king's perſon, to conceal his death from the public. He began by taking upon himſelf the adminiſtration of affairs, giving orders, and ſealing decrees in the name of Artaxerxes, as if he had been ſtill alive; and by one of thoſe decrees, he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king throughout the whole empire, always by the order of Artaxerxes. After having governed in this manner almoſt ten months, believing himſelf ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, he at length declared the death of his father, and aſcended the throne, taking upon himſelf the name of Artaxerxes (*k*). Authors however moſt frequently give him that of Ochus, by which name I ſhall generally call him in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

Ochus was the moſt cruel and wicked of all the princes of his race, as his actions ſoon explained. In a very ſhort time the palace and the whole empire

(*i*) Polyæn. Stratag. vii.

(*k*) A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

were filled with his murders. (*l*) To remove from the revolted provinces all means of ſetting ſome other of the royal family upon the throne, and to rid himſelf at once of all trouble, that the princes and princeſſes of the blood might occaſion him, he put them all to death, without regard to ſex, age, or proximity of blood. He cauſed his own ſiſter Ocha, whoſe daughter he had married, to be buried alive (*m*); and having ſhut up one of his uncles, with an hundred of his ſons and grandſons in a court of the palace, he ordered them all to be ſhot to death with arrows, only becauſe thoſe princes were much eſteemed by the Perſians for their probity and valour. That uncle is apparently the father of Siſygambis, the mother of Darius Codomannus: (*n*) For Quintus Curtius tells us, that Ochus had cauſed fourſcore of her brothers with their father to be maſſacred in one day. He treated with the ſame barbarity, throughout the whole empire, all thoſe who gave him any umbrage, ſparing none of the nobility, whom he ſuſpected of the leaſt diſcontent whatſoever.

(*o*) The cruelties, exerciſed by Ochus, did not deliver him from inquietude. Artabaſus, governor of one of the Aſiatic provinces, engaged Chares the Athenian, who commanded a fleet and a body of troops in thoſe parts, to aſſiſt him, and with his aid defeated an army of ſeventy thouſand men ſent by the king to reduce him. Artabaſus, in reward of ſo great a ſervice, made Chares a preſent of money to defray the whole expences of his armament. The king of Perſia reſented exceedingly this conduct of the Athenians in regard to him. They were at that time employed in the war of the allies. The king's menace to join their enemies with a numerous army obliged them to recal Chares.

(*p*) Artabaſus, being abandoned by them, had re-

(*l*) Juſtin. l. 10. c. 3. (*m*) Val. Max. l. 9. c. 2. (*n*) Quin. Cur. l. 10. c. 5. (*o*) A. M. 3643. Ant. J. C. 356. Diod. l. 16. p. 433, 434. (*p*) A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353.

courſe to the Thebans, of whom he obtained five thouſand men that he took into his pay, with Pammenes to command them. This reinforcement put him into a condition to acquire two other victories over the king's troops. Thoſe two actions did the Theban troops, and their commander, great honour. Thebes muſt have been extremely incenſed againſt the king of Perſia, to ſend ſo powerful a ſuccour to his enemies, at a time when that republic was engaged in a war with the Phocæans. It was perhaps an effect of their policy, to render themſelves more formidable, and to enhance the price of their alliance. (*q*) It is certain, that ſoon after, they made their psace with the king, who paid them three hundred talents, that is to ſay, three hundred thouſand crowns. Artabaſus, deſtitute of all ſupport, was overcome at laſt, and obliged to take refuge with Philip in Macedon.

Ochus, being delivered at length from ſo dangerous an enemy, turned all his thoughts on the ſide of Egypt, that had revolted long before. About the ſame time, ſeveral conſiderable events happened in Greece, which have little or no relation with the affairs of Perſia. I ſhall inſert them here, after which I ſhall return to the reign of Ochus, not to interrupt the ſeries of his hiſtory.

SECT. II. *War of the allies againſt the Athenians.*

(*r*) SOME few years after the revolt of Aſia minor, of which I have been ſpeaking, in the third year of the hundred and fiftieth olympiad, Chio, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium, took up arms againſt Athens, upon which till then they had depended. To reduce them, they employed both great forces and great captains, Chabrias, Iphicrates, and Timotheus. * They were the laſt of the Athenian gene-

(*q*) Diod. p. 438.

(*r*) A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 358.

* Hæc extrema fuit ætas imperatorum Athenienſium, Iphicratis, Chabriæ, Timothei: neque poſt illorum obitum quiſquam dux in illa urbe fuit dignus memoria. *Cor. Nep. in Timoth.* c. 4.

rals, who did honour to their country; no one after them being diſtinguiſhed by merit or reputation.

(*s*) CHABRIAS had already acquired a great name, when having been ſent againſt the Spartans to the aid of the Thebans, and ſeeing himſelf abandoned in the battle by the allies, who had taken to flight, he ſuſtained alone the charge of the enemy; his ſoldiers, by his order, having cloſed their files with one knee upon the ground covered with their bucklers, and preſented their pikes in front, in ſuch a manner, that they could not be broke, and Ageſilaus, though victorious, was obliged to retire. The Athenians erected a ſtatue to Chabrias in the attitude he had fought.

IPHICRATES was of very mean extraction, his father having been a ſhoemaker. But in a free city like Athens merit was the ſole nobility. This perſon may be truly ſaid to be the ſon of his actions. Having ſignalized himſelf in a naval combat, wherein he was only a private ſoldier, he was ſoon after employed with diſtinction, and honoured with a command. In a proſecution carried on againſt him before the judges, his accuſer, who was one of the deſcendants of Harmodius, and made very great uſe of his anceſtor's name, having reproached him with the baſeneſs of his birth; *Yes*, replied he, *The nobility of my family begins in me: That of yours ends in you.* He married the daughter of Cotys, king of Thrace.

(*t*) He is * ranked with the greateſt men of Greece, eſpecially in what regards the knowledge of war and military diſcipline. He made ſeveral uſeful alterations in the ſoldiers armour. Before him, the bucklers were very long and heavy, and for that reaſon, were too great a burden, and extremely troubleſome: He had them made ſhorter and lighter, ſo that, with-

(*s*) Cor. Nep. in Chab. c. 1. Nep. in Iphic. c. 1.

(*t*) Diod. l. 15. p. 360. Cor.

* Iphicrates Athenienſis, non tam magnitudine rerum geſtarum, quam diſciplina militari nobilitatus eſt. Fuit enim talis dux, ut non ſolum ætatis ſuæ cum primis compararetur, ſed ne de majoribus natu quidem quiſquam anteponeretur. *Cor. Nep.*

out

out expoſing the body, they added to its force and agility. On the contrary, he lengthened the pikes and ſwords, to make them capable of reaching the enemy at a greater diſtance. He alſo changed the cuiraſſes, and inſtead of iron and braſs, of which they were made before, he cauſed them to be made of flax. It is not eaſy to conceive how ſuch armour could defend the ſoldiers, or be any ſecurity againſt wounds. But that flax being ſoaked in vinegar, mingled with ſalt, was prepared in ſuch a manner, that it grew hard, and became impenetrable either to ſword or fire. The uſe of it was common amongſt ſeveral nations.

No troops were ever better exerciſed or diſciplined than thoſe of Iphicrates. He kept them always in action, and in times of peace and tranquillity, made them perform all the neceſſary evolutions, either in attacking the enemy, or defending themſelves; in laying ambuſcades, or avoiding them; in keeping their ranks even in the purſuit of the enemy, without abandoning themſelves to an ardour which often becomes pernicious, or to rally with ſucceſs after having begun to break and give way. So that when battle was to be given, all was in motion with admirable promptitude and order. The officers and ſoldiers drew themſelves up without any trouble, and even in the heat of action performed their parts, as the moſt able general would have directed them. A merit very rare, as I have been informed, but very eſtimable; as it contributes more than can be imagined to the gaining of a battle, and implies a very uncommon ſuperiority of genius in the general.

Timotheus was the ſon of Conon, ſo much celebrated for his great actions, and the important ſervices he had rendered his country. * He did not degene-

* Hic à patre acceptam gloriam multis auxit virtutibus. Fuit enim diſertus, impiger, laborioſus, rei militaris peritus, neque minùs civitatis regendæ. *Cor. Nep.* c. 1.

Timotheus Cononis filius, cum belli laude non inferior fuiſſet quam pater, ad eam laudem doctrinæ et ingenii gloriam adjecit. *Cic.* l. 1. *de offic.* n. 116.

rate from his father's reputation, either for his merit in the field, or his ability in the government of the ſtate; but he added to thoſe excellencies, the glory which reſults from the talents of the mind, having diſtinguiſhed himſelf particularly by the gift of elo-quence, and a taſte for the ſciences.

(*u*) No captain at firſt ever experienced leſs than himſelf the inconſtancy of the fortune of war. He had only to undertake an enterprize, to accompliſh it. Succeſs perpetually attended his views and deſires. Such uncommon proſperity did not fail to excite jea-louſy. Thoſe who envied him, as I have already ob-ſerved, cauſed him to be painted aſleep, with Fortune by him taking cities for him in nets. Timotheus retorted coldly, *If I take places in my ſleep, what ſhall I do when I am awake?* He took the thing afterwards more ſeriouſly, and angry with thoſe who pretended to leſſen the glory of his actions, declared in public that, he did not owe his ſucceſs to fortune, but to himſelf. That goddeſs, ſays Plutarch, offended at his pride and arrogance, abandoned him afterwards entirely, and he was never ſucceſsful afterwards. Such were the chiefs employed in the war of the allies.

(*x*) The war and the campaign opened with the ſiege of Chio. Chares commanded the land, and Chabrias the ſea, forces. All the allies exerted them-ſelves in ſending aid to that iſland. Chabrias, having forced the paſſage, entered the port, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the enemy. The other gallies were afraid to follow, and abandoned him. He was immediately ſurrounded on all ſides, and his veſſel ex-ceedingly damaged by the aſſaults of the enemy. He might have ſaved himſelf by ſwimming to the Athe-nian fleet, as his ſoldiers did; but from a miſtaken principle of glory, he thought it inconſiſtent with the duty of a general to abandon his veſſel in ſuch a man-

(*u*) Plut. Sylla. 454. (*x*) Diod. l. 16. p. 412. Cor. Nep. in Chab. c. 4.

ner,

ner, and preferred a death glorious in his ſenſe, to a ſhameful flight.

This firſt attempt having miſcarried, both ſides applied themſelves vigorouſly to making new preparations. The Athenians fitted out a fleet of ſixty gallies, and appointed Chares to command it, and armed ſixty more under Iphicrates and Timotheus. The fleet of the allies conſiſted of an hundred ſail. After having ravaged ſeveral iſlands belonging to the Athenians, where they made a great booty, they ſat down before Samos. The Athenians on their ſide, having united all their forces, beſieged Byzantium. The allies made all poſſible haſte to its relief. The two fleets being in view of each other prepared to fight, when ſuddenly a violent ſtorm aroſe, notwithſtanding which, Chares reſolved to advance againſt the enemy. The two other captains, who had more prudence and experience than him, thought it improper to hazard a battle in ſuch a conjuncture. Chares, enraged at their not following his advice, called the ſoldiers to witneſs, that it was not his fault they did not fight the enemy. He was naturally vain, oſtentatious, and full of himſelf; one who exaggerated his own ſervices, depreciated thoſe of others, and arrogated to himſelf the whole glory of ſucceſſes. He wrote to Athens againſt his two collegues, and accuſed them of cowardice and treaſon. Upon his complaint, the people, * capricious, warm, ſuſpicious, and naturally jealous of ſuch as were diſtinguiſhed by their extraordinary merit or authority, recalled thoſe two generals, and brought them to a trial.

The faction of Chares, which was very powerful at Athens, having declared againſt Timotheus, he was ſentenced to pay a fine of an hundred talents †; a worthy reward for the noble diſintereſtedneſs he had ſhewn upon another occaſion, in bringing home to

* Populus acer, ſuſpicax, mobilis, adverſarius, invidus etiam potentiæ, domum revocat. *Cor. Nep.*

† *An hundred thouſand crowns.*

his country twelve hundred talents ‖ of booty taken from the enemy, without the leaſt deduction for himſelf. He could bear no longer the ſight of an ungrateful city, and being too poor to pay ſo great a fine, retired to Chalcis. After his death, the people touched with repentance, mitigated the fine to ten talents, which they made his ſon Conon pay, to rebuild a certain part of the walls. Thus, by an event ſufficiently odd, thoſe very walls, which his grandfather had rebuilt with the ſpoils of the enemy, the grandſon, to the ſhame of Athens, repaired in part at his own expence.

(*y*) Iphicrates was alſo obliged to anſwer for himſelf before the judges. It was upon this occaſion, that Ariſtophon, another Athenian captain, accuſed him of having betrayed and ſold the fleet under his command. Iphicrates, with the confidence an eſtabliſhed reputation inſpires, aſked him, *Would you have committed a treaſon of this nature? No*, replied Ariſtophon, *I am a man of too much honour for ſuch an action! How*, replied Iphicrates, *Could Iphicrates do what Ariſtophon would not do?*

(*x*) He did not only employ the force of arguments in his defence, he called in alſo the aſſiſtance of arms. Inſtructed by his collegue's ill ſucceſs, he ſaw plainly that it was more neceſſary to intimidate than convince his judges. He poſted round the place where they aſſembled a number of young perſons, armed with poignards, which they took care to ſhew from time to time. They could not reſiſt ſo forcible and triumphant a kind of eloquence, and diſmiſſed him acquitted of the charge. When he was afterwards reproached with ſo violent a proceeding; *I had been a fool indeed*, ſaid he, *if having made war ſucceſsfully for the Athenians, I had neglected doing ſo for myſelf.*

Chares, by the recal of his two collegues, was left ſole general of the whole army, and was in a condi-

(*y*) Ariſt. Rhet. l. 2. c. 23. (*x*) Polyæn. Stratag. l. 3.

‖ *Twelve hundred thouſand crowns.*

tion

tion to have advanced the Athenian affairs very much in the Helleſpont, if he had known how to reſiſt the magnificent offers of Artabaſus. That viceroy, who had revolted in Aſia minor againſt the king of Perſia his maſter, beſieged by an army of ſeventy thouſand men, and juſt upon the point of being ruined from the inequality of his forces, corrupted Chares. That general, who had no thoughts but of enriching himſelf, marched directly to the aſſiſtance of Artabaſus, effectually relieved him, and received a reward ſuitable to the ſervice. The action of Chares was treated as a capital crime. He had not only abandoned the ſervice of the republic for a foreign war, but offended the king of Perſia, who threatened by his ambaſſadors to equip three hundred ſail of ſhips in favour of the iſlanders allied againſt Athens. The credit of Chares ſaved him again upon this, as it had done ſeveral times before upon like occaſions. The Athenians intimidated by the king's menaces, applied themſelves ſeriouſly to prevent their effects by a general peace.

Prior to theſe menaces, Iſocrates had earneſtly recommended this treaty to them in a fine diſcourſe (*a*), which is ſtill extant, wherein he gives them excellent advice. He reproaches them with great liberty, as does Demoſthenes in almoſt all his orations, of abandoning themſelves blindly to the inſinuations of orators, who flatter their paſſions, whilſt they treat thoſe with contempt, who give them the moſt ſalutary counſels. He applies himſelf particularly to correct in them their violent paſſion for the augmentation of their power, and dominion over the people of Greece, which had been the ſource of all their misfortunes. He recals to their remembrance thoſe happy days, ſo glorious for Athens, in which their anceſtors, out of a noble and generous diſintereſtedneſs, ſacrificed every thing for the ſupport of the common liberty, and the preſervation of Greece, and compares them with the

(*a*) De pace, ſeu ſocialis.

preſent

preſent ſad times, wherein the ambition of Sparta, and afterwards that of Athens, had ſucceſſively plunged both ſtates into the greateſt misfortunes. He repreſents to them, that the real and laſting greatneſs of a ſtate does not conſiſt in augmenting its dominions, or extending its conqueſts to the utmoſt, which cannot be effected without violence and injuſtice; but in the wiſe government of the people, in rendering them happy, in protecting their allies, in being beloved and eſteemed by their neighbours, and feared by their enemies. "A ſtate, ſays he, cannot fail of becoming the arbi-
"ter of all its neighbours, when it knows how to
"unite in its meaſures the two great qualities, juſtice
"and power, which mutually ſupport each other,
"and ought to be inſeparable. For as power, not
"regulated by the motives of reaſon and juſtice, has
"recourſe to the moſt violent methods to cruſh and
"ſubvert whatever oppoſes it; ſo juſtice, when un-
"armed and without power, is expoſed to injury,
"and neither in a condition to defend itſelf, nor pro-
"tect others." The concluſion drawn by Iſocrates from this reaſoning, is, That Athens, if it would be happy, and in tranquillity, ought not to affect the empire of the ſea for the ſake of lording it over all other ſtates; but ſhould conclude a peace, whereby every city and people ſhould be left to the full enjoyment of their liberty; and declare themſelves irreconcileable enemies of thoſe who ſhould preſume to diſturb that peace, or contravene ſuch meaſures.

(*b*) The peace was concluded accordingly under ſuch conditions, and it was ſtipulated, that Rhodes, Byzantium, Chio, and Cos, ſhould enjoy entire liberty. The war of the allies ended in this manner after having continued three years.

(*b*) A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356.

SECT.

SECT. III. *Demoſthenes encourages the Athenians, alarmed by the preparations of Artaxerxes for war. He harangues them in favour of the Megalopolitans, and afterwards of the Rhodians. Death of Mauſolus. Extraordinary grief of Artemiſa his wife.*

(c) THIS peace did not entirely remove the apprehenſion of the Athenians with regard to the king of Perſia. The great preparations he was making gave them umbrage, and they were afraid ſo formidable an armament was intended againſt Greece, and that Egypt was only a plauſible pretext with which the king covered his real deſigns.

Athens took the alarm upon this rumour. The orators increaſed the fears of the people by their diſcourſes, and exhorted them to have an immediate recourſe to their arms, to prevent the king of Perſia by a previous declaration of war; and to make a league with all the people of Greece againſt the common enemy. Demoſthenes made his firſt appearance in public at this time, and mounted the tribunal for harangues to give his opinion. He was twenty eight years of age. I ſhall ſpeak more extenſively of him in the concluſion of this volume. Upon the preſent occaſion, more wiſe than thoſe precipitate orators, and having undoubtedly in view the importance to the republic of the aid of the Perſians againſt Philip, he dared not indeed oppoſe in a direct manner their advice, leſt he ſhould render himſelf ſuſpected; but, admitting as a principle from the firſt, that it was neceſſary to conſider the king of Perſia as the eternal enemy of Greece, he repreſented that it was not conſiſtent with prudence, in an affair of ſuch great conſequence, to precipitate any thing; that it was very improper by a reſolution taken upon light and uncertain reports, and by a too early declaration of war, to furniſh ſo powerful a prince with a juſt reaſon to turn his arms againſt Greece; that all which was ne-

(c) A. M. 3649. Ant. J. C. 355.

ceſſary

ceſſary at preſent, was to fit out a fleet of three hundred ſail, (in what manner he propoſed a * ſcheme,) and to hold the troops in a readineſs and condition to make an effectual, and vigorous defence in caſe of being attacked; that by ſo doing, all the people of Greece, without farther invitation, would be ſufficiently apprized of the common danger to join them; and that the report alone of ſuch an armament would be enough to induce the king of Perſia to change his meaſures, admitting he ſhould have formed any deſigns againſt Greece.

For the reſt, he was not of opinion, that it was neceſſary to levy an immediate tax upon the eſtates of private perſons for the expence of this war, which would not amount to a great ſum, nor ſuffice for the occaſion. "It is better, ſaid he, to rely upon the "zeal and generoſity of the citizens. Our city may "be ſaid to be almoſt as rich as all the other cities of "Greece together. (He had before obſerved, that "the eſtimate of the lands of Attica amounted to ſix "thouſand talents, (about eight hundred and fifty "thouſand pounds ſterling.) When we ſhall ſee the "reality and approach of the danger, every body will "be ready to contribute to the expences of the war; "as no body can be ſo void of reaſon as to prefer "the hazard of loſing their whole eſtate with their "liberty, to ſacrificing a ſmall part of it to their "own, and their country's preſervation.

"And we ought not to fear, as ſome people would "inſinuate, that the great riches of the king of Per-"ſia enable him to raiſe a great body of auxiliaries, "and render his army formidable againſt us. Our "Greeks, when they are to march againſt Egypt, "or Orontes and the other Barbarians, ſerve willing-"ly under the Perſians; but not one of them, I

* *I reſerve this ſcheme for the end of the volume, being curious, and very proper to explain in what manner the Athenians fitted out, and ſubſiſted their fleets.*

"dare

"dare be assured, not a single man of them, will "ever resolve to bear arms against Greece.

This discourse had all its effect. The refined and delicate address of the orator in advising the imposition of a tax to be deferred, and artfully explaining at the same time that it would fall only upon the rich, was highly proper to render abortive an affair, which had no other foundation than in the overheated imaginations of some orators, who were perhaps interested in the war they advised.

(*f*) Two years after, an enterprize of the Lacedæmonians against Megalopolis, a city of Arcadia, gave Demosthenes another opportunity to signalize his zeal, and display his eloquence. That city, which had been lately established by the Arcadians, who had settled a numerous colony there from different cities, and which might serve as a fortress and bulwark against Sparta, gave the Lacedæmonians great uneasiness, and alarmed them extremely. They resolved therefore to attack and make themselves masters of it. The Megalopolitans, who, without doubt, had renounced their alliance with Thebes, had recourse to Athens, and implored its protection: the other people concerned sent also their deputies thither, and the affair was debated before the people.

(*g*) Demosthenes founded his discourse from the beginning of it upon this principle; that it was of the last importance to prevent either Sparta or Thebes from growing too powerful, and from being in a condition to give the law to the rest of Greece. Now it is evident, that if we abandon Megalopolis to the Lacedæmonians, they will will soon make themselves masters of Messene also, two strong neighbouring cities, which are a check upon Sparta, and keep it within due bounds. The alliance we shall make with the Arcadians, in declaring for Megalopolis, is therefore the certain means to preserve so necessary a balance

(*f*) A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353. Diod. l. 15. p. 401.
(*g*) Demost. orat. pro Megalop.

between

between Sparta and Thebes; becauſe whatever happens, neither the one nor the other will be able to hurt us, whilſt the Arcadians are our allies, whoſe forces, in conjunction with ours, will always be ſuperior to thoſe of either of them.

A weighty objection to this advice of Demoſthenes, was the alliance actually ſubſiſting between Athens and Sparta. For, in fine, ſaid the orators who oppoſed Demoſthenes, what idea will the world have of Athens, if we change in ſuch a manner with the times; or is it conſiſtent with juſtice to pay no regard to the faith of treaties? "We ought, (replied Demoſthenes, whoſe very words I ſhall repeat in this place) "We * ought indeed always to have juſtice in view, "and to make it the rule of our conduct; but at "the ſame time, our conformity to it ſhould conſiſt "with the public good and the intereſt of the ſtate." It has been a perpetual maxim with us to aſſiſt the oppreſſed. (He cites the Lacedæmonians themſelves, the Thebans and Euboeans as examples.) We have never varied from this principle. The reproach of changing therefore ought not to fall upon us, but upon thoſe, whoſe injuſtice and uſurpation oblige us to declare againſt them.

I admire the language of politicians. To hear them talk, it is always reaſon and the ſtricteſt juſtice that determine them; but to ſee them act, makes it evident that intereſt and ambition are the ſole rule and guide of their conduct. Their diſcourſe is an effect of that regard for juſtice which nature has implanted in the mind of man, and which they cannot entirely ſhake off. There are few who venture to declare againſt that internal principle in their expreſſions, or to contradict it openly. But there are alſo few, who obſerve it with fidelity and conſtancy in their actions. Greece never was known to have more treaties of alliance than at the time we are now ſpeaking of,

* Δεῖ σκοπεῖν μὲν ἀεὶ καὶ πράττειν τὰ δίκαια· συμπαρατηρεῖν δὲ, ὅπως ἅμα καὶ συμφέροντα ἔσται ταῦτα.

nor

nor were they ever leſs regarded. This contempt of the religion of oaths in ſtates is a proof of their decline, and often denotes and occaſions their approaching ruin.

(*b*) The Athenians, moved by the eloquent diſcourſe of Demoſthenes, ſent three thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe to the aid of the Megalopolitans, under the command of * Pammenes. Megalopolis was re-inſtated in its former condition, and its inhabitants, who had retired into their own countries, were obliged to return.

The peace, which had put an end to the war of the allies, did not procure for all of them the tranquillity they had reaſon to expect from it. The people of Rhodes and Cos, who had been declared free by that treaty, only changed their maſter. Mauſolus king of Caria, who had aſſiſted them in throwing off the Athenian yoke, impoſed his own upon them. Having publickly declared himſelf for the rich and powerful, he enſlaved the people, and made them ſuffer exceedingly. He died the ſecond year after the treaty of peace, having reigned twenty four years. (*i*) Artemiſa his wife ſucceeded him, and as ſhe was ſupported with all the influence of the king of Perſia, ſhe retained her power in the iſles lately ſubjected.

In ſpeaking here of Artemiſa, it is proper to obſerve, that ſhe muſt not be confounded with another Artemiſa, who lived above an hundred years before, in the time of Xerxes, and who diſtinguiſhed her reſolution and prudence ſo much in the naval battle of Salamin. Several celebrated writers have fallen into this error, through inadvertency.

(*k*) This princeſs immortalized herſelf by the honours ſhe rendered to the memory of Mauſolus her huſband. She cauſed a magnificent monument to be

(*b*) Diod. p. 402. (*i*) A. M. 3650. Ant. J. C. 354. Diod. l. 16. p. 435. (*k*) Plin. l. 36. c. 5.

* *This is not the Pammenes of Thebes, of whom mention has been made before.*

erected

erected for him in Halicarnaſſus, which was called the *Mauſolæum*, and for its beauty was eſteemed one of the wonders of the world, and gave the name of *Mauſolæum* to all future great and magnificent ſtructures of the ſame kind.

(*l*) She endeavoured alſo to eternize the name of Mauſolus by other monuments, which ſhe believed more durable than thoſe of braſs or marble, but are often no better proof againſt the injuries of time; I mean works of wit. She cauſed excellent panegyrics to be made in honour of her huſband, and propoſed a prize of great value for the perſon whoſe performance ſhould be the beſt. Amongſt many others, the celebrated Iſocrates, and Theopompus, his diſciple, were competitors for it.

Theopompus carried it from them all, and had the weakneſs and vanity to boaſt in public of having gained the prize againſt his maſter; preferring, as is too common, the ſame of fine parts to the glory of a good heart. He had repreſented Mauſolus in his hiſtory as a prince moſt ſordidly avaritious, to whom all means of amaſſing treaſure were good and eligible. He painted him without doubt in very different colours in his panegyric, or elſe he would never have pleaſed the princeſs.

(*m*) That illuſtrious widow prepared a different tomb for Mauſolus, than that I have been ſpeaking of. Having gathered his aſhes, and had the bones beaten in a mortar, ſhe mingled ſome of the powder every day in her drink, till ſhe had drank it all off; deſiring by that means to make her own body the ſepulchre of her huſband. She ſurvived him only two years, and her grief did not end but with her life.

Inſtead of tears, in which moſt writers plunge Artemiſa during her widowhood, there are ſome who ſay ſhe made very conſiderable conqueſts. (*n*) It ap-

(*l*) Aul. Gel. l. 10. c. 18. Plut. in Iſocrat. p. 838. (*m*) Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 3. n. 75. Val. Max. l. 4. c. 6. (*n*) Demoſt. de libertat. Rhod. p. 145.

pears

pears by one of Demoſthenes's orations, that ſhe was not conſidered at Athens as a forlorn relict, who neglected the affairs of her kingdom. But we have ſomething more deciſive upon this head. (o) Vitruvius tells us, that after the death of Mauſolus, the Rhodians, offended that a woman ſhould reign in Caria, undertook to dethrone her. They left Rhodes for that purpoſe with their fleet, and entered the great port of Halicarnaſſus. The queen being informed of their deſign, had given the inhabitants orders to keep within the walls, and when the enemy ſhould arrive, to expreſs by ſhouts and clapping of hands a readineſs to ſurrender the city to them. The Rhodians quitted their ſhips, and went in all haſte to the public place, leaving their fleet without any to guard it. In the mean time, Artemiſa came out with her gallies from the little port through a ſmall canal, which ſhe had cauſed to be cut on purpoſe, entered the great port, ſeized the enemies fleet without reſiſtance, and having put her ſoldiers and mariners on board of it, ſhe ſet ſail. The Rhodians, having no means of eſcaping, were all put to the ſword. The queen all the while advanced towards Rhodes. When the inhabitants ſaw their veſſels approach, adorned with wreaths of laurel, they raiſed great ſhouts, and received their victorious and triumphant fleet with extraordinary marks of joy. It was ſo in effect, but in another ſenſe than they imagined. Artemiſa, having met with no reſiſtance, took poſſeſſion of the city, and put the principal inhabitants to death. She cauſed a trophy of her victory to be erected in it, and ſet up two ſtatues of braſs; one of which repreſented the city of Rhodes, and the other Artemiſa branding it with a hot iron. Vitruvius adds, that the Rhodians dared never demoliſh that trophy, their religion forbidding it; but they ſurrounded it with a building which prevented it entirely from being ſeen.

All this, as Monſieur Bayle obſerves in his dictio-

(o) Vitruv. de Architect. l. 2. c. 8.

nary,

nary, does not expreſs a forlorn and inconſolable widow, that paſſed her whole time in grief and lamentation; which makes it reaſonable to ſuſpect, that whatever is reported of exceſſive in the mourning of Artemiſa, has no other foundation, but its being advanced at a venture by ſome writer, and afterwards copied by all the reſt.

I ſhould be better pleaſed, for the honour of Artemiſa, if it had been ſaid, as there is nothing incredible in it, that by a fortitude and greatneſs of mind, of which her ſex has many examples, ſhe had known how to unite the ſevere affliction of the widow with the active courage of the queen, and made the affairs of her government ſerve her inſtead of conſolation. (p) *Negotia pro ſolatiis accipiens.*

(q) The Rhodians being treated by Artemiſa in the manner we have related, and unable to ſupport any longer ſo ſevere and ſhameful a ſervitude, they had recourſe to the Athenians, and implored their protection. Though they had rendered themſelves entirely unworthy of it by their revolt, Demoſthenes took upon him to ſpeak to the people in their behalf. He began with ſetting forth their crime in its full light; he enlarged upon their injuſtice and perfidy; he ſeemed to enter into the people's juſt ſentiments of reſentment and indignation, and it might have been thought, was going to declare himſelf in the ſtrongeſt terms againſt the Rhodians: But all this was only the art of the orator, to inſinuate himſelf into his auditors opinion, and to excite in them quite contrary ſentiments of goodneſs and compaſſion for a people, who acknowledged their fault, who confeſſed their unworthineſs, and who nevertheleſs were come to implore the republic's protection. He ſets before them the great maxims, which in all ages had conſtituted the glory of Athens; the forgiving of injuries, the pardoning of rebels, and the taking upon them the de-

(p) Tacit. libert. Rhod.

(q) A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 351. Demoſt. de

fence

fence of the unfortunate. To the motives of glory, he annexes thoſe of intereſt; in ſhewing the importance of declaring for a city, that favoured the democratic form of government, and of not abandoning an iſland ſo powerful as that of Rhodes: which is the ſubſtance of Demoſthenes's diſcourſe, intitled, *For the liberty of the Rhodians.*

(*r*) The death of Artemiſa, which happened the ſame year, it is very likely, re-eſtabliſhed the Rhodians in their liberty. She was ſucceeded by her brother Idriæus, who eſpouſed his own ſiſter Ada, as Mauſolus had done Artemiſa. It was the cuſtom in Caria for the kings to marry their ſiſters in this manner, and for the widows to ſucceed their huſbands in the throne in preference to the brothers, and even the children of the defunct.

SECT. IV. *Succeſsful expedition of Ochus againſt Phœnicia, and Cyprus, and afterwards againſt Egypt.*

(*s*) OCHUS meditated in earneſt the reduction of Egypt to its obedience, which had long pretended to maintain itſelf in independance. Whilſt he was making great preparations for this important expedition, he received advice of the revolt of Phœnicia. (*t*) That people oppreſſed by the Perſian governors, reſolved to throw off ſo heavy a yoke, and made a league with Nectanebis king of Egypt, againſt whom Perſia was marching its armies. As there was no other paſſage for that invaſion but through Phœnicia, this revolt was very ſeaſonable for Nectanebis, who therefore ſent Mentor the Rhodian to ſupport the rebels, with four thouſand Grecian troops. He intended by that means to make Phœnicia his barrier, and to ſtop the Perſians there. The Phœnicians took the field with that re-inforcement, beat the governors of Syria and Cilicia, that had been ſent againſt them, and drove the Perſians entirely out of Phœnicia.

(*r*) Strab. l. 14. p. 656.
(*t*) Diod. l. 16. p. 439.
(*s*) A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 351.

(*u*) The

(*u*) The Cyprians, who were not better treated than the Phœnicians, ſeeing the good ſucceſs which had attended this revolt, followed their example, and joined in their league with Egypt. Ochus ſent orders to Idriæus king of Caria, to make war againſt them; who ſoon after fitted out a fleet, and ſent eight thouſand Greeks along with it, under the command of Phocion the Athenian, and Evagoras, who was believed to have been the ſon of Nicocles. It is probable that he had been expelled by his uncle Protagoras, and that he had embraced with pleaſure this opportunity of re-aſcending the throne. His knowledge of the country and the party he had there, made the king of Perſia chooſe him very wiſely to command in this expedition. They made a deſcent in the iſland, where their army encreaſed to double its number by the re-inforcements which came from Syria and Cilicia. The hopes of enriching themſelves by the ſpoils of this iſland, that was very rich, drew thither abundance of troops, and they formed the ſiege of Salamin by ſea and land. The iſland of Cyprus had at that time nine cities, conſiderable enough to have each of them a petty king. But all thoſe kings were however ſubjects of Perſia. They had upon this occaſion united together to throw off that yoke, and to render themſelves independant.

Ochus, having obſerved that the Egyptian war was always unſucceſsful from the ill conduct of the generals ſent thither, he reſolved to take the care of it upon himſelf. But before he ſet out, he ſignified his deſire to the ſtates of Greece, that they would put an end to their diviſions, and ceaſe to make war upon one another.

It is a juſt matter of ſurprize, that the court of Perſia ſhould inſiſt ſo earneſtly and ſo often, that the people of Greece ſhould live in tranquillity with each other, and obſerve inviolably the articles of the treaty of Antalcides, the principal end of which was the eſta-

(*u*) Ibid. l. 16. p. 440, 441.

bliſhment

bliſhment of a laſting union amongſt them. It had formerly employed a quite different policy. From the miſcarriage of the enterprize againſt Greece under Xerxes, judging gold and ſilver a more proper means for ſubjecting it than that of the ſword, the Perſians did not attack it with open force, but by the method of ſecret intrigues. They conveyed conſiderable ſums into it privately, to corrupt the perſons of credit and authority in the great cities, and were perpetually watching occaſions to arm them againſt each other, and to deprive them of the leiſure and means to invade themſelves. They were particularly careful to declare ſometimes for one, ſometimes for another, in order to ſupport a kind of ballance amongſt them, which put it out of the power of any of thoſe republics to aggrandize itſelf too much, and by that means to become formidable to Perſia.

That nation employed a quite different conduct at this time, in prohibiting all wars to the people of Greece, and commanding them to obſerve an univerſal peace, upon pain of incurring their diſpleaſure and arms, to ſuch as ſhould diſobey. Perſia without doubt did not take that reſolution at a venture, and had its reaſons to behave in ſuch a manner with regard to Greece.

Its deſign might be to ſoften their ſpirit by degrees, in diſarming their hands; to blunt the edge of that valour, which ſpurred them on perpetually by noble emulation; to extinguiſh in them their paſſion for glory and victory; to render languid, by long inertion and forced eaſe, the activity natural to them; and in fine, to bring them into the number of thoſe people, whom a quiet and effeminate life enervates, and who loſe in ſloth and peace that martial ardor, which combats and even dangers are apt to inſpire.

The king of Perſia who then reigned had a perſonal intereſt, as well as his predeceſſor, in impoſing theſe terms upon the Greeks. Egypt had long thrown off

the

the yoke, and given the empire juſt cauſe of inquietude. Ochus had reſolved to go in perſon to reduce the rebels. He had the expedition extremely at heart, and neglected nothing that could promote its ſucceſs. The famous retreat of the ten thouſand, without enumerating many other actions of a like nature, had left a great idea in Perſia of the Grecian valour. That prince relied more upon a ſmall body of Greeks in his pay, than upon the whole army of the Perſians, as numerous as it was; and he well knew, that the inteſtine diviſions of Greece would render the cities incapable of ſupplying the number of ſoldiers he had occaſion for.

In fine, as a good politician, he could not enter upon action in Egypt, till he had pacified all behind him, Ionia eſpecially, and its neighbouring provinces. Now the moſt certain means to hold them in obedience, was to deprive them of all hope of aid from the Greeks, to whom they had always recourſe in times of revolt, and without whom they were in no condition to form any great enterprizes (*u*).

When Ochus had taken all his meaſures, and made the neceſſary preparations, he repaired to the frontiers of Phœnicia, where he had an army of three hundred thouſand foot, and thirty thouſand horſe, and put himſelf at the head of it. Mentor was at Sidon with the Grecian troops. The approach of ſo great an army ſtaggered him, and he ſent ſecretly to Ochus, to make him offers not only of ſurrendering Sidon to him, but to ſerve him in Egypt, where he was well acquainted with the country, and might be very uſeful to him. Ochus agreed entirely to the propoſal, upon which he engaged Tennes king of Sidon in the ſame treaſon, and they ſurrendered the place in concert to Ochus.

The Sidonians had ſet fire to their ſhips upon the approach of the king's troops, in order to lay the people under the neceſſity of making a good defence,

(*u*) Diod. l. 16. p. 441—443.

by

by removing all hope of any other ſecurity. When they ſaw themſelves betrayed, that the enemy were maſters of the city, and that there was no poſſibility of eſcaping either by ſea or land, in the deſpair of their condition, they ſhut themſelves up in their houſes, and ſet them on fire. Forty thouſand men, without reckoning women and children, periſhed in this manner. The fate of Tennes their king was no better. Ochus, ſeeing himſelf maſter of Sidon, and having no farther occaſion for him, cauſed him to be put to death; a juſt reward of his treaſon, and an evident proof, that Ochus did not yield to him in perfidy. At the time this misfortune happened, Sidon was immenſely rich. The fire having melted the gold and ſilver, Ochus ſold the cynders for a conſiderable ſum of money.

The dreadful ruin of this city caſt ſo great a terror into all the reſt of Phœnicia, that it ſubmitted, and obtained conditions reaſonable enough from the king, Ochus made no great difficulty in complying with their demands, becauſe he would not loſe the time there, he had ſo much occaſion for in the execution of his projects againſt Egypt.

Before he began his march to enter it, he was joined by a body of ten thouſand Greeks. From the beginning of this expedition he had demanded troops in Greece. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians had excuſed themſelves from furniſhing him any at that time; it being impoſſible for them to do it, whatever deſire they might have, as they ſaid, to cultivate a good correſpondence with the king. The Thebans ſent him a thouſand men under the command of Lachares: the Argives three thouſand under Nicoſtratus. The reſt came from the cities of Aſia. All theſe troops joined him immediately after the taking of Sidon.

(x) The Jews muſt have had ſome ſhare in this war of the Phœnicians againſt Perſia. For Sidon was no

(x) Solin. c. 35. Euſeb. in Chron. &c.

ſooner taken, than Ochus entered Judæa, and beſieged the city of Jericho, which he took. Beſides which, it appears that he carried a great number of Jewiſh captives into Egypt, and ſent many others into Hyrcania, where he ſettled them along the coaſt of the Caſpian ſea.

(*y*) Ochus alſo put an end to the war with Cyprus at the ſame time. That of Egypt ſo entirely engroſſed his attention, that in order to have nothing to divert him from it, he was ſatisfied to come to an accommodation with the nine kings of Cyprus, who ſubmitted to him upon certain conditions, and were all continued in their little ſtates. Evagoras demanded to be re-inſtated in the kingdom of Salamin. It was evidently proved, that he had committed the moſt flagrant oppreſſions during his reign, and that he had not been unjuſtly dethroned. Protagoras was therefore confirmed in the kingdom of Salamin, and the king gave Evagoras a remote government. He behaved no better in that, and was again expelled. He afterwards returned to Salamin, and was ſeized, and put to death. Surprizing difference between Nicocles and his ſon Evagoras!

(*z*) After the reduction of the iſle of Cyprus, and the province of Phœnicia, Ochus advanced at length towards Egypt.

Upon his arrival, he encamped before Peluſium, from whence he detached three bodies of his troops, each of them commanded by a Greek and a Perſian with equal authority. The firſt was under Dachares the Theban, and Roſaces governour of Lydia and Ionia. The ſecond was given to Nicoſtratus the Argive, and Ariſtazanes one of the great officers of the crown. The third had Mentor the Rhodian and Bagoas one of Ochus's eunuchs at the head of it. Each detachment had its particular orders. The king remained with the main body of the army in the camp he had made choice of at firſt, to wait events,

(*y*) Diod. l. 16. p. 443. (*z*) Ibid. p. 444 & 450.

and to be ready to ſupport thoſe troops in caſe of ill ſucceſs, or to improve the advantages they might have.

Nectanebis had long expected this invaſion, the preparations for which had made ſo much noiſe. He had an hundred thouſand men on foot, twenty thouſand of whom were Greeks, twenty thouſand Lybians, and the reſt of Egyptian troops. Part of them he beſtowed in the places upon the frontiers, and poſted himſelf with the reſt in the paſſes, to diſpute the enemy's entrance into Egypt. Ochus's firſt detachment was ſent againſt Peluſium, where there was a garriſon of five thouſand Greeks. Lachares beſieged the place. That under Nicoſtratus, on board of four and twenty ſhips of the Perſian fleet, entered one of the mouths of the Nile at the ſame time, and ſailed into the heart of Egypt, where they landed, and fortified themſelves well in a camp, of which the ſituation was very advantagious. All the Egyptian troops in theſe parts were immediately drawn together under Clinias, a Greek of the iſle of Cos, and prepared to repel the enemy. A very warm action enſued, in which Clinias with five thouſand of his troops were killed, and the reſt entirely broke and diſperſed.

This action decided the ſucceſs of the war. Nectanebis, apprehending that Nicoſtratus after this victory would embark again upon the Nile, and take Memphis the capital of the kingdom, made all the haſte he could to defend it, and abandoned the paſſes, which it was of the laſt importance to ſecure, to prevent the entrance of the enemy. When the Greeks that defended Peluſium were apprized of this precipitate retreat, they believed all loſt, and capitulated with Lachares, upon condition of being ſent back into Greece with all that belonged to them, and without ſuffering any injury in their perſons or effects.

Mentor, who commanded the third detachment, finding the paſſes clear and unguarded, entered the country, and made himſelf maſter of it without any oppoſition. For, after having cauſed a report to be ſpread throughout his camp, that Ochus had ordered all thoſe who would ſubmit, to be treated with favour, and that ſuch as made reſiſtance ſhould be deſtroyed, as the Sidonians had been; he let all his priſoners eſcape, that they might carry the news into the country round about. Thoſe poor people reported in their towns and villages what they had heard in the enemy's camp. The brutality of Ochus ſeemed to confirm it, and the terror was ſo great, that the garriſons, as well Greeks as Egyptians, ſtrove which ſhould be the foremoſt in making their ſubmiſſion.

(*a*) Nectanebis, having loſt all hope of being able to defend himſelf, eſcaped with his treaſures and beſt effects into Æthiopia, from whence he never returned. He was the laſt king of Egypt of the Egyptian race, ſince whom it has always continued under a foreign yoke, according to the prediction of Ezekiel (*b*).

Ochus, having entirely conquered Egypt in this manner, diſmantled the cities, pillaged the temples, and returned in triumph to Babylon, laden with ſpoils, and eſpecially with gold and ſilver, of which he carried away immenſe ſums. He left the government of it to Pherendates, a Perſian of the firſt quality.

(*c*) Here Manethon finiſhes his commentaries, or hiſtory of Egypt. He was a prieſt of Heliopolis in that country, and had wrote the hiſtory of its different dynaſties from the commencement of the nation to the times we now treat of. His book is often cited by Joſephus, Euſebius, Plutarch, Porphyry, and ſeveral others. This hiſtorian lived in the reign of Ptolemæus Philadelphus king of Egypt, to whom he

(*a*) A. M. 3654. Ant. J. C. 350. (*b*) Ezek. xxix. 14, 15.
(*c*) Syncel. p. 256. Voſſ. de hiſt. Græc. l. 1. c. 14.

dedicates his work, of which * Syncellus has preſerved us the abridgment.

Nectanebis loſt the crown by his too good opinion of himſelf. He had been placed upon the throne by Ageſilaus, and afterwards ſupported in it by the valour and counſels of Diophantes the Athenian, and Lamius the Lacedæmonian, who, whilſt they had the command of his troops and the direction of the war, had rendered his arms victorious over the Perſians in all the enterprizes they had formed againſt him. It is a pity we have no account of them, and that Diodorus is ſilent upon this head. That prince, vain from ſo many ſucceſſes, imagined in conſequence, that he was become ſufficiently capable of conducting his own affairs in perſon, and diſmiſſed them to whom he was indebted for all thoſe advantages. He had time enough to repent his error, and to diſcover that the power does not confer the merit of a king.

(*d*) Ochus rewarded very liberally the ſervice which Mentor the Rhodian had rendered him in the reduction of Phœnicia, and the conqueſt of Egypt. Before he left that kingdom, he had diſmiſſed the other Greeks laden with his preſents. As for Mentor, to whom the whole ſucceſs of the expedition was principally owing, he not only made him a preſent of an hundred talents † in money, beſides many jewels of great value, but gave him the government of all the coaſt of Aſia, with the direction of the war againſt ſome provinces, which had revolted in the beginning of his reign, and declared him generaliſſimo of all his armies on that ſide.

Mentor made uſe of his intereſt to reconcile the king with his brother Memnon, and Artabaſus, who had married their ſiſter. Both of them had been in arms againſt Ochus. We have already related the re-

(*d*) A. M. 3655. Ant. J. C. 349.

* *George, a monk of Conſtantinople, ſo called from his being* Syncellus, *or vicar to the patriarch Tarafius, towards the end of the ninth century.*

† *An hundred thouſand crowns.*

volt of Artabasus, and the victories he obtained over the king's troops. He was however overpowered at last, and reduced to take refuge with Philip king of Macedon; and Memnon, who had borne a part in his wars, had also a share in his banishment. After this reconciliation, they rendered Ochus and his successors signal services; especially Memnon, who was one of the most valiant men of his times, and no less excellent in the art of war. Neither did Mentor want his great merits, nor deceive the king in the confidence he had reposed in him. For he had scarce taken possession of his government, when he re-established every where the king's authority, and reduced those who had revolted in his neighbourhood to return to their obedience. Some he brought over by his address and stratagems, and others by force of arms. In a word, he knew so well how to take his advantages, that at length he subjected them all to the yoke, and re-instated the king's affairs in those provinces.

(*e*) The first year of the 108th olympiad died Plato, the famous Athenian philosopher. I shall defer speaking of him at present, that I may not interrupt the chain of the history.

SECT. V. *Death of Ochus. Arses succeeds him, and is succeeded by Darius Codomanus.*

(*f*) OCHUS, after the conquest of Egypt, and reduction of the revolted provinces of his empire, abandoned himself to pleasure and luxurious ease during the rest of his life, and left the care of affairs entirely to his ministers. The two principal of them were the eunuch Bagoas and Mentor the Rhodian, who divided all power between them, so that the first had all the provinces of the upper, and the latter all those of the lower Asia under him.

(*g*) After having reigned twenty three years, O-

(*e*) A. M. 3656. Ant. J. C. 348. (*f*) Diod. l. 16. p. 490. (*g*) A. M. 3666. Ant. J. C. 338.

chus

chus died of poiſon given him by Bagoas. That eunuch, who was by birth an Egyptian, had always retained a love for his country, and a zeal for its religion. When his maſter conquered it, he flattered himſelf, that it would have been in his power to have ſoftened the deſtiny of the one, and protected the other from inſult. But he could not reſtrain the brutality of his prince, who acted a thouſand things in regard to both, which the eunuch ſaw with extreme ſorrow, and always violently reſented in his heart.

Ochus not contented with having diſmantled the cities, and pillaged the houſes and temples, as has been ſaid, had beſides taken away all the archives of the kingdom, which were depoſited, and kept with religious care in the temples of the Egyptians, and in (*b*) deriſion of their worſhip, he had cauſed the god Apis to be killed, that is, the ſacred bull which they adored under that name. What gave occaſion for this laſt action was, (*i*) that Ochus being as lazy and heavy as he was cruel, the Egyptians, from the firſt of thoſe qualities, had given him the ſhocking ſirname of the ſtupid animal, they found he reſembled. Violently enraged at this affront, Ochus ſaid that he would make them ſenſible he was not an aſs but a lion, and that the aſs, whom they diſpiſed ſo much, ſhould eat their ox. Accordingly he ordered Apis to be dragged out of his temple, and ſacrificed to an aſs. After which he made his cooks dreſs, and ſerve him up to the officers of his houſhold. This piece of wit incenſed Bagoas. As for the archives he redeemed them afterwards, and ſent them back to the places where it was the cuſtom to keep them: But the affront, which had been done to his religion, was irreparable; and it is believed, that was the real occaſion of his maſter's death.

(*k*) His revenge did not ſtop there, he cauſed another body to be interred inſtead of the king's, and to

(*b*) Ælian. l. 4. c. 8.
(*i*) Plut. de Iſid. & Oſir. p. 363.
(*k*) Ælian. l. 6. c. 8.

avenge his having made the officers of the houſe eat the god Apis, he made cats eat his dead body, which he gave them cut in ſmall pieces; and for his bones, thoſe he turned into handles for knives and ſwords, the natural ſymbols of his cruelty. It is very probable, that ſome new cauſe had awakened in the heart of this monſter his antient reſentment; without which, it is not to be conceived, that he could carry his barbarity ſo far in regard to his maſter and benefactor.

After the death of Ochus, Bagoas, in whoſe hands all power was at that time, placed Arſes upon the throne, the youngeſt of all the late king's ſons, and put the reſt to death, in order to poſſeſs with better ſecurity, and without a rival, the authority he had uſurped. He gave Arſes only the name of king, whilſt he reſerved to himſelf the whole power of the ſovereignty. But perceiving that the young prince began to diſcover his wickedneſs, and took meaſures to puniſh it, he prevented him by having him aſſaſſinated, and deſtroyed his whole family with him.

Bagoas, after having rendered the throne vacant by the murder of Arſes, placed Darius upon it, the third of that name who reigned in Perſia. His true name was Codomanus, of whom much will be ſaid hereafter.

We ſee here in a full light the ſad effect of the ill policy of the kings of Perſia, who to eaſe themſelves of the weight of publick buſineſs, abandoned their whole authority to an eunuch. Bagoas might have more addreſs and underſtanding than the reſt, and thereby merit ſome diſtinction. It is the duty of a wiſe prince to diſtinguiſh merit; but it is as conſiſtent for him to continue always the entire maſter, judge, and arbiter of his affairs. A prince, like Ochus, that had made the greateſt crimes his ſteps for aſcending the throne, and who had ſupported himſelf in it by the ſame meaſures, deſerved to have ſuch a miniſter as Bagoas, who vyed with his maſter in perfidy

fidy and cruelty. Ochus experienced their firſt effects. Had he deſired to have nothing to fear from him, he ſhould not have been ſo imprudent to render him formidable, by giving him an unlimited power.

SECT. VI. *Abridgment of the life of Demoſthenes to his appearance with honour and applauſe in the public aſſemblies againſt Philip of Macedon.*

AS Demoſthenes will have a great part in the hiſtory of Philip of Alexander, which will be the ſubject of the enſuing volume, it is neceſſary to give the reader ſome previous idea of him, and to let him know by what means he cultivated, and to what a degree of perfection he carried, his talent of eloquence; which made him more awful to Philip and Alexander, and enabled him to render greater ſervices to his country, than the higheſt military virtue could have done.

(*l*) That orator born * two years before Philip, and two hundred and fourſcore before Cicero, was not the ſon of a dirty ſmoaky blackſmith as † Juvenal would ſeem to intimate, but of a man moderately rich, who got conſiderably by forges. Not that the birth of Demoſthenes could derogate in the leaſt from his reputation, whoſe works are an higher title of nobility than the moſt ſplendid the world affords. (*m*) Demoſthenes tells us himſelf, that his father employed thirty ſlaves at his forges, each of them valued at three minæ, or fifty crowns; two excepted, who were without doubt the moſt expert in the buſineſs, and directed the work, ond thoſe were each of them worth an hundred crowns. It is well known that part of the wealth of the antients conſiſted in ſlaves. Thoſe forges, all charges paid, cleared annually thirty minæ, that is, fifteen hundred crowns. To this firſt manu-

(*l*) A. M. 3623. Ant. J. C. 381. Plut. in Demoſt. p. 847—849. (*m*) In orat. 1. cont. Aphob. p. 870.

* *The fourth year of the ninety ninth olympiad.*

† Quem pater ardentis maſſæ fuligine lippus,
A carbone et forcipibus, gladioſque parentis
Incude, et luteo Vulcano ad rhetora miſit. Juv. Sat. 10.

factory, appropriated to the forging of ſwords and ſuch kind of arms, he added another, wherein beds and tables of fine wood and ivory were made, which brought him in yearly twelve minæ. In this only twenty ſlaves were employed, each of them valued at two minæ, or an hundred livres (*n*).

Demoſthenes's father died poſſeſſed of an eſtate of fourteen talents (*o*). He had the misfortune to fall into the hands of ſordid and avaritious guardians, who had no views but of making the moſt out of his fortune. They carried that baſe ſpirit ſo far as to refuſe their pupil's maſters the reward due to them: So that he was not educated with the care, which ſo excellent a genius as his required; beſides which, the weakneſs of his conſtitution, and the delicacy of his health, with the exceſſive fondneſs of a mother that doated upon him, prevented his maſters from obliging him to apply much to his ſtudies.

The ſchool of Iſocrates* in which ſo many great men had been educated, was at that time the moſt famous at Athens But whether the avarice of Demoſthenes's guardians prevented him from improving under a maſter, whoſe price was very high (*p*), or that the ſoft and peaceful eloquence of Iſocrates was not to his taſte at that time he ſtudied under Iſæus, whoſe character was ſtrength and vehemence. He found means however to get the principles of rhetoric taught by the former: But † Plato in reality contributed the moſt in forming Demoſthenes; he read his works with great application, and received leſſons from him alſo; and it is eaſy to diſtinguiſh in the writings of the diſciple the noble and ſublime air of the maſter.

(*n*) *About* 4 *l.* 10 *s.* (*o*) *Fourteen hundred crowns.* (*p*) *About* 22 *l.* 10 *s.*

* Iſocrates———cujus è ludo, tanquam ex equo Trojano, innumeri principes exierunt. *De Orat.* *n.* 94.

† Lectitaviſſe Platonem ſtudioſè, audiviſſe etiam, Demoſthenes dicitur: idque apparet ex genere et granditate ſermonis. *Cic. in Brut.* *n.* 121.

Illud jusjurandum, per cæſos in Marathone ac Salamine propugnatores Reip. ſatis manifeſtò docet, præceptorem ejus Platonem fuiſſe. *Quint.* l. 12. c. 10.

(*q*) But

(q) But he ſoon quitted the ſchools of Iſæus and Plato for another, under a different kind of direction; I mean, to frequent the bar, of which this was the occaſion. The orator Calliſtratus was appointed to plead the cauſe of the city Oropus, ſituated between Bœotia and Attica. Chabrias, having diſpoſed the Athenians to march to the aid of the Thebans, who were in great diſtreſs, they haſtened thither and delivered them from the enemy. The Thebans, forgetting ſo great a ſervice, took the town of Oropus, which was upon their frontier, from the Athenians. (r) Chabrias was ſuſpected, and charged with treaſon upon this occaſion. Calliſtratus was choſen to plead againſt him. The reputation of the orator, and the importance of the cauſe excited curioſity, and made a great noiſe in the city. (s) Demoſthenes, who was then ſixteen years of age, earneſtly entreated his maſters to carry him with them to the bar, that he might be preſent at ſo famous a trial. The orator was heard with great attention, and having had extraordinary ſucceſs, was attended home by a crowd of illuſtrious citizens, who ſeemed to vye with each other in praiſing and admiring him. The young man was extremly affected with the honours, which he ſaw paid to the orator, and ſtill more with the ſupreme power of elcquence over the minds of men, over which it exerciſes a kind of abſolute power. He was himſelf ſenſible of its effects, and not being able to reſiſt its charms, he gave himſelf wholly up to it, from thenceforth renounced all other ſtudies and pleaſures, and during the continuance of Calliſtratus at Athens, he never quitted him, but made all the improvement he could from his precepts.

The firſt eſſay of his eloquence was againſt his guardians, whom he obliged to refund a part of his fortune. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, he ventured to ſpeak before the people, but with very ill ſucceſs: He had a weak voice, a thick way of ſpeaking, and

(q) Aul. Gel. l. 3. c. 13. (r) Demoſt. in Midi. p. 613.
(s) A. M. 3639. Ant. J. C. 365.

a very

a very ſhort breath; notwithſtanding which, his periods were ſo long, that he was often obliged to ſtop in the midſt of them for reſpiration. This occaſioned his being hiſſed by the whole audience; from whence he retired entirely diſcouraged, and determined to renounce for ever a function of which he believed himſelf incapable. One of his auditors, who had obſerved an excellent fund of genius in him, and a kind of eloquence which came very near that of Pericles, gave him new ſpirit from the grateful idea of ſo glorious a reſemblance, and the good advice which he added to it.

He ventured therefore to appear a ſecond time before the people, and was no better received than before. As he withdrew, hanging down his head and in the utmoſt confuſion, Satyrus, one of the moſt excellent actors of thoſe times, who was his friend, met him, and having learnt from himſelf the cauſe of his being ſo much dejected, he aſſured him that the evil was not without remedy, and that the caſe was not ſo deſperate as he imagined. He deſired him only to repeat ſome of Sophocles or Euripides's verſes to him; which he accordingly did. Satyrus ſpoke them after him, and gave them ſuch graces by the tone, geſture, and ſpirit, with which he pronounced them, that Demoſthenes himſelf found them quite different from what they were in his own manner of ſpeaking. He perceived plainly what he wanted, and applied himſelf to the acquiring of it.

His efforts to correct his natural defect of utterance, and to perfect himſelf in pronunciation, of which his friend had made him underſtand the value, ſeem almoſt incredible, and prove, that an induſtrious perſeverance can ſurmount all things. (*t*) He ſtammered to ſuch a degree, that he could not pronounce ſome letters, amongſt others, that with which the name of the art * he ſtudied begins; and he was ſo ſhort-breathed, that he could not utter a whole period without ſtopping. He overcame theſe obſtacles at length

(*t*) Cic. l. 1. de orat. n. 260, 261. * Rhetoric.

by

by putting ſmall pebbles into his mouth, and pronouncing ſeveral verſes in that manner without interruption; and that walking, and going up ſteep and difficult places, ſo that at laſt, no letter made him heſitate, and his breath held out through the longeſt periods. (*x*) He went alſo to the ſea-ſide, and whilſt the waves were in the moſt violent agitation, he pronounced harangues to accuſtom himſelf by the confuſed noiſe of the waters, to the roar of the people, and the tumultuous cries of public aſſemblies.

(*y*) Demoſthenes took no leſs care of his action than of his voice. He had a large looking-glaſs in his houſe, which ſerved to teach him geſture, and at which he uſed to declaim, before he ſpoke in public. To correct a fault, which he had contracted by an ill habit of continually ſhrugging his ſhoulders, he practiſed ſtanding upright in a kind of very narrow pulpit or roſtrum, over which hung a halbard in ſuch a manner, that if in the heat of action that motion eſcaped him, the point of the weapon might ſerve at the ſame time to admoniſh and correct him.

His pains were well beſtowed; for it was by this means, that he carried the art of declaiming to the higheſt degree of perfection of which it was capable; whence, it is plain he well knew its value and importance. When he was aſked three ſeveral times which quality he thought moſt neceſſary in an orator, he gave no other anſwer than *Pronunciation*; inſinuating by making that reply * three times ſucceſſively, that qualification to be the only one, of which the want could be leaſt concealed, and which was the moſt capable of concealing other defects; and that pronunciation alone could give conſiderable weight even to an indifferent orator, when without it, the moſt excellent could not hope the leaſt ſucceſs. He

(*x*) Quintil. l. 10. c. 3. (*y*) Id. l. 11. c. 3.

* Actio in dicendo una dominatur. Sine hac ſummus orator eſſe in numero nullo poteſt: mediocris, hac inſtructus ſummos ſæpe ſuperare. Huic primas dediſſe Demoſthenes dicitur, cum rogaretur quid in dicendo eſſet primum; huic ſecundas, huic tertias. *Cic. de orat.* l. 3. n. 213.

muſt have had a very high opinion of it, as to attain a perfection in it, and for the inſtruction of Neoptolemus, the moſt excellent comedian then in being, he devoted ſo conſiderable a ſum as ten thouſand drachmas (*y*), though he was not very rich.

His application to ſtudy was no leſs ſurprizing. To be the more removed from noiſe, and leſs ſubject to diſtraction, he cauſed a ſmall chamber to be made for him under-ground, in which he ſhut himſelf up ſometimes for whole months, ſhaving on purpoſe half his head and face, that he might not be in a condition to go abroad. It was there, by the light of a ſmall lamp, he compoſed the admirable orations, which were ſaid by thoſe who envied him to ſmell of the oil; to imply that they were too elaborate. "It is "plain," replied he, "yours did not coſt you ſo "much trouble." * He roſe very early in the morning, and uſed to ſay, that he was ſorry when any workman was at his buſineſs before him. (*z*) We may judge of his extraordinary efforts to acquire an excellence of every kind, from the pains he took in copying Thucydides's hiſtory eight times with his own hand, in order to render the ſtile of that great man familiar to him.

Demoſthenes, after having exerciſed his talent of eloquence in ſeveral private cauſes, made his appearance in full light, and mounted the tribunal of harangues, to treat there upon the public affairs; with what ſucceſs we ſhall ſee hereafter. Cicero † tells us that ſucceſs was ſo great, that all Greece came in crowds to Athens to hear Demoſthenes ſpeak; and he adds, that merit, ſo great as his, could not but have had that effect. I do not examine in this place into the character of his eloquence (*a*); I have enlarged

(*y*) *About* 240 *l. Sterling.*
(*z*) Lucian. ad verſ. indoct. p. 639.
(*a*) *Art of ſtudying the* Belles Let. Vol. II.

* Cui non ſunt auditæ Demoſthenes vigiliæ? qui dolere ſe aiebat, ſi quando opificum antelucana victus eſſet induſtria. *Tuſc. Quæſt.* l. 4. n. 44.

† Ne illud quidem intelligunt, non modo ita memoriæ proditum eſſe, ſed ita neceſſe fuiſſe, cum Demoſthenes dicturus eſſet, ut concurſus, audiendi cauſa, ex tota Græcia fierent. *In Brut.* n. 239.

ſufficiently

ſufficiently upon that elſewhere; I only conſider its wonderful effects.

If we may believe Philip upon this head, of which he is certainly an evidence of unqueſtionable authority, (*b*) the eloquence of Demoſthenes alone did him more hurt than all the armies and fleets of the Athenians. His harangues, he ſaid, were like machines of war, and batteries raiſed at a diſtance againſt him; by which he overthrew all his projects, and ruined his enterprizes, without its being poſſible to prevent their effect. For I myſelf, ſays Philip of him, had I been preſent, and heard that vehement orator declaim, ſhould have concluded the firſt, that it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to declare war againſt me. No city ſeemed impregnable to that prince, provided he could introduce a mule laden with gold into it: but he confeſſed, that to his ſorrow, Demoſthenes was invincible in that reſpect, and that he always found him inacceſſible to his preſents. After the battle of Chæronea, Philip though victor was ſtruck with extreme dread at the proſpect of the great danger, to which that orator, by the powerful league he had been the ſole cauſe of forming againſt him, expoſed himſelf and his kingdom.

(*c*) Antipater ſpoke to the ſame effect of him. I value not, ſaid he, the Piræus, the gallies, and armies of the Athenians: For what have we to fear from a people continually employed in games, feaſts, and Bacchanals? Demoſthenes alone gives me pain. Without him the Athenians differ in nothing from the meaneſt people of Greece. He alone excites and animates them. It is he that rouzes them from their lethargy and ſtupefaction, and puts their arms and oars into their hands almoſt againſt their will: inceſſantly repreſenting to them the famous battles of Marathon and Salamin, he transforms them into new men by the ardor of his diſcourſes, and inſpires them with incredible valour and fortitude. Nothing eſcapes his penetrating eyes, nor his conſummate prudence. He

(*b*) Lucian. in encom. Demoſt. p. 940, 941. (*c*) Ibid. p. 934, 936.

foreſees

foreſees all our deſigns, he countermines all our projects, and diſconcerts us in every thing; and did Athens entirely confide in him, and wholly follow his advice, we were undone without remedy. Nothing can tempt him, nor diminiſh his love for his country. All the gold of Philip finds no more acceſs to him, than that of Perſia did formerly to Ariſtides.

He was reduced by neceſſity to give this glorious teſtimony for himſelf in his juſt defenſe againſt Æſchines his accuſer and declared enemy. "Whilſt all "the orators have ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted "by the preſents of Philip and Alexander, it is well "known," ſays he, "that neither delicate conjunc-"tures, engaging expreſſions, magnificent promiſes, "hope, fear, favour, any thing in the world have "ever been able to induce me to give up the leaſt "right or intereſt of my country." He adds, that inſtead of acting like thoſe mercenary perſons, who, in all they propoſed, declared for ſuch as paid them beſt, like ſcales, that always incline to the ſide from whence they receive moſt; he, in all the counſels he had given, had ſolely in view the intereſt and glory of his country, and that he had always continued inflexible and incorruptible to the Macedonian gold. The ſequel will ſhew how well he ſupported that character to the end.

Such was the orator who is about to aſcend the tribunal of harangues, or rather the ſtateſman to enter upon the adminiſtration of the public affairs, and to be the principle and ſoul of all the great enterprizes of Athens againſt Philip of Macedon.

SECT. VII. *Digreſſion upon the manner of fitting out fleets by the Athenians, and the exemptions and other marks of honour granted by that city to ſuch as had rendered it great ſervices.*

THE ſubject of this digreſſion ought properly to have had place in that part of the preceding volume, where I have treated the government and maritime affairs of the Athenians. But at that time, I had

had not the orations of Demoſthenes which ſpeak of them in my thoughts. It is a deviation from the chain of the hiſtory which the reader may eaſily turn over, if he thinks fit.

The word *Trierarchs* (*d*) ſignifies no more in itſelf than *commanders of gallies*. But thoſe cities were alſo called *Trierarchs* who were appointed to fit out the gallies in time of war, and to furniſh them with all things neceſſary, or at leaſt with part of them.

Theh were choſen out of the richeſt of the people, and there was no fixed number of them. Sometimes two, ſometimes three, and even ten Trierarchs were appointed to equip one veſſel.

(*e*) At length the number of Trierarchs was eſtabliſhed at twelve hundred in this manner. Athens was divided into ten tribes. An hundred and twenty of the richeſt citizens of each tribe were nominated to furniſh the expences of theſe armaments; and thus each tribe, furniſhing ſix ſcore, the number of the Trierarchs amounted to twelve hundred.

Thoſe twelve hundred men were again divided into two parts, of ſix hundred each; and thoſe ſix hundred ſubdivided into two more, each of three hundred. The firſt three hundred were choſen from amongſt ſuch as were richeſt. Upon preſſing occaſions they advanced the neceſſary expences, and were reimburſed by the other three hundred, who paid their proportion, as the ſtate of their affairs would admit.

A law was afterwards made, whereby thoſe twelve hnndred were divided into different companies, each conſiſting of ſixteen men, who joined in the equipment of a galley. That law was very heavy upon the poorer citizens, and equally unjuſt at bottom; as it decreed that this number of ſixteen ſhould be choſen by their age, and not their eſtates. It ordained that all citizens from twenty five to forty ſhould be included in one of theſe companies, and contribute one ſixteenth; ſo that by this law the poorer citizens

(*d*) Τριήραρχοι. (*e*) Ulpian. in Olynth. 2. p. 33.

were

were to contribute as much as the moſt opulent, and often found it impoſſible to ſupply an expence ſo much above their power. From whence it happened, that the fleet was either not armed in time or very ill fitted out; by which means Athens loſt the moſt favourable opportunities for action.

(*f*) Demoſthenes, always intent upon the public good, to remedy theſe inconveniences, propoſed the abrogation of this law by another. By the latter, the Trierarchs were to be choſen, not by the number of their years, but the value of their fortunes. Each citizen, whoſe eſtate amounted to ten talents *, was obliged to fit out one galley, and if to twenty talents, two; and ſo on in proportion. Such as were not worth ten talents, were to join with as many others as were neceſſary to compleat that ſum, and to fit out a galley.

Nothing could be wiſer than this law of Demoſthenes, which reformed all the abuſes of the other. By theſe means the fleet was fitted out in time, and provided with all things neceſſary; the poor were conſiderably relieved, and none but the rich diſpleaſed with it. For inſtead of contributing only a ſixteenth, as by the firſt law, they were ſometimes obliged by the ſecond to equip a galley, and ſometimes two or more, according to the amount of their eſtates.

The rich were in conſequence very much offended at Demoſthenes upon this regulation; and it was without doubt an inſtance of no ſmall courage in him to diſregard their complaints, and to hazard the making himſelf as many enemies, as there were powerful citizens in Athens. Let us hear himſelf. "(*g*) Seeing," ſays he, ſpeaking to the Athenians, "your "maritime affairs in the greateſt decline, the rich "poſſeſſed of an immunity purchaſed at a very low "rate, the citizens of middle or ſmall fortunes eat "up with taxes, and the republic itſelf, in conſe-

(*f*) Demoſt. in orat. de claſſib.

(*g*) Demoſt. pro Cteſip. p. 419.

* *Ten thouſand crowns.*

"quence

" quence of theſe inconveniencies, never attempting " any thing till too late for its ſervice; I had the " courage to eſtabliſh a law, whereby the rich are " reſtrained to their duty, the poor relieved from op- " preſſion, and what was of the higheſt importance, " the republic enabled to make the neceſſary prepa- " rations of war in due time." He adds, that there was nothing the rich would not have given him to forbear the propoſing of this law, or at leaſt to have ſuſpended its execution: but he did not ſuffer himſelf to be ſwayed either by their threats or promiſes, and continued firm to the public good.

Not having been able to make him change his reſolution, they contrived a ſtratagem to render it ineffectual. For it was without doubt at their inſtigation, that a certain perſon, named Patroclus, cited Demoſthenes before the judges, and proſecuted him juridically as an infringer of the laws of his country. The accuſer having only the fifth part of the voices on his ſide, was according to cuſtom fined five hundred drachmas *, and Demoſthenes acquitted of the charge; who relates this circumſtance himſelf.

It is doubtful, whether at Rome, eſpecially in the latter times, the affair would have taken this turn. For we ſee, that whatever attempts were made by the tribunes of the people, and to whatever extremity the quarrel roſe, it never was poſſible to induce the rich, who were far more powerful and enterprizing than thoſe of Athens, to renounce the poſſeſſion of the lands, which they had uſurped in manifeſt contravention of the inſtitutions of the ſtate. The law of Demoſthenes was approved and confirmed by the ſenate and people.

We find from what has been ſaid, that the Trierarchs fitted out the gallies and their equipage at their own expence. The ſtate paid the mariners and ſoldiers, generally at the rate of three *Oboli*, or five pence a day, as has been obſerved elſewhere. The officers had greater pay.

* 12 *l.* 5 *s.*

The

The Trierarch commanded the veſſel, and gave all orders on board. When there were two of them to a ſhip, each commanded ſix months.

When they quitted their office, they were obliged to give an account of their adminiſtration, and delivered a ſtate of the veſſel's equipage to their ſucceſſor, or the republic. The ſucceſſor was obliged to go immediately and fill up the vacant place; and if he failed to be at his poſt by a time aſſigned him, he was fined for his neglect.

As the charge of Trierarch was very expenſive, thoſe who were nominated to it, were admitted to point out ſome other perſon richer than themſelves, and to demand that they ſhould be put into their place; provided they were ready to change eſtates with ſuch perſon, and to act in the function of Trierarch after ſuch exchange. This law was inſtituted by Solon, and was called *the law of exchanges.*

Beſides the equipment of gallies, which muſt have amounted to very great ſums, the rich had another charge to ſupport in the time of war; that was the extraordinary taxes and impoſts laid on their eſtates; upon which, ſometimes the hundredth, ſometimes a fiftieth, and even a twelfth were levied, according to the different occaſions of the ſtate.

(*b*) Nobody at Athens, upon any pretence whatſoever, could be exempted from theſe two charges, except the *Novemviri*, or nine Archontes, who were not obliged to fit out gallies. So that we ſee, without ſhips or money, the republic was not in a condition, either to ſupport wars, or defend itſelf.

There were other immunities and exemptions, which were granted to ſuch as had rendered great ſervices to the republic, and ſometimes even to all their deſcendants: for as maintaining public places of exerciſe with all things neceſſary for ſuch as frequented them; inſtituting a public feaſt for one of the ten tribes; and defraying the expences of games and ſhews; all which amounted to great ſums,

(*b*) Demoſt. ad verſ. Lept. p. 545.

Theſe

These immunities, as has already been said, were marks of honour and rewards of services rendered the state; as well as statues which were erected to great men, the freedom of the city, and the privilege of being maintained in the Prytaneum at the public expence. The view of Athens in these honourable distinctions was to express their high sense of gratitude, and to kindle at the same time in the hearts of their citizens a noble thirst of glory, and an ardent love for their country.

Besides the statues erected to Harmodius and Aristogiton, the deliverers of Athens, their descendants were for ever exempted from all public employments, and enjoyed that honourable privilege many ages after.

(*i*) As Aristides died without any estate, and left his son Lysimachus no other patrimony but his glory and poverty, the republic gave him an hundred acres of wood, and as much of arable land in Eubœa, besides an hundred minæ * at one payment, and four drachmas or forty pence a day.

(*k*) Athens in the services which were done it, regarded more the good will than the action it self. A certain person of Cyrene, named Epicerdus, being at Syracuse when the Athenians were defeated, touched with compassion for the unfortunate prisoners dispersed in Sicily, whom he saw ready to expire for want of food, distributed an hundred minæ amongst them, that is, about two hundred and forty pounds. Athens adopted him into the number of its citizens, and granted him all the immunities before mentioned. Some time after in the war against the thirty tyrants, the same Epicerdus gave the city a talent. † These were but small matters on either occasion with regard to the grandeur and power of Athens; but they were infinitely affected with the good heart of a stranger, who without any view of interest, in a time of public calamity, exhausted himself in some measure for

(*i*) Demost. in orat. ad Lep. p. 558.

(*k*) Ibid. 757.

* *Twenty-two pounds ten shillings.*

† *A thousand crowns.*

the

the relief of thoſe, with whom he had no affinity, and from whom he had nothing to expect.

(*l*) The ſame freedom of the city of Athens granted an exemption from cuſtoms, to Leucon, who reigned in the Boſphorus, and his children, becauſe they yearly imported from the lands of that prince a conſiderable quantity of corn, of which they were in extreme want, ſubſiſting almoſt entirely upon what came from other parts. Leucon, in his turn, not to be outdone in generoſity, exempted the Athenian merchants from the duty of a thirtieth upon all grain exported from his dominions, and granted them the privilege of ſupplying themſelves with corn in his country in preference to all other people. That exemption amounted to a conſiderable ſum. For they brought only from thence two millions of quarters of corn, of which the thirtieth part amounted to almoſt ſeventy thouſand.

The children of Conon and Chabrias were alſo granted an immunity from public offices. The names only of thoſe illuſtrious generals ſufficiently juſtify that liberality of the Athenian people. A perſon however, called Leptinus, out of a miſtaken zeal for the public good, propoſed the abrogation by a new law of all the grants of that kind, which had been made from immemorial time; except thoſe which regarded the poſterity of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton; and to enact that for the future the people ſhould not be capable of granting ſuch privileges.

Demoſthenes ſtrongly oppoſed this law, though with great complacency to the perſon who propoſed it; praiſing his good intentions, and not ſpeaking of him but with eſteem; a much more efficacious manner of refuting, than thoſe violent invectives, and that eager and paſſionate ſtyle, which ſerve only to alienate the people, and to render an orator ſuſpected, who decries his cauſe himſelf, and ſhews its weak ſide, by ſubſtituting injurious terms for reaſons, which are alone capable of convincing.

(*l*) Demoſt. in orat. ad Lep. p. 545. 546.

After

After having ſhewn, that ſo odious a reduction would prove of little or no advantage to the republic, from the inconſiderable number of the exempted perſons; he goes on to explain its inconveniences, and to ſet them in a full light.

" It is firſt, ſays he, doing injury to the memory " of thoſe great men, whoſe merit the ſtate intended " to acknowledge and reward by ſuch immunities; " it is in ſome manner calling in queſtion the ſer- " vices they have done their country; it is throw- " ing a ſuſpicion upon their great actions, injurious " to, if not deſtructive of, their glory. And were " they now alive and preſent in this aſſembly, which of " us all would preſume to offer them ſuch an affront? " Should not the reſpect we owe their memories " make us conſider them as always alive and preſent?

" But if we are little affected with what concerns " them, can we be inſenſible to our own intereſt? " Beſides that cancelling ſo ancient a law is to con- " demn the conduct of our anceſtors, what ſhame " ſhall we bring upon ourſelves, and what an injury " ſhall we do our reputation? The glory of Athens " and of every well-governed ſtate, is to value itſelf " upon its gratitude, to keep its word religiouſly, and " to be true to all its engagements. A private per- " ſon that fails in theſe reſpects, is hated and ab- " horred; and who is not afraid of being reproached " with ingratitude? And ſhall the commonwealth, " in cancelling a law that has received the ſanction " of public authority, and being in a manner conſe- " crated by the uſage of many ages, be guilty of ſo " notorious a prevarication? We prohibit lying in " the very markets under heavy penalties, and re- " quire truth and faith to be obſerved in them; and " ſhall we renounce them ourſelves by the revoca- " tion of grants, paſſed in all their forms, and upon " which every private man has a right to inſiſt.

" To act in ſuch a manner, would be to extin- " guiſh in the hearts of our citizens all emulation for

" glory,

" glory, all desire to distinguish themselves by great " exploits, all zeal for the honour and welfare of " their country; which are the great sources and " principles of almost all the actions of life. And it " is to no purpose to object the example of Sparta " and Thebes, which grant no such exemptions: " Do we repent our not resembling them in many " things; and is there any wisdom in proposing " their defects, not their virtues, for our imita- " tion?"

Demosthenes concludes with demanding the law of exemptions to be retained in all its extent, with this exception, that all persons should be deprived of the benefits of it, but those who had a just title to them; and that a strict enquiry should be made for that purpose.

It is plain that I have only made a very slight extract in this place of an exceeding long discourse, and that I designed to express only the spirit and sense, without confining my self to the method and expressions of it.

There was a meanness of spirit in Leptinus's desiring to obtain a trivial advantage for the republic, by retrenching the moderate expences that were an honour to it, and no charge to himself, whilst there were other abuses of far greater importance to reform.

Such marks of publick gratitude perpetuated in a family, perpetuate also in a state an ardent zeal for its happiness, and a warm desire to distinguish that passion by glorious actions. It is not without pain I find amongst ourselves, that part of the privileges granted to the family of the Maid of Orleans, have been retrenched. (*m*) Charles VII. had ennobled her, her father, three brothers, and all their descendants, even by the female line. In 1614, at the request of the attorney-general, the article of nobility by the women was retrenched.

(*m*) Mezerai.

The End of the Fifth Volume.